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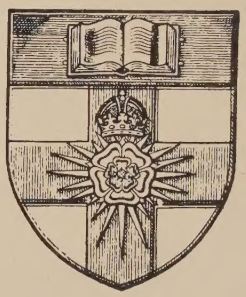

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1889, Thornton Kirkland Lothrop . . . . . Nov. 2, 1913.
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1905, Don Gleason Hill . . . . . Feb. 20, 1914.
1913, Reginald Heber Fitz . . . . . Sept. 30, 1913.

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1902, Reuben Gold Thwaites . . . . . Oct. 22, 1913.
1912, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain . . . . . Feb. 24, 1914.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1913.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. The President, both Vice-Presidents, and Recording Secretary being absent, the Society was called to order by the Corresponding Secretary, and the Hon. JOHN D. LONG was chosen President, *pro tempore*.

Mr. NORCROSS was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Librarian, read the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift, by William Sumner Appleton, of twelve photographs of the blockhouse at Winslow, Maine, the only remaining part of old Fort Halifax.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. Edward F. Johnson, of Woburn, a Resident Member, resigning his membership in the Society, with a recommendation from the Council that his resignation be accepted, and it was so voted.

Governor LONG presented to the Society, in behalf of his nephew Joseph Nelson White, the *Genealogy of Joseph Nelson White*. Privately printed, 1902.

Announcement was made of the death of Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, of Salem, on August 16, and of Dr. Reginald Heber Fitz at Brookline on September 30, both Resident Members.

Mr. RANTOUL paid a tribute to Mr. Waters.[1]

[1] See p. 118, *infra*.

Mr. Seaver gave the following appreciation of Mr. Waters:

A few incidents in the early life of Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters may have an interest as illustrating a phase in the history of common schools in Massachusetts, now mainly if not quite belonging to the past.

My acquaintance with Mr. Waters began in 1853 when he, a student of Harvard College in his junior year, was the teacher of the district school which I attended that winter in the town of Northborough. The following winter, 1854–55, he was again the teacher and I one of his pupils. There are still living persons who look back to those two winter schools with uncommon interest. The town was divided into five school districts, the North, South, East, West and Centre; and only the last could boast of more than one school room. Mr. Waters had the South School, familiarly known from its situation as the Cedar Swamp School. It was on a lonely cross road — not a house in sight, and only two, small ones, less distant than half a mile from the school house. There were about forty pupils of all ages from five to seventeen, ungraded and hardly classifiable; and yet every one of them had some share of the teacher's personal attention, and distinctly felt the influence of his lively personality.

The excellent custom then prevailed by which the winter schools of the town were given in charge to young men from college. These beginners in teaching may not have known so much about pedagogy as it is now fashionable to profess, but they often kept good schools, and added much to the intellectual and social life of the town during the winter season.

My father in speaking of the schools of his boyhood days happened to mention the name of Bowen as one of his teachers.

"Do you mean my friend Professor Bowen of Cambridge," said I, quite curious to know.

"I don't know," replied he, "whatever became of him afterwards. He was a very slender young man with large eyes and a head full of knowledge. At the Lyceum he was a lively debater and he gave interesting lectures on history."

The next time I met Professor Bowen I asked him if he ever taught school in Northborough. "Oh, yes," he said, "I remember it well. The Rev. Dr. Allen (H. C. 1811) was then in his glory. Chairman of the School Committee, president

of the Lyceum, he had the management of things educational all in his own hands. He had come down to Cambridge in the autumn and engaged four or five of us students to come up and keep his winter schools."

I told him he was still remembered in Northborough as a good teacher. "I don't know," said he, "how good or poor our teaching may have been, but I am sure our experience that winter was to ourselves immensely beneficial."

Dr. Allen was still in power, and his way of finding teachers among college students was still in vogue when Mr. Waters came to our town and district.

The school house being a long way from nearly all our homes, we brought our dinner pails, as did our teacher whose boarding-place was two miles away. After dinner the rest of the noon hour was spent on the ample playground afforded by an adjoining pasture. Our games were not very scientific. Mr. Waters sometimes joined us, and gave us some needed coaching. I remember his teaching us some things we had not known before about the attack and defence of snow fortifications. He taught us to "box the compass"— a novelty for inland boys. All of us who were old enough were taught how to get useful information out of the "big dictionary." A copy of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary had recently been placed by the town in each school room. It was an object of some wonder. Not another copy existed, probably, anywhere in the district. We needed to form "the dictionary habit," and some of us were pleasantly started therein.

On taking leave of us at the end of the term, he invited each one of us to write him a letter occasionally, and promised to answer all that he received. He had a purpose in this, though not declared, for he knew how much we needed the practice in composition, and his answers to our letters were helpful in that regard.

What was of still greater importance, Mr. Waters saw that we needed more reading matter than our school books contained. There was no public library, and few books anywhere that could be borrowed. I was lured into and through the reading of Rollin's *Ancient History* by occasional questions on the subject matter put by my teacher. To another boy Mr. Waters made a present of Hume's *History of England* on condition

that the boy read it through — which the boy did. There was no course of study — in the modern sense of that term — prescribed for the school; no rule to prevent the teacher from giving instruction on any subject he thought fit. Naturally most of his time and effort was spent on the traditional studies; but occasionally he seized the opportunity to start some of us on other lines of work. He could not give us much time, only a few general directions and occasional assistance. I may perhaps best use my own case as an illustration. There were no classes nor class recitations in arithmetic. Each boy or girl began to "do the sums" at that point of the book where he or she had left off the last term, and "ciphered" on and on, independently of all the others, receiving help occasionally from the teacher or some older scholar. I happened to have ciphered very nearly to the end of my Greenleaf's *National Arithmetic* before Mr. Waters' first winter. He saw what I needed, and sent home for the copy of Sherwin's *Algebra* which he had used in his preparation for college at the Salem Latin School. This excellent book I ciphered through in much the same way I had done the arithmetic — never reciting a lesson but getting occasionally a hint or an explanation from my teacher. Near the end of the first winter I was given geometry to study, and this occupied the whole of the second winter. Then I had gone through the plane geometry and a considerable part of the solid geometry as given in Davies' *Legendre*. In this subject, however, I was not left wholly to myself; I had some good teaching; for Mr. Waters rightly saw the need of an occasional quiz to keep my reasoning powers in good working order. He told me at the end of the second winter that I knew enough mathematics to pass the examinations in that subject with high credit for admission to college.

Thus was implanted in my mind the first idea I ever had of obtaining a college education. The idea could not ripen into purpose at that time, for my father's means were not such as to permit any serious consideration of the matter.

Later when I was striving to realize my purpose I was mightily helped by the advice and ever ready encouragement of Mr. Waters.

But I must not go far into personal matters. My case differs not from that of many another. I have used it merely as an

illustration to show how Mr. Waters managed to get good results under conditions not usually regarded as favorable.

The old-fashioned district school has passed away. The school houses in the outlying districts have been torn down. The children are picked up every morning and carried in the omnibus to a bigger school house in the village. This school is graded and has a scientifically constructed course of study, the whole of which and nothing but which the girls from the normal school are expected to teach. This change may be, doubtless is, for the greatest good of the greatest number; but it must be acknowledged that there were some good things in the old order which have been lost in the change, and which must now be secured in some other way. So too the Lyceum has given way to the Moving Picture Show, which affords greater pleasure to a greater number of people, but which has not taken over all that was worth preserving in the older institution.

Mr. Bolton recalled an incident in connection with the researches of Mr. Waters; and then Dr. J. Collins Warren paid the following tribute to the memory of Dr. Fitz:

Reginald Heber Fitz was born in Chelsea on May 5th, 1843. He was the son of Albert and Eliza Roberts (Nye) Fitz. His father was a native of Boston and was for many years a secretary to Daniel Webster and was also during his short career in the consular service of the United States. His mother's family was of Puritan stock, dating back to Benjamin Nye who came to this country some time after 1635 and settled in Sandwich in 1637. The father came from an old Portsmouth family of that name.

He prepared for college in the Chauncy Hall School and entered Harvard with and graduated in the class of 1864. G. G. Crocker, our colleague C. P. Greenough, and Robert Todd Lincoln, were among his classmates. He began his medical studies in Cambridge under Jeffries Wyman and at the same time attended lectures at the Harvard Medical School, graduating in 1868. He was also house officer at the Boston City Hospital from 1867 to 1868, where he had medical service under Dr. John G. Blake. After receiving his medical degree, following the custom of that time, owing to the limited facili-

ties offered in this country, he went to Europe to complete his medical education.

Even before the advent of the Civil War the tide of travel of the American medical student had turned from London, Paris, and Edinburgh, where in a previous generation it had been the habit of his predecessors for more than half a century to study under the great masters of their day. The schools of Cruveillhier, Louis, Dupuytren, Civiale and others in Paris, and of Astley-Cooper, and his medical compeers in London, had had their day and the trend of scientific medicine was setting in the direction of the great capitals of Central Europe. Some of Dr. Fitz's predecessors had already discovered the great possibilities of Vienna, where Skoda, Oppolzer and Rokitansky had at their disposal the vast material collected from all quarters of the Austrian empire. Virchow in Berlin was then coming forward as the apostle of the new cellular pathology, a leader in the school which was clearing up the confusion which existed in the knowledge of the morbid processes which are developed in the course of disease. The German School of medicine was coming to the front and American students were among the first to appreciate this shift in the centres of medical learning.

There were probably few students of Fitz's time who appreciated more fully than he the great possibilities of the new science which was then in its infancy, and we may feel sure that the two years spent by him in Europe enabled him to acquire in full measure a store of information as a training which was to bear fruit later in his brilliant career.

Dr. Fitz returned to this country in 1870 and began the practice of his profession. I well recall the first occasion on which I came in contact with him. I had preceded him one year in my return from Europe and it was at a meeting of the Boston Society for Medical Improvement, where I had made a communication on some scientific point in medicine, that we met. After the meeting adjourned he came forward and without more ado endeavored to show me how erroneous one of my statements had been. His manner was courteous and quite devoid of any spirit of controversy. Thus our acquaintance began in a way most characteristic of the man, and the keynote was struck then and there which left a strong impression upon

me of force and intellect which echoed through to the end of his career.

He came home with a reputation already made, his career as a student and his work abroad in the German schools having impressed itself upon the members of the medical faculty. He was at once appointed Instructor in Pathological Anatomy and in 1878 he was made Shattuck Professor of Pathological Anatomy. The Harvard Medical School was thus greatly strengthened in a department of medicine which was undergoing rapid changes and which needed the services of one trained in modern methods of investigation to keep it abreast of the times. The microscope and the attendant appointments and technique of the pathological laboratory were henceforth recognized as an essential part of the medical plant, and Dr. Fitz thus became established as an acknowledged pioneer in modern scientific medicine. Meanwhile, the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, an institution which at that time was closely associated with the Harvard Medical School, appointed him microscopist and curator of the pathological cabinet. A new building was erected and equipped with all the necessary appointments for the performance of post mortem examinations and for carrying on more efficiently the necessary laboratory work of the hospital. With these exceptional opportunities offered to him, Dr. Fitz then threw himself into a work sorely needed at the time and which under his able guidance was to bring fame, not only to himself, but also to the Hospital and to the School.

The combination of a trained expert, working in the field of pathological anatomy as it existed at that time, in many directions still unexplored, and the material both medical and surgical offered by a great hospital, was not long in producing tangible results. The disease known as typhlo-enteritis, at that time, often resulting in the formation of an abscess, sent many a hopeless victim to the autopsy table. No more forcible argument for the value of a post-mortem examination could be given than the results which followed in this case. Here was a comparatively common disease, familiar both to the clinician and the pathologist, the origin of which was still unknown. It remained for the eye of a man trained to observe and keen enough to interpret rightly, to see plainly the sequence of events

in these cases and to lay the blame upon the organ to which it really belonged. It was in 1886 that Dr. Fitz was thus able to present to the Association of American Physicians his classic monograph entitled "*Perforating inflammation of the Vermiform Appendix with special reference to diagnosis and treatment.*" Thus it came about that a new name — Appendicitis — was added to the medical dictionary. This paper was followed in 1889 by one on "Acute Pancreatitis," thus calling attention to another important source of abscess formation in the abdominal cavity.

The early part of Dr. Fitz's career was devoted to the science of medicine, but an opportunity now came for him to apply his store of knowledge to the practice of his profession. A vacancy occurring in the staff, he was appointed a visiting physician to the Massachusetts General Hospital and in 1892, on resigning the Chair of Pathology, he was made Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physics, a position which he held until 1908, when on his retirement he was made Professor Emeritus.

Dr. Fitz was married in 1879 to Elizabeth Loring Clarke, daughter of Dr. Edward H. Clarke, a physician whose great reputation Boston men of the present generation still remember. Of his three children, it is interesting to know that one is following in the footsteps of these two distinguished men.

Dr. Fitz, as was to be expected, was the recipient of many honors. It is not necessary on this occasion to enumerate them all. In 1905 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Harvard, and in 1907 the profession of America conferred upon him the highest honor it had to bestow, the Presidency of the Congress of American Physicians and Surgeons.

To have achieved such a record implies a devotion of heart and soul to his chosen profession. Dr. Fitz cared little for the attractions and the prizes which the social world had to offer. His was a temperament of almost puritanical cast, resembling in many traits the sterling qualities which we members of this society love to dwell upon in our researches of the early members of that community which gave to New England its place in history. Careful and patient in seeking out the cause and determining the nature of a disease, he reached a final decision to which he always firmly adhered. In the consultation room, he was not to be shaken from the position which he had originally taken in regard to a given case, in spite even of what to others seemed an almost con-

vincing argument. It may be a matter of surprise to many that although his name is to be forever associated with some of the most formidable problems with which the surgeon has to deal, he stoutly maintained a most conservative view as to the propriety of surgical interference, and so when it came to the final chapter, we find him serenely applying to his own case the rules which had so long guided him in the past.

At the last annual meeting of the British Medical Association the reader of the address in surgery referred to Dr. Fitz as "the greatest of physicians." He had gained a reputation that was international and he has left behind him a name which has added greatly to the prestige of the profession of this city and of his Alma Mater.

Mr. LANE exhibited a copy of John Eliot's Indian Grammar, Cambridge, 1666, recently given to Harvard College Library by Alfred Bowditch.

WOLSELEY AND THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Governor LONG then read, in part, the following paper communicated by Mr. C. F. ADAMS; giving Lord Wolseley's account of his visit to the Headquarters of General Lee at Winchester, Virginia, in October, 1862, and shortly after the battle of Antietam:

It so chanced that, on my recent visit to England, — referred to at our June meeting — I reached London Wednesday, March 26th, and the papers of that date announced the death the previous day, at Mentone, France, of Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley. In a carefully prepared memoir which then appeared in the London *Times*, I found the following:

In August, 1862, having obtained a short leave of absence, Wolseley went to see what he could of the Secession War. In Baltimore he met the Hon. Frank Lawley, one of the Correspondents of *The Times*, and they ran the blockade together by what was known as "the underground railway" — i. e., they were passed from one Secession country house to another until they reached the Potomac River. Here they were nearly caught, but succeeded in safely reaching Richmond. They visited the scene of the seven days' fight of the previous June in that neighbourhood, and then went to General Lee's headquarters near Winchester. Wolseley was greatly struck with the appearance of Lee — "a splendid specimen," he

says, "of an English gentleman, with one of the most rarely handsome faces I ever saw." He held that Lee had shown himself as consummate a master of the art of war as Napoleon himself. They then drove to Stonewall Jackson's headquarters. Jackson impressed Wolseley as a born leader of men. He wrote of him: — "A glorious fellow! With such a leader men could go anywhere and face any amount of difficulties. For myself, I believe that, inspired by the presence of such a man, I should be perfectly insensible to fatigue and reckon on success as a moral certainty." He contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1863, a description of his adventures, entitled "A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters."

Naturally, I felt curious to see this bit of contemporaneous evidence bearing on personages and events in our Civil War, set down by so competent a witness as Lord Wolseley. At the time of this experience Wolseley, then in his thirtieth year, was already distinguished as a veteran of four wars. He had attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was commonly regarded as one of the most promising officers in the British service. The war then going on in America, and well advanced in its second year, practically absorbed British public attention; for while the cotton famine paralyzed the textile industry — a necessary consequence of our blockade of Confederate ports — the issue between advancing Democracy and the traditional English governing system was felt to be indirectly involved in the struggle. The conservative classes, including those in official as well as military and naval circles, sympathized strongly with the South. It is indeed not unsafe to say that nine out of ten of those with whom Colonel Wolseley was associated or came in contact while at home were strong Confederate partisans. Lee was bringing to a close his first full campaign at the head of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, having in early July practically defeated McClellan in what was known as the seven days' fighting before Richmond; and afterwards having demolished Pope in the second Bull Run campaign. He had then carried the war into Maryland, and on the 17th of September fought the indecisive battle of Sharpsburg, as it is called in Confederate annals, better known as Antietam, subsequently retiring across the Potomac into Virginia. He there established himself, with his headquarters near Winchester, and during the succeeding

weeks confronted the Army of the Potomac under McClellan, while reorganizing his own command and preparing it for the operations later carried on in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg. Both Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson were at the height of their British vogue. The federal administration and generals were in London utterly discredited; and the ultimate success of the Confederacy was looked upon as assured.

In these views and conclusions, Colonel Wolseley shared. He did so characteristically, with supreme confidence in his own judgment and insight. Immediately on his return from America, he wrote out and published his experiences and conclusions, as stated in the *Times* memoir. In this paper Wolseley, as will be seen, committed himself in a way and to an extent which the final actual outcome falsified to a degree bordering on the ludicrous. Intensely partisan, he prognosticated no less freely than confidently and mistakenly. In every respect typical, both of the man and of the sentiment then generally prevalent in army and social circles in England, his paper was, as respects the Union side, marked throughout by that *de haut en bas* mid-Victorian attitude towards men and things American, then well-nigh universal, now altogether a thing of the past — an attitude and tone which, to use the vigorous metaphor once applied in another connection by the late Sir Leslie Stephen, could not be considered otherwise than offensive if assumed by the Almighty in contemplation of a black beetle. It is this total change-of-tone feature, indeed, which lends its chief historical value to Wolseley's paper; and in order the more to emphasize the revolution in this respect wrought by the development of events, I propose to introduce the paper of 1862 by the following brief extracts from other papers on the same topic — our Civil War — prepared also by Colonel Wolseley in 1889 — twenty-seven years later. The change of moral attitude perceptible in them towards those of the Union side has in it a pronounced humorous aspect. The later papers of Colonel Wolseley, seven in number, appeared in the issues of the *North American Review* between June and December, 1889. They were prepared as a species of running criticism on the series of *Century Magazine* papers entitled *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* published in 1884–1887, and subsequently is-

sued in volume form. Field-Marshal Lord Wolseley, as he then was, referred to these *North American* papers of his as containing the "honest opinions of one who has the most sincere admiration for the combatants on both sides and for the many great soldiers and statesmen who then (1862–1865) directed the destinies of the United States." As will presently be seen twenty-six years before, Colonel, not yet Field-Marshal and Viscount Wolseley, had referred to these "great soldiers and statesmen" as "Mr." Grant, and "such men as Sumner and Lincoln both doubly foresworn." He also then characterized the war going on in America as "the most inhuman struggle that ever disgraced a great nation;" while the national government was in his thought "merely a military despotism of a portion of the states, striving under the dictatorship of an insignificant lawyer to crush out the freedom of the rest." It was indeed a strange transmutation wrought by time and the course of events that worked in this eminent authority, leading him at the later day to refer to the same struggle and the same men in the following terms of strong eulogium: — "What I have to say is that if one were compelled to choose between condoling with American friends on the terrible misfortunes they underwent in that war or of congratulating them upon the ennobling effect which that war has had upon their people, one would unhesitatingly congratulate them upon the fact that such stirring and ennobling incidents as those which fill the volumes I have reviewed did occur in American history a quarter of a century ago. . . . I close the pages of this volume with a sincere feeling of thankfulness and pride that I belong to the race from which sprang the soldiers and sailors who fought upon both sides in this memorable struggle. Who can say which to admire the more, — the Southern pluck and daring or the stern, sober determination which eventually led the North to victory."

A republication at the present time of Colonel Wolseley's whole *Blackwood* paper of 1863, as original historical raw material, would therefore be justified, inasmuch as it appeared anonymously and, later, the writer could not have been ambitious of claiming responsibility for it. In its entirety it would, however, fill too much space in our *Proceedings*. I, therefore, confine myself to submitting lengthy extracts, representing possibly a quarter part of the whole; but the parts selected

are those of greatest value, throwing light as they do on the feelings of the times, and containing also pen-and-ink sketches of memorable men, now historic. It is merely necessary further to say that, reaching New York early in September, Colonel Wolseley left that city with his companion on the 11th of the month, a week before the battle of Antietam, intent on getting through the Union lines, and personally visiting the Confederate capital and the Army of Northern Virginia. They reached Richmond shortly after Antietam, and when the injured from the conflict were being forwarded for treatment. It does not appear that Colonel Wolseley during this American sojourn more than casually visited Washington, or got anything more than a passing glimpse of the Union Army or its commanders. If he did, the fact is not apparent in his paper.

"A Month's Visit to the Confederate Headquarters."

"By an English Officer."

[*Extracts.*]

Knowing how little reliance can be placed at any time upon the information published in American newspapers, I was very anxious, if possible, to get to the South, and judge for myself as to the condition of its people, the strength of its government, and the organisation of its armies. I had often, during the last year, tried to conjecture what Richmond was like, and felt quite curious to know how the public and private business of the Government was carried on. I confess I entertained a wholesome dread of being taken prisoner by the Yankees in my endeavour to get through their lines, having personally learnt from others who had had the misfortune to come under the displeasure of local military autocrats, how disagreeable they were in the habit of making a prison residence — in many instances, indeed, evincing a barbarity of conduct disgraceful to any nation claiming English descent. . . . Few of *us* will consent, for the mere sake of pleasure, to face the discomfort of travelling about without a change of clothes, a sponge, towel, toothbrush, and other items, which require a small portmanteau for their conveyance; but an American, on the contrary, will travel for weeks with only a few paper collars and a pocket-comb! This dreadful portmanteau of ours, then, is our greatest impediment in getting through the lines. It attracts such attention that, however faithfully an Englishman may copy an American in his black trousers, frock-coat, black satin waistcoat, and unbecoming beard, this fatal encumbrance at once proclaims him to be British, and is also re-

garded as an offensive claim to exclusiveness, and an affectation of superiority, always hurtful to the feelings of your free-born American. . . . I am not now going into the vexed question of slavery; no man abhors the institution more than I do; but I love justice, according to the established laws, more dearly than any wild theory regarding abolition: of which all that we know is that, as carried out in our West India possessions, it has been a failure in every respect. I need scarcely add that, by all to whom I spoke in those districts,[1] the Northern rule was detested. Every man now feels that the bayonet of the military despot is at his breast, that he is held in subjection against his will by force; and further, as it would seem, that the Lincoln Ministry are desirous of effacing still more completely any superstitious allegiance which he might be expected to owe the Stars and Stripes. The safe retention of personal property is made to depend upon the will and pleasure of some petty provost-marshal of the neighbourhood — a functionary who has also the power of consigning the owners, and perhaps their families, to the miseries of Fort Warren, where even the advice and aid of a lawyer will be denied them. I subsequently passed through districts in Virginia almost reduced by Yankee depredations to their primeval state of waste. But even there I did not hear such expressions of deep hatred, and I may say intense longing for revenge, as in some of the slave-owning counties on the left of the Potomac. . . .

If in the final settlement of this war the border States are retained in the Union, a very large number of these men will sell off their plantations and move south. The present state of affairs cannot exist much longer. Human beings may and do often submit quietly to coercion for years; but when such coercion descends from great to little matters, from depriving men of a voice in public affairs to all the little minor vexations which narrow-minded, short-sighted despots have resorted to from the era of curfew-bells down to the strictly-maintained passport system of the present day, the iron enters into the soul with such an irritating power that the recklessness of despair will often cause the meekest to turn round and strike his oppressor, even though perfectly aware that the blow must be followed by certain death. Every species of minor annoyance has been resorted to by the Federal authorities, with the avowed determination of coercing men into the Union. Gentlemen cannot now buy boots, clothes, or supplies for their servants in Baltimore or Washington without taking the oath of allegiance; and when driving in their carriages from those cities, every parcel they may have with them is carefully searched. Whilst we were in the former place, no goods could be shipped from thence unless the buyer,

[1] *I. e.*, southeastern Maryland.

seller, and captain of the ship took the oaths of allegiance, and swore that the goods were intended for loyal people. The slaves will not live upon fresh meat — nothing has a greater tendency to drive them to mutiny than cutting off their supplies of salt provisions; and the present Ministry, aware of this fact, hope by so doing to cause all the servants of men favourable to the South to desert if not to rise against their masters. I know several instances in which violent Secessionists have, to prevent such a catastrophe, sworn the necessary oaths; which, however, from being taken, so to speak, *nolens volens*, they do not consider binding; and those of more rigid principles, who will not thus forswear themselves, suffer heavily in consequence. . . .

There, as in all other places that I visited in the South, hatred of Northern rule seemed to glow far more intensely in the breasts of the ladies than in those of the men. A lady told me that in Norfolk, when passing a Federal officer, every woman gathered up her skirts close to her side, lest they should be contaminated by even grazing a Yankee; and that all females, rich and poor, turned away their heads when a Northern soldier approached. . . .

General Randolph,[1] the Secretary for War, was most obliging in furnishing us with passes to go wherever we liked, and giving us letters of introduction to the various military authorities. In his room it was surprising to see the numbers of Yankee regimental colours that were heaped in corners and piled up in bundles. Regarding, as we are always taught to do, the standard of our corps with something little short of religious veneration, and being educated to consider its loss as the greatest slur which could be cast upon the honour of those to whose charge it is committed, the absence of all true military spirit, which must have existed in an army who had lost in action the pile of national flags I now saw around me, at first inclined me to feel pity for a people so destitute of proper feeling. But my next impulse was to smile at the utter folly they exhibited in rushing into a great war of conquest, with the avowed

[1] Born at Monticello, Va., March 10, 1818, George Wythe Randolph died at Edgehill, Albemarle County, April 10, 1878. A son of Gov. Thomas Mann Randolph of Virginia, he was a grandson of Thomas Jefferson, and thus an uncle of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, a member of this Society. In his youth he attended school at Cambridge, Mass. Subsequently he received from President Andrew Jackson a commission as midshipman in the United States Navy. Resigning from the Navy in 1837, he was graduated from the University of Virginia at Charlottesville in 1839. He began the practice of law in Richmond, but early interested himself in military matters; and when the War of Secession began, he entered the service of the Confederacy and was made a brigadier-general. Subsequently he served as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Davis. After the close of the war he resided chiefly in Europe.

object of bringing into subjection those every way superior to themselves, in all qualities essential to good generalship and the formation of a soldierlike character. . . .

Up to the year 1861, the history of the United States was only that of the rebellion of our North American colonies. This fact will strike the travelling Englishman before he has been a week in America; for wherever he wanders, his fellow-passengers in railway carriages or stages will invariably begin talking to him about Smiths, Browns, and Tomkinses in the same strain that we are accustomed to hear allusions made to the Pitts and to Marlborough or Wellington, and localities will be pointed out to him as being the spots where "Jones" was raised, or where "General Thomson" won some glorious battle fighting against the Britishers, etc. The bewildered Englishman, never having heard before of any such men or events, tries to look very wise, and says, "indeed!" but the journey over, he vainly searches through a biographical dictionary for the notabilities of whom he has heard such honourable mention, and no record of the "great battle" is to be found anywhere. Upon looking diligently over some old "annals of the war," however, he will eventually discover the details of the "glorious victory," in which the numbers engaged on both sides would not have made up a strong company. If this war has no other result, therefore, it will at least afford American historians something to write about, and save them from the puerility of detailing skirmishes in the backwoods or on the highlands of Mexico, as if they were so many battles of Waterloo or Solferino. . . .

It was amusing to see "U. S." marked upon every waggon and upon almost all ambulance-carts which we passed. The North have not only clothed and equipped the millions of men whom they boast of having had at various times enrolled, but they have also similarly supplied the Southern armies. Into whatever camp you go, you are sure to see tents, carts, horses, and guns all marked with the "U. S." Officers have declared to me, that they have seen whole regiments go into action with smooth-bore muskets and without greatcoats, and known them in the evening to be well provided with everything — having changed their old muskets for rifles! The Northern troops have been so liberally supplied with all, and, indeed, I may say, *more* than a soldier wants in the field, that they do not value their knapsacks or blankets, and in action invariably throw them away before they "skedaddle"; knowing that if they succeed by their swiftness in living to "fight another day," their Government will provide them with a new kit, rifle, and all. About two hundred Northern prisoners passed us during our journey, and it was curious to observe the difference between their costume and that of their escort. . . .

The convoy then proceeded on to General Lee's headquarters, which were close to the Martinsburg road, and about six miles from Winchester; and having presented our letters to the Adjutant-General, we were in turn presented to the Commander-in-Chief. He is a strongly built man, about five feet eleven in height and apparently not more than fifty years of age. His hair and beard are nearly white; but his dark brown eyes still shine with all the brightness of youth, and beam with a most pleasing expression. Indeed, his whole face is kindly and benevolent in the highest degree. In manner, though sufficiently conversible, he is slightly reserved; but he is a person that, wherever seen, whether in a castle or a hovel, alone or in a crowd, must at once attract attention as being a splendid specimen of an English gentleman, with one of the most rarely handsome faces I ever saw.[1] He had had a bad fall during the Maryland expedition, from which he was not yet recovered, and which still crippled his right hand considerably. We sat with him for a long time in his tent, conversing upon a variety of topics, the state of public affairs being of course the leading one. He talked most freely about the battle of Antietam, and assured us that at no time during that day's fight had he more than thirty-five thousand men engaged. You have only to be in his society for a very brief period to be convinced that whatever he says may be implicitly relied upon, and that he is quite incapable of departing from the truth under any circumstances. From what I subsequently learned from others, I believe that the Confederates never numbered more than about sixty-five or seventy thousand men in Maryland, and that, owing to the hurried marches Lee and Jackson had made before the battle, nearly one-half of their men were scattered over the country in their rear, unable to get up in time from sore feet occasioned by want of shoes or boots. . . .

[1] In a paper published in the issue of *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1863, Lieut.-Col. Fremantle, under date of June 30th, wrote as follows: — "This morning, before marching from Chambersburg, General Longstreet introduced me to the Commander-in-Chief. General Lee is, almost without exception, the handsomest man of his age I ever saw. He is fifty-six years old, tall, broad-shouldered, very well made, well set up — a thorough soldier in appearance; and his manners are most courteous and full of dignity. He is a perfect gentleman in every respect. I imagine no man has so few enemies, or is so universally esteemed. Throughout the South, all agree in pronouncing him to be as near perfection as a man can be. He has none of the small vices, such as smoking, drinking, chewing, or swearing, and his bitterest enemy never accused him of any of the greater ones. He generally wears a well-worn long grey jacket, a high black felt hat, and blue trousers tucked into his Wellington boots. I never saw him carry arms; and the only mark of his military rank are the three stars on his collar. He rides a handsome horse, which is extremely well groomed. He himself is very neat in his dress and person, and in the most arduous marches he always looks smart and clean."

The city of Washington was saved to the Union by the reappointment of General M'Clellan as Commander-in-Chief of the army. There is no other Federal general who could have fought the battle of Antietam. Hero-worship seems to be inherent in human nature generally, it is true, but for such armies as those in America an idol is indispensable. No man has yet shown himself capable of leading them to victory, so they have agreed to fall down before the image set up by the press — a Napoleon without glory, and a Fabius without success. M'Clellan, a man of retiring disposition and agreeable manners, with a talent for organisation, has succeeded in making himself so beloved by his armies, that no amount of failure or defeat has as yet shaken their confidence in him. After his return from Harrison's Landing he had been placed by the Lincoln clique in "command of the troops around Washington, not otherwise disposed of," which virtually gave him command of only one hundred and eighty men. In other words, he was put on the shelf, the vainglorious Pope being appointed to reign in his stead. But when the news of Lee having crossed the Potomac reached Mr. Lincoln, he and his advisers were, as might be expected, at their wits' end. A mutinous rabble thronged the streets of Alexandria, and strolled at pleasure along the heights opposite Washington. Officers and men cursed the Government which had handed them over to the reckless guidance of such men as Pope and Macdowell. The soldiers were calling for General M'Clellan to command them; and, incapable as they were of defending their frontier from hostile invasion, they were powerful enough to have crossed into Washington, and, overturning the vile faction which sits there in the name of a government, to have proclaimed M'Clellan dictator. Such a line of conduct was openly talked of, and many of the best informed men now believe that it would have actually been carried into execution, had not Mr. Lincoln called back the favourite to command the Union armies in defence of the empire's capital. The news of his reappointment was received by the army with enthusiasm, and as all the regiments filed through Washington, they insisted upon marching past M'Clellan's house, and cheering vociferously for their new commander as they did so. . . .

With him [Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson] we spent a most pleasant hour, and were agreeably surprised to find him very affable, having been led to expect that he was silent and almost morose. Dressed in his grey uniform, he looks the hero that he is; and his thin compressed lips and calm glance, which meets yours unflinchingly, give evidence of that firmness and decision of character for which he is so famous. He has a broad open forehead, from which the hair is well brushed back; a shapely nose, straight, and rather long; thin colourless cheeks, with only a very small allowance

of whisker; a cleanly-shaven upper lip and chin; and a pair of fine greyish-blue eyes, rather sunken, with overhanging brows, which intensify the keenness of his gaze, but without imparting any fierceness to it. Such are the general characteristics of his face; and I have only to add, that a smile seems always lurking about his mouth when he speaks; and that though his voice partakes slightly of that harshness which Europeans unjustly attribute to *all* Americans, there is much unmistakable cordiality in his manner: and to us he talked most affectionately of England, and of his brief but enjoyable sojourn there. The religious element seems strongly developed in him; and though his conversation is perfectly free from all puritanical cant, it is evident that he is a person who never loses sight of the fact that there is an omnipresent Deity ever presiding over the minutest occurrences of life, as well as over the most important. Altogether, as one of his soldiers said to me in talking of him, "he is a glorious fellow!" and, after I left him, I felt that I had at last solved the mystery of Stonewall Bridge,[1] and discovered why it was that it had accomplished such almost miraculous feats. With such a leader men would go anywhere, and face any amount of difficulties; and for myself, I believe that, inspired by the presence of such a man, I should be perfectly insensible to fatigue, and reckon upon success as a moral certainty. Whilst General Lee is regarded in the light of infallible Jove, a man to be reverenced, Jackson is loved and adored with all that child-like and trustful affection which the ancients are said to have lavished upon the particular deity presiding over their affairs. The feeling of the soldiers for General Lee resembles that which Wellington's troops entertained for him — namely, a fixed and unshakable faith in all he did, and a calm confidence of victory when serving under him. But Jackson, like Napoleon, is idolised with that intense fervour which, consisting of mingled personal attachment and devoted loyalty, causes them to meet death for his sake, and bless him when dying. . . .

Mr. Mason, the deputed representative of the Confederate States in England, possessed a good substantial residence, in what is, I suppose, called the suburbs [of Winchester], and upon it the Northerners poured out the vials of their wrath to such an extent that it is now merely a shell — the floors, windows, and doors having been torn away and destroyed.[2] The streets are paved, and used to be

[1] Probably intended for Brigade.

[2] This was in September, 1862. Subsequently, in the following June, 1863, Mr. Lawley revisited Winchester in company with Lieut.-Col. Fremantle, of the British army. An account of this trip and of the experiences of Col. Fremantle with the Confederate army during the campaign in Pennsylvania and at Gettysburg appeared in *Blackwood's* for September, 1863. In it Col. Fremantle wrote: — "June 23 (Tuesday). — Lawley and I went to inspect the site of Mr.

lit with gas. To the north-west of the place is a ridge of hills, upon which the Federals had erected several redoubts, connecting them by a line of trenches. One was a large work intended to mount about ten guns. They had never been finished, either from want of time, or from their uselessness having been discovered, as a line of hills which runs parallel to that upon which they had been laid out commanded them within easy cannon-shot. Indeed, so exposed is the position, that the fact of the works ever having been commenced in such a place, speaks very poorly for the engineering talent of the Northern armies, or at least for that portion of it which had the honour of being commanded by Mr. and Mrs. Banks. . . .

Will any one who understands what it is that makes and unmakes armies, for a moment believe that such men are to be beaten by mobs of Irish and German mercenaries, hired at $15 a month to fight in a cause they know little and care less about? . . .

I have seen many armies file past in all the pomp of bright clothing and well-polished accoutrements; but I never saw one composed of finer men, or that looked more like *work*, than that portion of General Lee's army which I was fortunate enough to see inspected. If I had at any time entertained misgivings as to the ability of the Southerners to defend their country and liberties against Northern invasion, they were at once and forever dispelled when I examined for myself the material of which the Confederate armies are composed. Any one who goes amongst those men in their bivouacs, and talks to them as I did, will soon learn why it is that their Generals laugh at the idea of Mr. Lincoln's mercenaries subjugating the South. Every man in that service, whether non-commissioned officer or private, will declare to you that it is his fixed determination to fight for his freedom and resist Yankee oppression as long as he has strength to march. A gulf deep and impassable now divides the Southerners from the old Union; and such is the hatred and loathing entertained by them for those who, forgetting the ties of brotherhood which once bound all the States together, have not hesitated to carry fire and sword into the land of their common forefathers, that many have told me, were it possible that the seceding States

Mason's (the Southern Commissioner in London) once pretty house — a melancholy scene. It had been charmingly situated near the outskirts of the town, and by all accounts must have been a delightful little place. When Lawley saw it seven months ago, it was then only a ruin; but since that time Northern vengeance (as directed by General Milroy) has satiated itself by destroying almost the very foundations of the house of this arch-traitor as they call him. Literally not one stone remains standing upon another; and the *débris* seems to have been carted away, for there is now a big hole where the principal part of the house stood. Troops have evidently encamped upon the ground, which was strewed with fragments of Yankee clothing, accoutrements, etc."

should ever be conquered, they would emigrate to England to avoid an oppression more tyrannical than that which in times past had driven forth their ancestors from Great Britain. I have heard many men of influence say that they now believe the great rebellion to have been a mistake, and that the acts complained of in the Declaration of Independence (most of which, by the way, were committed subsequent to the first shedding of blood) were trifles when compared with what had been inflicted upon them by the Northerners. It was pretty generally believed last year, that if Mr. Lincoln had picked a quarrel with us, such was the antipathy felt by all Americans for the "Britisher," that the South would have at least aided the North in prosecuting the war. Indeed, a number of American statesmen seemed at one time to think that the best chance open to them of re-establishing the Union was by engaging in such a war. But such a line of policy would now be scorned by the South; and my own impression is, that many generations must pass away ere it would be willing to fight side by side with the men of New England in any cause whatever. The first question always asked me by both men and women was, why England had not recognised their independence. They reminded me of our conduct recently with regard to Italy, and to Greece, Egypt, Belgium, etc., in years past. Had they not done sufficient to prove their determination to be an independent people, and had they not sufficiently shown already their ability to maintain themselves as a separate nation? Would England allow her manufacturing population to starve from want of cotton? Every Yankee with whom they had come in contact during the war had, they said, declared it to be their determination to chastise us as soon as the present difficulties were at an end; and the Government must be aware of this, because every newspaper in the North breathed a similar sentiment. Why was it then that our rulers could be so ill-judging as to allow our American cousins to postpone the attempt until they could turn their whole attention to us; and why not force on the war at once, and in alliance with the Confederates march an army into the state of New York, and teach the bragging people there that the British Lion was a dangerous animal to arouse? In the cause of humanity, would not England interfere to put an end to the fratricidal war which had every prospect of soon degenerating into one of extermination? Had we no feelings of sympathy for the descendants of our banished cavaliers? Was not blood thicker than water? and would we stand by with folded arms whilst the Northern rabble, descended from the offscourings of every European nation, robbed and murdered those of the same race as ourselves? These were the questions propounded by high and low, educated and uneducated. The best informed men always told me

that in refusing to recognise Southern independence at first, they considered England had acted justly and as became a great nation; but that her reasons for continuing to do so after M'Clellan's failure before Richmond, was a mystery to them.

Every person who reflects on the matter must be aware that it is the interest of all nations, but especially of England, to have more than one great republic upon the American continent, as the United States were fast becoming such a nuisance in the republic of nations, that if by any accident they should succeed in their war of subjugation, their insolence and arrogance would be more intolerable than ever. "Why then run the risk of incurring such a misfortune?" I confess that I was frequently sorely puzzled by questions such as these. Ladies have asked them with tears in their eyes, and many of the other sex in a tone that showed how irritated they were by our conduct. Our even-handed justice, exemplified in the neutrality we have adopted, and upon which we are rather inclined to pride ourselves, is never believed in. . . .

Of the cavalry I saw but little, as General Steuart had left for his raid into Pennsylvania the day I reached headquarters, and only returned a couple of days before I commenced my homeward journey. I did remark, however, that all the men rode well, in which particular they present a striking contrast to the Northern cavalry, who can scarcely sit their horses, even when trotting. Indeed, I have no doubt but that all who have seen the Northern troopers on duty in Washington, will agree with me in thinking them the greatest scarecrows under the name of cavalry that they ever saw. Apropos of them: a Southern lady told me that on one occasion, when jesting with a Northern officer about the inability of his troopers to contend with the Southern "chivalry," although the latter were not half so numerous, he said, "What can we do? we can never catch them; for whilst we are opening the gates they are all over the fences." Every white man in the South rides from childhood, and consequently is at home in the saddle; whereas to be on horseback is a most disagreeable position for a Yankee, and one in which he rarely trusts himself. In the North thousands keep horses, but only to drive them. "What is the use of having good roads if you don't drive on them," they say. To have a horse that can trot a mile in two minutes forty seconds is the pride of a New Englander; but a good fencer would be as useless to him as an elephant. The troopers in the Southern cavalry have their own horses, and upon the breaking out of the war they provided themselves with arms as well. Sabres have since been issued to them by Government, and they have mostly armed themselves with carbines or revolvers, taken from their discomfited brethren of the North. Their knowledge of drill is limited,

and altogether their constitution resembles much that of our irregular Indian cavalry. . . .

The much-admired M'Clellan is slowness and caution incarnate; vigour and promptness of action are undreamed of in his philosophy; and from the first he has not only evinced a want of confidence in his troops, but, from a desire of leaving nothing to chance, he has not succeeded in anything. At the opening of his peninsula campaign, when he had more than a hundred thousand men under him, he allowed himself to be so deceived by General Magruder, near Yorktown, that he actually opened trenches, erected batteries, and placed a number of ten-inch mortars in position to attack a weak unfinished line of open and continuous intrenchments, about five miles in extent, and defended only by 8,000 Confederates. How can any soldier call such a man a great general?

In talking of the several Federal generals, the soldiers of the South invariably give the palm to M'Clellan. They consider him inferior to their own leader, and destitute of enterprise, but all declare him to be the only man in the Northern army who is capable of organising it, and allow that for such work his mind is admirably adapted. I have spoken to many persons who knew him intimately, some of them having been class-fellows of his at West Point, and others associated with him in public life for years. All spoke of him with respect. He was a gentleman, they said, and for that reason superior to the host of newspaper editors and swindling lawyers who had been given general's commissions by Mr. Lincoln. But they were sorely puzzled by his despatches regarding his operations before and immediately subsequent to the battle of Antietam, in all of which facts were perverted, and the number of the enemy exaggerated to a degree that precluded the possibility of acquitting him on the plea of misconception. Indeed, those who had known him well refused to believe the authenticity of these despatches, and declared that they were always cooked up by Mr. Staunton and General Halleck in Washington.

There is no personal sacrifice that the people of the South are not prepared to make rather than again trust their independence, private fortunes, and liberty, to a paper constitution, guaranteed only by the oaths of such men as Sumner and Lincoln, both doubly forsworn. There are no terms upon which they would re-enter the Union, as the present Washington administration has shown them how inefficient an oath is to bind such men to abide by any agreement. All of them upon entering office swore to observe the articles of the constitution, and all have violated them in the most flagrant manner. Personal liberty, freedom of speech, and independent press, and the glorious principle contained in the Habeas Corpus Act, have not only been trampled under foot by these tyrants, but

the populace has looked on approvingly. The South will not give in, but its Government is prepared to treat. To have its independence acknowledged, and to allow the border States to express their own wishes freely as to the side they wish to adhere to, is all the South demands. The only manner in which this could be carried out, would be by the withdrawal of both armies from the border States, which would give their people an opportunity of freely expressing the sentiments of the majority. . . .

The Northerners conceive that with the loss of the capital of the once United States, they would lose so much prestige, that they are determined not to submit to it on any account. They therefore fully intend to continue this fratricidal struggle, during which not only millions of money have been already expended, but thousands of valuable lives lost. It seems to be the unanimous opinion of all in the South that nothing but foreign mediation in the form of a determined intervention by the great European Powers can ever end the war; and it is evident, although they may not like to confess it, that the eyes of every Southerner are still turned to England. The next meeting of Parliament, however, will show what the feelings of our people are with regard to the matter, and whether those who hold the reins of Government will consider that the time has come for putting an end to the most inhuman struggle that ever disgraced a great nation, such as the Republic of the United States once was, though now it is merely the military despotism of a portion of the States striving under the dictatorship of an insignificant lawyer to crush out the freedom of the rest.

Copies of the following letters were found laid in Mr. Savage's own copy of his *Genealogical Dictionary of New England*. One of the letters is in the Winthrop Mss. (xi. 153), and is there endorsed "Cos. Chute" by John Winthrop, Jr. The entry in the *Genealogical Dictionary* is unsatisfying, as it raises more questions than it answers:

Chute, James, Ipswich, son of Lionel, born in England; married (as once was thought) a daughter of Hon. Samuel Symonds, who names Sister Chute in his will. But the meaning of the testator may have been sister or sister-in-law of Martha Epes, or another of several wives that Symonds had; for such seems, also, the case of Peter Duncan called son of Symonds, because husband of Mary, who was daughter of Daniel Epes by that Martha, who after was wife of Symonds. By his wife, whatever was her name of baptism, or whoever was her father, he had James, and removed, 1681, to Rowley, and there died 1691.[1]

[1] Words underlined were added by Mr. Savage in manuscript.

Lionel Chute, son of Lionel Chewte of Brampton, lived in or near Dedham, co. Essex, and his son James was there baptized February 2, 1613–14. Lionel emigrated with his family to Massachusetts Bay and was settled in Ipswich in 1639, "the earliest schoolmaster there." He died in 1645, leaving a widow, Rose, daughter of Robert Baker, and a son James, believed to be his only child. A somewhat fanciful pedigree, printed in *N. E. Gen. Reg.*, XIII. 123, carries the genealogy back to 1268.

In 1651 the wife of James Chute, Elizabeth, mentions her "aunt Lake" and her "Cosen Harris." This gives the Winthrop connection and serves to correct Savage's statement. Margaret, daughter of Edmund Reade of Wickford, co. Essex, and Elizabeth Cooke, his wife, married John Lake, and accompanied him to New England. Of Mrs. Margaret Lake Savage writes that she was "at New London, 1646, and many years after at Ipswich [see *N. E. Gen. Reg.*, VI. 165], and much hard labor has been expended by Miss Caulkins to learn her derivation and marriage, but in vain. She died, says Felt, 1672, leaving two daughters, Hannah, wife of John Gallop; and Martha, wife of Thomas Harris." In manuscript he has added "she was the widow of John Lake, daughter of Edmund Read, as may be read in his will 20 Nov., 1623, in *Mass. Hist. Proceed.* VI. 255." Margaret was thus sister of Elizabeth Reade, the second wife of John Winthrop, Jr. Another sister, Martha, married (1) Daniel Epps, and (2) about 1637, Samuel Symonds, being his second wife, and died in 1662.

"Cosen Harris" was Thomas Harris, who was in Ipswich in 1636, and had married, November 15, 1647, Martha, daughter of Margaret Lake.

Martha Reade had by her first husband, Daniel Epps of Kent and London, one son, John, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. Elizabeth married James Chute, and is the writer of the second letter.

To John Winthrop, Jr.

Ipswich June 8th, 1651.

Deare Sir.

Haueing an optunytie we are bould to present you with a few lines. wee expected to haue seene you at Ipswich before this time. my wife is much desirous to see you and if you had Came hither she would haue gone to Peoquit with you to haue seene her Ants and

Cosens. if she Could. and if you Come ouer this summer she intends to goe along with you. She hath a desire to know whether you intend to Continew at Peoquit. (if you doe) If you please to reserue her a good lott neere your self if it may be she would gladly liue neere you. my Cosen Harris wold haue wrot to you about the same busines but my she Cosen[1] would not lett him. my father and mother[2] with theirs are in good health as ourselues. onely it hath pleased God to take from us our yongest sone about 6 months since. we desire to heare from you by ye first optunyty thus with our due respects to yourselfe and our loueing Aunts[3] with our loue to all our Cosens we take our leaue. yours to Command

James & Elisabeth Chewte.

Dear and honored sir haueing an opertunity I mak bold to present a few lines onto you: I am loth to be tedious onto you about my own selfe concerning my illness I sent to Mr. Payn[4] for him to lay somthing to break it he being not at home the messenger went to Mris Greene and she wisht me to lay noe more poultes to it but she layd a sear cloth and that did disolve it soe that now through gods goodness it is almost gone and I intend if it please god the next lords day to goe abroad and Mris greene wisht me to tak a vomit and not a purge for that was beter I would intreat you to send me word what I had best to doe in the thing I shall not trouble you noe farder about my selfe but concerning my litle sone that distemper that was and is still opon him which I told you of continue still his voyding of blood and his foundement coming down that had I a horse at command and you stayd but one week or fortnight longer I would goe along with you hom making bold and wintering with you with my litle Boy I am sorry to hear of your loss since I was with you but the lord is able to mak up your losse and mine in his own due time for god hau pleased to tak a way 2 of mine my second sone and my last child and I shald desire if the lord see good to spar me this through gods goodness we are all in helth thus with my service and due respects to you and my louing aunt with my aunt lakee and if I se you not and my lou to all my corssens so I rest

your lo: kinswoman in what I can

from Ipswich this
10th of Octo: 1653

Elizabeth Chute.

[1] Martha Lake, his wife. [2] Samuel Symonds and wife.
[3] Margaret Lake and Elizabeth Winthrop.
[4] Probably Robert Paine, of Ipswich.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the first Vice-President, Dr. GREEN, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported a list of donors to the Library since the last meeting; and the receipt of a valuable collection of more than two hundred and fifty volumes, on historical subjects, from Francis Apthorp Foster, of Edgartown, Mass.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift of a bas-relief of Andrew McFarland Davis, made in San Francisco about the year 1875, from Mr. Davis; and of a plaque in bronze designed by Dr. McKenzie bearing the inscription "To the master in surgery, medical numismatist, and lover of man and nature, Horatio R · Storer · · MD · LLD from his friend R · Tait McKenzie · MD · 1913," from Dr. Storer, of Newport, Rhode Island.

The Vice-President then said:

Among my first duties at this meeting is to announce the death of two Resident Members, Thomas Minns and Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, and one Corresponding Member, Reuben Gold Thwaites, of Madison, Wisconsin.

Mr. Thomas Minns, born in New York, December 5, 1833, and elected a Resident Member on January 14, 1904, died at Princeton, Massachusetts, on October 28, last. The Society is indebted to him for a share of ten thousand dollars in the Billings Fund to be used for publications, which was received from Mr. Minns and Joseph S. Kendall, as surviving executors of the will of Robert Charles Billings. Mr. Minns also gave to the Society one of the earliest deposit books issued by the Provident Institution for Savings in the Town of Boston to Miss Maria Antoinette Parker on February 1, 1821. The amount of this book was largely increased by two gifts of Mr.

Minns to make it one thousand dollars, at which sum it now stands, the income "to be used for the purchase of books for the Library."

At the December meeting, 1906, Mr. Minns read a paper on "The Detroit Bank, the first bank in the Territory of Michigan incorporated at Detroit on September 19, 1806."[1] He served the Society as one of its auditors from 1904 to 1912. Until the February meeting of last year, when his health began to fail, he had been a constant attendant at the meetings, missing only two, and since that time he has been unable to be present.

Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, born at Dover, New Hampshire, on June 3, 1830, elected a Resident Member on April 11, 1889, died at his home, on the 2d instant. His father, before him, the Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, had been a Resident Member for thirty-two years. Mr. Lothrop's class at Harvard College, 1849, has given six names to the membership of this Society. During his twenty-four years of membership, down to the March meeting, 1907, when he was last present before his long sickness, he had been a good attendant at the meetings. Mr. Lothrop served as an auditor of the Treasurer's Accounts in 1890, and on the Committee to Nominate Officers, for 1892, 1895, 1898, 1905, and 1907, was a member of the Council from 1896 to 1898, and from 1900 to 1903, and made the Report of the Council to the Society in April, 1898. He was greatly interested in the efforts of the Society to have a new building. He served on the Committee to sell the old building on Tremont Street, in 1895, and in 1897, on a sub-committee on the erection of a new building. His service on the Building Committee led to a vote of thanks by the Society to him and Abbott Lawrence Lowell, "who gave much time and thought and supervision to the work during the process of construction." He was a member of the Committee to make arrangements for the Annual Meeting of 1899, the first Annual Meeting to be held in the new building. At the Annual Meeting of 1897, the last to be held in the old building, he entertained the Society at lunch in the large room over the Dowse Library. He was a member of the House Committee from the time of the opening of the new building in 1899 to the year 1907, when he gave up

[1] 2 Proceedings, xx. 521.

active interest in matters outside of his home. His several contributions to the Society's proceedings were a tribute to the memory of John Lowell, a memoir of him, remarks on the death of Theodore Lyman and of Clement Hugh Hill, a memoir of Augustus Lowell, and tributes to the memory of William C. Endicott and Charles G. Loring.

Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, elected a Corresponding Member on October 9, 1902, died at Madison, Wisconsin, on October 22, last.

The Recording Secretary then read the following appreciation of Mr. Minns, prepared by the Rev. Dr. McKenzie:

My acquaintance with Mr. Minns began when we were boys, or young men, together in the employ of Lawrence, Stone & Co., Boston. They were the agents of the Middlesex Mills in Lowell, and the Bay State Mills in Lawrence, Mass., and they had also the general care of the affairs at the mills, under the Directors. The business was large and had much variety, and it offered a good position to a youth who wished to be prepared for a business career. The heads of the firm were men of high standing, and they were considerate of all who were in their service. I doubt if there was any place of its kind which was more pleasant. The head of the clerical force, Mr. Thomas F. Holden, was an elderly man and an admirable teacher, skilful and orderly, and always ready with instruction and admonition. Thomas Minns was a youth of fine appearance, of genial disposition, always ready and willing. His most marked trait was his alertness. He could make his way to State Street and back quicker than anyone else. His mind was equally alert. He was always wide-awake, and determined that no one should take an undue advantage of him. It was among his duties to buy the small things which were needed at the mills, and in this he was exact and shrewd. No one could take advantage of his youth. He had the making of a prosperous merchant and a large-minded man. This he has proved to be. I have seen little of him since we left Milk Street, as our paths have seldom crossed. But I have known of his influence, and the confidence with which large trusts were placed in his hands. He was well born and well trained, and he gave a generous mind to his work. He merited the high position to which he

attained. Of the details of his life others will speak. But I recall the bright boy, the pleasant companion, the enterprising clerk. I knew him when he had himself in the making and his life was a promise and prophecy. His character was early formed and steadily maintained. He came by nature and desert into membership in this Society, which he honored. I still see the boy in the man, and I am richer for his friendship.

Colonel CODMAN paid the following tribute to the memory of Mr. Lothrop:

My intimate friendship with Thornton Kirkland Lothrop for the period of sixty-five years makes me perhaps an unsuitable person to speak of him now. I recognize the fact that strong affection for a friend may sometimes be an obstacle to a fair and impartial judgment of his character. The ideal historian or biographer should have no prejudices, and, if possible, not too much sentiment.

We entered Harvard College as classmates, in 1845. We had not known each other as boys, but our friendship as classmates began at once, steadily increased, and has strengthened and riveted as the years have passed on.

No man of the Class of 1849 was quicker to learn, and to absorb what he learned, than Thornton Lothrop, — and he seemed able to acquire knowledge in all branches of study with no extraordinary effort.

He never seemed so overwhelmed by his studies as to be unable to see his friends, and to interest himself in many things outside of the college curriculum, and yet he graduated the third scholar of the Class of 1849, which numbered about eighty-five members at its graduation, — a larger number than any previous class, and which was not equalled for several subsequent years.

His father, the Reverend Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, — some of us must remember as the minister of the historic Brattle Street Church in Boston. He was of Puritan descent, his ancestors being citizens of Barnstable County. Dr. Lothrop was a genial man, as well as a faithful and earnest minister, — and those of us who remember him will all agree with me in that statement. His mother, too, — some of us may remember — as a woman of talent and great charm; a daughter of the

well-known Buckminster family, who furnished many divines to expound our New England theology. They did not always interpret it alike, but they were strong men, and honest controversialists.

I never heard that any of the ancestors of Thornton Lothrop were great and successful "men of business," but in two of the "learned professions" they have shown their power. They have been great ministers and teachers, and the record of our associate shows that it was in them to be good lawyers as well. Thornton Lothrop would, I believe, have been one of the leaders of our Massachusetts bar if he had continued in the practice of the law.

As time went on, however, circumstances made it unnecessary for him to remain at the bar merely as a means of support, and so it happened, that, after some experience in railroad management, — which was as disappointing to him as it has been and is now to many strong men, — he retired from active business, and the bar lost a member who, it was generally acknowledged would have stood among the highest in the legal profession if he had not retired from its practice.

For the rest of his life, as long as his health permitted, he was a student and reader of books in both classical and modern languages; and his general knowledge and cultivation made him a most welcome companion to all intelligent people. He was often abroad with his family, and he was a model traveller, who, as Homer says of Ulysses:

> Wandering from clime to clime observant strayed,
> Their manners noticed and their state surveyed.

A man with Lothrop's acquirements could never be otherwise than an interesting addition to any company he might be in. He was a man of remarkable memory, could recall anything he had read — and he had read much — but he was no bookworm. There were few subjects upon which he had not informed himself, but he was so adverse to anything like ostentation that only his intimate friends knew the extent of his knowledge.

His services to this Society have been very great. Fortunate indeed are the friends of its deceased members, whose biographies were written by Thornton Lothrop. Fortunate is the Society itself in having had the faithful and efficient service that he gave.

Dr. WALCOTT was designated to prepare the Memoir of Dr. Fitz; and Mr. RANTOUL that of Mr. Waters.

The Vice-President, in behalf of Charles Henry Hart, our Corresponding Member, communicated a paper on Gawen Brown's family.

The presentation to the Society last December [1] of the watch of Rev. Mather Byles, made by his son-in-law Gawen Brown, leads me to give some further data concerning Gawen Brown, who is sometimes misnamed "Gendon Brown." His first wife, Mary, died May 28, 1760, aged 31, and was buried in the Granary Burying Ground, Tremont Street, Boston. They had children baptised in the Old South in 1757 and 1758. But Elizabeth Adams was not his second wife as stated on p. 250. He was a widower but three weeks to the day when he was married to Elizabeth Byles, daughter of Mather Byles, by whom he had one child, born October 7, 1761, and named for his grandfather Mather Brown. This son went to London in 1780, received some instruction in painting from Benjamin West and became, if not a great, a well-known portrait painter, having among his sitters Thomas Jefferson, of whom in 1786 he painted a portrait for John Adams, which is now owned by Mr. Henry Adams of Washington, D. C., and was engraved for Bancroft's *History of the United States*. The artist's receipt for painting this portrait is pasted on the back of the canvas and the price paid him was six guineas. Contemporaneously he painted a portrait of John Adams for Jefferson, which, with a replica of Jefferson's own portrait and one of Tom Paine painted for Jefferson, have disappeared, although they were both in the exhibition of paintings at the Athenaeum, in Boston, which opened May 1, 1828, as appears by the supplement to the catalogue headed, "The following were collected by the late President Jefferson," in which they are numbered 311 and 316 respectively. Trumbull wrote from London to Jefferson in Paris, "Brown is busy about the pictures. Mr. Adams is like — yours I do not think as well of." [2] The latter has however great

[1] *Proceedings*, XLVI. 249.

[2] [In the Jefferson Mss. Library of Congress, are letters to and from Trumbull on those portraits. The portrait of Paine was ordered in October, 1787, Paine having reached London in August or September of that year. The

His Excellency Thos. Jefferson Dr. to

M. Brown.

To A Portrait of Mr. Adams ——— 10·0·0

paid by the Hands of Mr. Trumbull — 10·0·0

10·0·0

July. 2d. 1788. ———

N.B. —

5

historical importance as it is the earliest known delineation of Jefferson's face. A portrait of John Adams's daughter Abigail, who was the wife of Colonel William Stephens Smith, painted by Brown in 1787, is in the old Adams house at Quincy, Mass., and a self portrait of Brown, which he had sent to his aunts Mary and Catherine Byles, was sold at auction in Boston, April 4, 1908, and is now in the possession of Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay of Brookline, Mass. Brown exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, for fifty years; some of his portraits and historical compositions have been engraved, and his heads of John Howard and of Sir Francis Buller are in the National Portrait Gallery, London; but he was not very successful, and we have doleful accounts of his last days, although his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* styles him "Historical Painter to His Majesty and the late Duke of York." He died in London, May 25, 1831.

Washington Allston, in writing of Mather Brown to Dunlap (*History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, I. p. 228), says, "I have heard that he was the son of a celebrated clock-maker — the maker of the 'Old South' clock, in Boston, which is said to be an uncommon piece of mechanism." And he was. On July 23, 1768, Gawen Brown presented a petition to the Old South that having made a suitable clock for public use, a number of inhabitants desire to purchase the same by voluntary subscriptions, provided it may be put up in the steeple. It was nearly four years before action seems to have been taken on the proposition, as not until March 30, 1774, a committee was chosen at a Town Meeting to purchase the clock of Gawen Brown and have the same fixed in Old South, for which, on April 4, 1774, Brown was paid eighty pounds.

Copley painted a portrait of Elizabeth Byles Brown in 1763, which must have been shortly before her demise if Gawen Brown married Elizabeth Adams in 1764.

The data for this note have been gathered from various sources and it is the first time that an accurate account of Mather Brown, the painter, has been given.

portraits of Adams and Jefferson were ready to be delivered in March, 1788. The receipt now reproduced is in the Jefferson Mss. (Coolidge Collection) in this Society. Ed.]

Mr. CHANNING read the following paper on

WASHINGTON AND PARTIES, 1789–1797.

In April, 1789, Washington left Mount Vernon "with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than he had words to express." The solemnity of his first inaugural address is almost oppressive. In the next month, May, he wrote to James Bowdoin as to the diffidence he felt in his own abilities to execute properly "the untried task" to which "his country" had assigned him.[1] When I came across the first two of these statements as a student many years ago, I thought they were simply the ordinary expressions of distrust in one's own capacities which Washington or any other man might have been expected to feel and to express. On reading the last statement in one of the recent volumes of our Proceedings, I was for the first time struck with the reality of Washington's fears. After having stirred up the dust of countless papers of Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams, I have come to realize that Washington's fears were aroused fully as much by the seriousness of his task as by doubts as to his own administrative abilities. The farther I have gone into it, the more thorough this conviction has become. The condition of things was most critical in 1789. The country was bankrupt, although a start had been made toward the renewal of old-time prosperity. In January, 1789, Continental certificates were selling for twenty-five cents on the dollar. There was no money in the treasury and there were debts, large debts due to foreign creditors, to creditors at home, and in addition there was a mass of unliquidated indebtedness between the government of the Confederation and the States that committees and commissions had been trying for years to ascertain and compute. Ordinarily in case of conquest or revolution the successful party succeeds to some kind of governmental machinery and has behind it either the sanction of force or of popular approval. In this case, the ratification of the Constitution had resulted in placing upon the ruins of the moribund confederation an entirely new governmental machinery which had to be devised, constructed, and set in motion. Take the case of raising money for every day needs, for the payment of congress-

[1] *Washington to James Bowdoin*, May 9, 1789.

men who were already at New York. The old government had possessed nothing but a Board or Treasury and a few clerks, which was hardly more than an accounting department. There was no machinery for collecting taxes of any kind because the old government had collected no taxes; that had been a state affair. Each State had had its own customs service and its own set of duties and tariff regulations. The new Congress speedily passed a national tariff act; but when this was completed, the duties could not be laid for months, because it took time to organize a force of treasury officials and national collectors; and, until the federal judiciary should be organized, there would be no means of enforcing any financial law or regulation.

It is extremely difficult for us to realize the disjointedness and dislocation of finance and society in those days. Each State besides having its own customs services had its own monetary system. There were different standards and as many kinds of money as there were States. New Jersey money would not pass across the Delaware in Pennsylvania, or across the Hudson in New York — except at a ruinous discount. There were only three banks in the country and their notes had only a local credit. When John Collins of Philadelphia wished to make a remittance to Boston, he was obliged to buy exchange on London, or to collect all the stray bits of specie money, gold and silver dust and scraps and ingots, and send them by some ship master in whom he had confidence. His account books bear eloquent evidence of the straits to which he was put. At one time he paid for a consignment of goods by sending a keg of copper pennies. At another time he got together a miscellaneous assortment of moidores, johannes, and half-joes, and sent them with a bag of clippings and shavings and dust. Again, he managed to buy some ingots which had been made by melting sweatings and clippings. These with some hard silver dollars made up the tale. There was little American capital and what there was was not in a liquid form. British and Scottish merchants and bankers had a monopoly of the financing of American industry and commerce. It was not until American credit facilities could be provided that would be available throughout the whole country that this chaotic condition could be remedied.

The organization of any financial system was necessarily greatly hampered by the geographical extent of the country, by the peculiar shape of the settled region, and by the extremely crude and expensive methods of transportation. As an example of this, the adventures of congressmen on their way to Philadelphia in 1790 may be cited. One from South Carolina, Aedanus Burke by name, was shipwrecked at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay; and another of them, T. T. Tucker, had a dreadful passage of sixteen days of perpetual storms. The two Georgians, Jackson and Matthews, could not get up the Delaware; they landed at Cape May and travelled one hundred and sixty miles overland to Philadelphia. Of the New Englanders, Gerry and Partridge, were badly injured when the stage, in which they were travelling, was overset. Ten years later the conditions even in the more thickly settled parts were still far from ideal. In going from Providence to Boston, one had to break the journey, paying for lodging and breakfast besides six and one-quarter cents for each of the forty-nine miles between the two towns. In 1800, when the postal authorities had been striving for perfection for a decade, it took five or six days for the mail to go from New York to Richmond, and from half-past eight in the morning of one day to two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day to go from New York to Philadelphia, a distance of ninety-five miles. Thinking over these matters for a moment, one can easily see how extremely difficult it would be to establish anything like an effective financial system throughout the United States.

In every other revolution, the successful victor has had some organized force behind him, either an army or a political party. Washington had neither the one nor the other. He had no army of any kind, except a few soldiers on the frontier, and he had no mandate from the people as we use that word, because the Constitution itself had been adopted in a revolutionary manner, contrary to the express provisions of the existing federal constitution, and in defiance of the fundamental laws of some of the States whose ratifying conventions by their action had "breathed life into it." It was the work of a coterie of very able and patriotic men who had forced it upon the people by reason of their high standing and mental abilities. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, in "The Federalist," had done much

towards securing its adoption. Rutledge, Madison, Hamilton, Ellsworth, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris had practically written the instrument, forming as they had the two committees of the Federal Convention which had most to do in its actual compilation. Adding to these names that of John Marshall and half a dozen more in the ratifying conventions, and placing at the head of them all that of Washington, one has enumerated the active friends of the instrument. Jefferson acquiesced in this acceptance and so did John Adams. Many other leading men thought with them. If we should multiply these names by two, or even by four or five or ten, we should get to the limit of those who could be described as in any way friends of the Constitution. It had been adopted by a distinct minority for the protection of life, liberty and property against the onslaughts of popularism. It had been opposed by those who may well be described as political bosses in four of the greatest States: Samuel Adams and Hancock in Massachusetts; George Clinton in New York; Patrick Henry in Virginia; Willie Jones in North Carolina. In Pennsylvania, also, its ratification had been opposed by the leaders of democracy. Defeated by one expedient or another, these men were willing to see the experiment tried. Of those who had favored or acquiesced in its adoption not one believed in it as an ideally perfect system. Hamilton's opinion that it is a frail and worthless fabric is well known. Madison believed in it more than any one else; but he and Washington both agreed that it must be amended at once in order to still opposition. Jefferson thought it was preferable to anarchy, but believed it to be fatally defective in that it lacked a bill of rights and put no term to the re-eligibility of the chief magistrate, which he thought squinted at monarchy. At the moment all these men, and even some of those who had been most vigorous in opposing its ratification, were desirous of seeing the experiment given a fair trial. They cannot be said to have formed a party. And so we have the curious spectacle of an entirely new experiment in government, being put on its trial by a small minority of the voters, and a very small minority of the people as a whole, simply because it seemed to offer the only safe path of escape from an intolerable situation. Whether the new form of government would prove to be a solution of those difficulties rested as much on the traditions

that should gather about it in the next few years as upon the wording of the instrument itself.

In all the older works on the period of the administrations of Washington and of Adams the picture is drawn of two well-defined and organized parties contending for the mastery of the government and of the country. The Federalists, we are told, as a party continued on directly from the days of the ratifying conventions, and the anti-Federalists likewise represented those who had opposed it. Washington is generally said to have wished to unite men of all parties in support of the new government. It was for this reason that he invited the leaders of the opposing forces, Hamilton and Jefferson, to seats in his cabinet that he might in this way neutralize their activities. In truth, this is all wrong. There was no Federalist party — as we use the word "party" — in 1788 or 1789 or for years thereafter; and I have looked in vain for any suggestion that Jefferson regarded himself or was regarded by any one as the leader of the anti-Federalist party in 1789 or 1790, or that the position of Secretary of State was offered to him to keep him out of mischief, or that he had any desires whatever to accept that or any other office in the new government. His letters all point the fact that he crossed the Atlantic in 1789 to look after his private affairs and not at all in quest of an office; and that he would have preferred going back to France to remaining in the United States. It is, perhaps, a little curious to read in his letters to his confidential friends of approbation of the "Federalist" and of Adams' "Defence of the Constitutions," yet the words are there. Washington was anxious to gather about him the best men in the country and to solve with their aid the untried task to which he looked forward with so much concern. Franklin was past work, John Adams was chosen Vice-President, Madison represented his Virginia district in the new Congress. Of the other first-class men, Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry were alone left out of Washington's calculations. Jay, he appointed Chief Justice; Hamilton, Jefferson, and Randolph he placed about himself. George Clinton was still occupying the office of governor of New York. Washington would gladly have enlisted the services of Henry, and at a later time he tried to do so over and over again. At the moment, it is difficult to pick out a name in the first or second rank, always

excepting that of Samuel Adams, to whom some office was not attached either by reason of election or by appointment from Washington. It is in this way that the summoning of Hamilton, Jefferson, and Randolph to his intimate council is to be explained, and not by the fact that they were party leaders whose influence or opposition he was anxious to neutralize.

In a similar way the old books serve up the struggles in the first Congresses as party contests between Federalists and anti-Federalists. The one party is represented as standing behind Washington and Hamilton in the struggle over the incorporation of the first Bank of the United States, in the contest as to the assumption of the State debts, in the warfare as to favoring France or Great Britain, and in the inquiry upon the conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury. Until within a very short time, no one had ever thought it worth while to tabulate the votes of the members of Congress on these and the other principal measures of Washington's two administrations. Professor Orin G. Libby of the University of North Dakota has done this for us. While we must disagree with some of his deductions and cannot accept all of his classifications of votes as shown in these tables, we may confidently take them as sufficiently accurate to enable us to make certain rough deductions for ourselves. Take the case of the struggle over assumption and the national bank in 1790–91. It appears that there was no such definite alignment as has generally been stated. The incorporation of the bank was carried by a northern against a southern vote, Delaware marking the line beween the two. The assumption, however, was opposed by a considerable body of votes north of Mason and Dixon line, there being nine against it. On the other hand, there were ten votes in its favor south of that line. Or take the case of any half dozen men divided equally among Federalists and anti-Federalists, so-called, and analyzing their personal votes on the important measures of these eight years, one is horrified to see how regardless they were of anything like party discipline. The reason is that there were no parties. There were factions, or groups, or cliques, or whatever you like to call them, but there were no parties. It was as impossible for Hamilton to count on a majority for one of his measures, as it was for Jefferson to

rely on there being sufficient votes in opposition to defeat anything that he might regard with dislike. Moreover, absenteeism, or at all events, not voting, was rife in these early Congresses. Of course, one's obligation to the United States was much weaker then than now, but the fact that there was no party organization on either side fully accounts for this tendency of men to go home, or decline to vote on measures which they either did not like or could not understand. In Libby's tables each of these lapses is marked with an o which makes them very easy to see. It appears from this study, then, that in each of these early Congresses a small group of from eight to ten members supported the measures advocated by Hamilton and an equally small group constantly opposed them. In the second Congress, Hamilton's financial schemes and the opposition thereto by Jefferson and those who were now beginning to follow him called forth more constant group organization, there being thirty-two Hamiltonians and twenty-three Jeffersonians, but the balance of power was with fourteen members who voted first one way and then another or who refrained from voting. In the third Congress this growing solidarity of sentiment, or what seemed to be such, was evidently nipped in the bud. Notwithstanding the excitement over the misdeeds of the British, the sentimental riotings in favor of the French, and the contest over the extension of assumption, only seventeen members consistently supported what were regarded as the Hamiltonian wishes. A little group of eight represented all that was left of the Jeffersonian clique, while no less than seventy-six members voted as their wills dictated. This little analysis of the votes in the first three Congresses might be carried very much farther, but it has been carried far enough to show that there were no party obligations whatever, as we understand the word, in the first three-quarters of Washington's administration. He had no party behind him, because there were no parties. Old federalism and anti-federalism, nationalism and states-rightsism, had no place in these years. The first real party in our history since 1788 was the Jeffersonian Republican Party which had its rise in popular opposition to the policy of Hamilton and those who worked with him in the last years of the century. It fell to Washington's lot, therefore, to try to set in motion a new political government

without any organized party behind him; and, indeed, without any party behind him, organized or otherwise.

Finally, the Constitution of the United States, on which we nowadays have some doubts, but which fifty or seventy-five years ago was regarded as the palladium of our rights or the coping-stone or corner-stone of them of our political edifice as one's fancy led him, in 1789 was a purely experimental affair. It was nothing more than a working agreement, a *modus vivendi*, and it was extremely doubtful as to whether it would work or live. It had no place in the affections of the people, nor had the federal union of which it was the sign any fixed opinion in political regard. Separatism or localism was the *status quo*. As long as everything went well and the federal government aroused slight remark, there was no violent, outspoken opposition to it; but it would be possible for a student to find in the writings of public characters in every year from 1789 onward, at least to 1800 and probably as far as 1815, some suggestion of more or less vitality as to a splitting up of the union into two or more parts. The thought aroused no horror in those days, it was merely a matter of convenience or expediency. The union was not completed until the accession of North Carolina and Rhode Island, and the latter had been brought in only by threats of financial reprisals in case she longer persisted in holding aloof. It strikes one as rather singular to find Jefferson as the apostle of union, but his argument for its continuance was based upon expediency. Another constitutional convention in 1789 or 1790 might well have provided for the establishment of two or three confederacies, or a different system of government for the whole. It was for this reason that Jefferson, among others, objected to throwing the whole thing into the melting pot, and not because the Union had any large place in their political or sentimental regard.

In point of fact, the Constitution as it came from the Convention and as it was ratified by the States never worked. For one thing the Electoral College never played the part that was expected of it. The Constitution did not get fairly into operation before it was amended in many important particulars. As proof of this it is only necessary to mention the fact that Hamilton based the doctrine of implied powers, partly

at least, upon the Tenth Amendment — and what would the fate of our government have been without the doctrine of implied powers? One of the peculiar provisions that had jumped into the Constitution while in committee was that providing that a State might be sued by a private citizen; but no sooner was this particular provision put into operation than the protestations — that of Massachusetts among others — became so loud that the Eleventh Amendment was adopted conferring financial irresponsibility on the States. The Constitution had not got into operation before it was changed in the way that was provided by the organic law itself. It had not got into working order before it was silently modified by the establishment of an administrative council contrary to the intention of the framers, and in opposition to the wishes of very many public men, and without any constitutional authority whatever.

It is owing to Washington's desire for advice, which was always so marked in his career, that the institution of the cabinet must be traced. Upon the very first question of magnitude that came up, he asked the three heads of departments and the Attorney General for their opinions in writing. And he kept on doing this. The Constitution gives the President the sole responsibility for action, but it authorizes him to call upon the principal officers for their written opinions as to matters pertaining to their respective offices. Washington paid no attention to this clause, but asked for their opinions on all important matters. For example, he asked for Hamilton's on questions of neutrality, and of Jefferson, on that of the constitutionality of the national bank. Before long, he got into the habit of telling them to consult together in his absences at Mount Vernon, to prepare matter for his decision, and, finally, to decide certain things themselves. He even, after a time, had them meet with him and discuss and determine matters that did not call for written opinions. Coupled with this course of action, came the vote in Congress that the President had the power of removal without the consent and advice of the Senate. To George Mason in Virginia, this establishment of an executive council composed of officials directly responsible to the chief magistrate, and removable by him seemed only one degree removed from an atrocity. Yet it has continued to our own time without

positive constitutional warrant and only recently has been recognized by act of Congress.

And so one might go on surveying internal affairs and then looking out upon the frontiers to the Northwest posts and the Mississippi; and turning his eye across the Atlantic to the great movement that was beginning in France and that was to engulf all Christian nations, sooner or later. Well might he go back to Washington as he was leaving Mount Vernon and realize that even the strongest of all Americans, the most splendidly balanced character in our history, might with reason have felt oppressed at the magnitude and hazard of the untried task to which his countrymen had called him.

Letters of Joseph Lyman, 1861–1862.

Copies of the following letters of Joseph Lyman are courteously contributed by Mr. Frank Lyman of New York. In the Sumner Mss. was found a letter from John Bright to Mr. Lyman,[1] and it is known that an exchange of letters on the cotton situation passed between them; but of this correspondence only these fragments remain.

To Edouard Desor.[2]

[*Extract.*]

August 24, 1861.

The programme of the war that seemed to me most probable when I wrote you last February has gone on very much according to that scheme and is still going on. There have been no great battles, nor much loss of life, although our American newspapers magnify every small skirmish into a great battle.

Nothing has yet occurred that would be considered more than "an affair of posts" in European warfare, unless it be the fight at Bull's Run in Virginia, in which both sides being raw troops, ran away from each other, after some little hard fighting, in which the Southern men got the worst in killed and wounded, owing to the superiority of the Northern muskets which were rifled arms

[1] Printed in *Proceedings*, XLVI. 100.

[2] A Swiss scientist of reputation, born at Friedrichsdorf, Hesse Hombourg, February 11, 1811, and died in 1882. He followed Agassiz to America, but the two friends had some differences, among others on slavery, and Desor returned to Europe. In 1873 he became president of the Federal Grand Council of Switzerland.

of the best quality, while they for the most part, only had the old, smooth bore musket. I think the war will go on and find its middle and end in the same way. It will be blockade, not a war. That has evidently been Gen. Scott's idea from the beginning and therefore, he has not made great preparations of Artillery and Cavalry (which would cause a bloody war) but only of Infantry and more than all the greatest preparation has been in the Navy, the whole of which belongs to the North.

The Government is building a hundred frigates, corvettes and gun-boats all to be propelled by steam and has bought and hired as many more, out of the Merchant Service, which are now rapidly being put in commission at the rate of five or six new ones every week. By the time the cotton crop is ready for market it will be nearly impossible for the smallest shallop or even skiff to enter or leave any Southern inlet or harbor. The North is, as you say, aroused and in earnest. It believes that a peace in this country is of no use that does not settle the question of slavery forever. To do this, it is only necessary for Europe to go without one single cotton crop from this country.

Of course we shall suffer a great deal from this, and Europe also will suffer. But they must make up their minds to do so for the sake of the good that will arise. The action of England alone will settle the question.

In 1840, England got but 5,000 bales of cotton from India. Now she gets 120,000 bales every year, that is in twenty years she has increased the production of cotton for export in India, 24 to 1. Now the cotton grown in India is always of enormous quantity, as the whole population is clothed in it. But the obstacle of exporting, is the want of means of transportation. It is brought down from the region where grown at the foot of the Himalaya's, by droves of bullocks who die by the way, are drowned in the rivers, roll in the mud, and deliver their freight damaged and in bad order, after traversing to the seaports ten degrees of latitude. Of course the bullocks never return, but are sold for the trifle which can be obtained for them. Notwithstanding these difficulties of transport, I observe that the Chancellor of the Exchequer of England, announces that owing to the American troubles, England will certainly receive 300,000 bales of raw cotton from India, *more* than ever was sent from there before and at the same time asks for an appropriation of £5,000,000 stg., to extend the railways of India northward into the cotton growing region. Now these measures look directly to the extinguishment of slavery in this country and with it the settlement of all our difficulties.

When I lived at the South for three years, some twenty-one to

twenty-four years since, they nowhere pretended (not even in Alabama and Mississippi) that they could raise cotton at a less cost, on the plantation, than seven cents per pound. But in Northern India, they can produce it, so as to be able to sell it on the plantation at a profit of three cents per pound. And with a railroad to bring the crop to the coast, the quantity would many times exceed what can be raised in America, by the labors of four millions of negroes, even if all were at work in raising cotton.

As to the high price of raw cotton that can last only for a single year (probably not more than half a year) as the next crop must be coming on, and will come on, as the cotton planters can raise nothing else, not even crops of provisions, to any profit. You will easily see that the first year's expenses of our war must be very heavy in getting arms, ships, men, as we are doing. But even that is an alleviation, as it employs those at the North, whom the war has thrown out of work. But after the first year, we can afford the expenses of carrying it on for many years, and will do so if need be. We must have the waters of the Chesapeake Bay and its tributaries and the waters of the Mississippi from its mouth to the free states of the Northwest. Now, our troops in securing these are in an enemy's country and subjected to the disadvantages of that position. But these points being gained, and steadily we are going forward to that, the war will subside to a blockade. Slavery will be fenced in, in a harmless enclosure. There we shall allow it to fester and not until in sickness and distress, and heartbroken, it may beg for help, when indeed it will be too late for help or restoration. All that I pre-figured to you on February 7th as to the want of union or a programme in the Republican party has come to pass. With a raw President, a disunited Cabinet of Presidential candidates, with raw troops, raw officers, without any Cavalry or Artillery to mention, without wagons or pontoon trains, or siege trains, or any large or well-organized ordnance or hospital or Commisariat department, our civil contest has been a mere rebellion, not on a large scale, but covering much ground, not a fight, but a squabble, not a war, but an enormous riot which we have attempted to put down, not by soldiers (for we have not had time yet to make soldiers) but by policemen and peace officers. Notwithstanding all this, things have gone and are going on well for us at the North. Remember, it was only April 15th that the President called for three months volunteers. Four days afterwards the Massachusetts 6th regiment on the 19th of April, four of its men having been killed by the way at Baltimore.[1] At this moment,

[1] Some words omitted by the writer from this sentence.

125,000 men, well armed and equipped and enlisted for the war, surround Washington, and though I will not claim for them a higher character than that of raw troops, yet they are of the best for that denomination, and by next Spring, I have no doubt, but that they will be very efficient and steady. Their officers are men of good standing, and for the most part, worthy of their commissions. They, too, need months of drill and instruction and will patiently acquire them. For the army that we are now placing in the field we require 13,000 officers. The total number that have passed through the West Point Military School since 1802 is but 1,900, and of those, probably not more than 1,100 are now living. You will see the difficulty. But it is one that presses less hardly upon the North, where all the people feel an interest in the war, than upon the South, where only the slave-owners, 330,000 in number (men, women and children), have got up the war for their exclusive benefit. In fine, the prospect is as good and as encouraging as it ought to be; everything so far, even what seemed to be our reverses have tended directly and immediately to our success, and you need never doubt or fear for us for a moment, any more than for the Providence that watches over us and guides us.

To John Bright.

Jamaica Plain (near Boston), U. S. A., Feb. 11, 1862.

Dear Sir: I have to thank you for your reply of 13th inst. which came duly to hand 1st inst. and further for your kindness in offering to send me your Cotton Report of 1848. Your reference to it however aided me greatly, as I found it at once in the Public Library of the City of Boston and have read and noted nearly the half of it finding it exceedingly instructive. I do not know, however, whether reports of so many years since can be procured of booksellers, in which case I ought not to have any recourse to your kind offer to send me a copy. I send however by this packet to Messrs. Trübner and Co. of Paternoster Row to send me a copy, but if you should know that there would be any difficulty in procuring it from the Parliamentary Stationers, I would thank you very much to send to Messrs. Trübner a copy addressed to me Care of Messrs. Ticknor & Fields, booksellers, Boston, U. S. A., and then it would very soon reach me. In this connection I may make some observations to you not without interest. From the report as far as I have been able to read it I get some ideas of the different climates and soils where cotton is raised in India, and being somewhat familiar with those where it is grown in this country can make some comparisons. But I think it is very desirable in any future enquiries that may be

made by Parliament or by the Manchester Chambers, or any Cotton Supply Association, that the different circumstances of climate and moisture and records of the Barometer, Hygrometer and Thermometer and their ranges throughout the year should be very specially given as also analysis of soils. Our cotton planters know little or nothing of these things in their own country, but there are many scientific men here who do and can compare them. As to Seed, Culture, Climate, Picking and Quality, I would say some things that may not possibly be among your papers. The planters of Louisiana who are most intelligent men do not habitually use their own cotton seed; they are very careful as to that and as to its quality.

Every two or three years (I speak from my experience in 1839, when I lived nearly three years in Georgia and Louisiana and Mississippi) they send down to New Orleans for the seed which they call "Gulf seed," which I think comes from the Southernmost parts of Louisiana bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and perhaps partly from Texas. Such seed could as easily and as cheaply be sent to Bombay or Calcutta, as it could be sent 500 or 700 miles up the Mississippi River, as you must know our ships have so little outward freight to India. As to culture, it is very careful garden culture, still not very laborious, till the crop begins to come in. In September the bolls of the plant begin to open and then the severe labor of picking commences — severe for this reason, that a slave can plant and take care of many more cotton plants than he can pick the cotton from under the very careful method of picking the cotton which is exacted of him.

Also there is another reason why they plant more than they can pick, and that is that the picking ceases with the first severe frosts and they can never tell beforehand when they will come. Sometimes they come early in December or even in November, and sometimes not until February and an active slave can pick more from a great number of plants hastily than he can pick thoroughly and completely from a small number. The exhaustion of the soil is never reckoned as a circumstance of the least value in the culture of cotton in our Cotton Kingdom. As to the picking itself, *each boll of cotton on each plant is picked almost as soon as it opens.*

Therefore the cotton never falls on the ground and becomes dirty and soiled. If there were any great delay in picking after the boll which encloses the cotton opens, slight breezes or the drying and shrinking of the boll would eject the cotton which falling once on the ground the planter would consider worthless. Indeed I suppose that from fallen cotton and cotton which could be picked

after frosts from the fields some hundreds of thousands of bales could be sent to England in as good order as some of the poorest of the India cottons, but most of our Planters, indeed all the leading Planters, take great pride not only in the quantity but in the excellent quality of their crop. The bolls on the same plant, as I presume you know, begin to open in September and continue to open until frost stops the growth of the plant. Therefore the field cannot be harvested at once and each portion cleared off as it is reached, but the harvests continue many weeks and sometimes months and the whole of each field must be passed over many times. It occurs to me (but I know nothing of it) that this may be the reason why the Indian cotton is so dirty. They may try there to get in their harvest much as they secure their other harvests, by fixing a time for the collection when they think a whole field is ready to be picked, and so they may choose a date when some of the cotton is lying on the ground among dead leaves and dirt and when other bolls are not fairly opened. As to climate, I think it may be said that the cotton never suffers in this country from excessive moisture except perhaps when on the lower Mississippi inundations break through the dikes on the river bank (though the Louisiana climate is specially moist). On the other hand, our cotton plant sends down deep roots and will bear a considerable degree of drought — much greater drought than suffices to kill maize (which we in this country always call "Indian corn"). It seems to me to be rather a hardy plant, showing in its different qualities and growths a power of acclimation and that adaptation to circumstances — for instance your Committee's witnesses observed in the Indian cotton, grown where excessive dryness is to be feared — the very valuable quality of swelling when treated with water in the bleaching process, and so, as it were, producing a fulled cloth — thicker and firmer when handled. This is precisely analogous to what takes place in wheat. Wheat grown in the drier climates of Virginia, Tennessee, etc., contains less water than that of New York and Ohio and states farther north. The consequence is that a barrel of our Northern flour having more water in it, will imbibe so much the less when it comes to be made into bread. So it happens, that sixteen barrels of Southern or Virginia flour will make as much bread as seventeen barrels of Northern flour. But the difference of six per cent does not represent the difference of actual value. Because the dryer flour can bear without harm long voyages and will keep for many years. If India cotton were gathered in a cleanly manner, it seems to me that this quality of swelling in the bleachery would give it a very highly appreciated value. Indeed within a few days I have been told by an intelligent cotton manufacturer here who is now working

on Indian cotton (doubtless your brokers know that the New England mills have been sending of late both to England and to India for cotton) that our people are finding out that they have in past years made a great mistake in not using India cotton to mix with American, because they find the product to be so much improved. I would not draw the inference with any confidence, but it seems to me possible that the culture of cotton so much more ancient in India than in this country has advanced so much the less because its immediate production has been in the hands of the natives, and few Englishmen of the agricultural class and almost none of the English gentlemen (except for temporary residence in military and political employment) have ever emigrated there with a view of there establishing homes for themselves and their children. I need not say to you that the class of cotton planters in this country are men of altogether different views and prospects and employ abilities of a very high order in the production of this plant. And to this circumstance is due the fact — that seems wonderful — that now for about fifty years the profits on the production of cotton (an agricultural production) have not only exceeded those of any other agricultural production, but those of any other widely extended business on the face of the earth. This is due to the fact perhaps that both in England and in this country we can increase the machinery faster than the crop can be increased and this must always be the case, increase the crops ever so fast. And so the only check or limit must come from the limit of possibility of consumption by the human family.

To reply to some points mentioned in your letter. The blockade of the Southern coast is not so difficult as it may appear to you. There are few harbors — for the most part a dangerous, open coast of Sea islands affording no anchorage and few inlets — not requiring a very large fleet of vessels to blockade 2500 miles of Southern sea coast. If the blockade is not effectual at this present time, it would not be possible that coffee of which they drink much should be 4*s*. stg. per pound and tea of which they drink very little should be 3*s*. stg. per pound, both at New Orleans and Richmond, and other common articles in proportion. Any ship that could get in at any of the Southern ports would sell any proper cargo at prices such that the master could burn his ship the next day and carry back slave trade profits to his owners. Do England and France think that such a state of things indicates an ineffectual blockade? No, the truth of the complaint of their leading statesmen is that our blockade is only too effectual and if they go to war with us on that ground, they may only establish a principle to which I will not object,— nor I think will you. That you may

however see how little importance the seizing of Mobile and New Orleans may be to open cotton markets, I send you by this mail two printed maps — one showing by inspection the locality of cotton culture and the other the proprietorship of slaves. From these you will see that there is no great production of cotton near the Louisiana coast. The Southern government have forbidden the planters to send it to the seaports; indeed they have not been able to get the bagging and bale rope wherewith to pack up their crops, nor would they dare to send any quantity to a port that might be taken by our troops. Therefore, though we shall probably soon take Savannah and Charleston and Mobile and New Orleans, you may not very soon get any cotton thereby, for our army never will be large enough to occupy the vast country without roads and bridges and supplies, with no villages nor cities nor large towns even (except those I have named and very few others), which is sparsely inhabited by the cotton planting interest. This is not an affair like the Italian campaign where there were 11,000,000 of people in a region one-half the size of England. We are fighting against 9,000,000 people in a region forty times as large as England. The war I think (except for foreign intervention) we can finish pretty shortly. But after the war come congresses, conferences and negotiations. I confess I am much more afraid of these than of the war. I fear that our North will not more distinguish itself in diplomacy than England has done, and that the South, who have by nature, by inheritance and by climate, the arts of Italy in the worst days of Italian diplomacy, will then give us more trouble than now. You will see by the public news that there is no objection at Washington to Emancipation upon the basis of compensation. This will probably be soon done in the case of the little state of Delaware, and soon after it will be applied to Missouri and Kentucky. Also I shall endeavor to send you by this packet a pamphlet by Mr. Atkinson,[1] a friend of mine, and which is certainly worth reading by one desirous to know the state of our cotton affairs. I understand that we have enough cotton now on hand in the manufacturing states to last until about the first of July next.

But I detain you only too long. Indeed, I suppose that you have hardly time to read this but that it may be of some use to get some views of American opinion that are not to be found in the newspapers.

If you would have the goodness to write to Messrs. Trübner of Paternoster Row a list of any Parliamentary reports or of any pub-

[1] *Cheap Cotton by Free Labor*, by Edward Atkinson, 1861.

lications of the Manchester Association, or any other Association on Cotton supply — they will procure them for me and send them to me. I remain, your obliged friend and servant,

JOSEPH LYMAN.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, SANBORN, BOWDITCH, HART, and BOLTON.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the acquisition of a store card of Messrs. F. W. Bird and Son, of East Walpole, Mass.; and the gift of a bronze medal struck to commemorate the 150th anniversary celebration of Hollis Hall, Cambridge, 1913, from Mr. Horace L. Wheeler, and of an advertisement of a slave auction at New Orleans on December 20, 1859, from Mr. Alpheus H. Hardy.

The Editor announced the gift of manuscripts on Bridgewater, from Dr. Loring W. Puffer, of Brockton; and the deposit of the Isaac Smith manuscripts by Mr. Thomas S. Carter, of New York. He also exhibited a map of Paris, 1780, used by John Adams when residing in that city.

The Editor submitted a memoir of Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, prepared by Mr. RANTOUL.

Charles Grenfill Washburn, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and John Holland Rose, of Cambridge, England, a Corresponding Member.

The Editor called attention to a collection of English political posters, obtained in London, and issued by the two parties now contending for leadership. Some fifty of the posters were shown, illustrating the political questions agitating Great Britain — home rule, Ulster, fair and free trade, land purchase, old age insurance, etc. Mr. FORD gave the collection to the Society.

The PRESIDENT gave an informal account of his recent experience in England while in search of historical material. He had two objects in view: first to examine papers and docu-

ments relating to international affairs during the War of Secession; and next, to discover, if possible, traces of the hitherto lost letters of Governor John Winthrop, written to his wife and others during the earlier period of the settlement at Boston.

Mr. Adams referred to the great courtesy shown him by officials in the public offices, and by the possessors of private papers germane to his purpose. Access was not only freely granted at his request, but copies of the desired letters and documents were given under the reasonable restrictions observed in such cases; but from the enforcement of which he had suffered no serious impairment of material. The generous treatment thus accorded enabled him to obtain documents of historical importance, without which the character of English diplomacy at that time (1860–1865) can not be understood. Applying to the relations between England and France as well as to those between England and the United States, they give not only the official aspects, but the even more valuable private opinions of the men then controlling the political conduct of the two powers. Passing from collection to collection in private hands the story was unfolded in unexpected completeness, and in light of what Mr. Adams' investigations revealed, it would appear that the commonly entertained impressions as to certain phases of international relations, and the proceedings and utterances of English public men during the progress of the War of Secession must be to some extent revised. This is due to the practice of a minister or an ambassador conducting a private and most confidential correspondence with his chief, the head of the Foreign office, described by Mr. Ford in June last.

The richness of private collections led Mr. Adams to believe that in them material will be found relating to the Winthrop migration. The letter of Governor John Winthrop, seen by Mr. Lowell some years ago, had disappeared; but there is no reason to believe that it was lost or destroyed. That accidental discovery offers grounds for expecting similar discoveries when search is thoroughly and systematically made in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk and Cambridge — counties from which largely came the migration to New England in the seventeenth century.

Mr. ADAMS then read the following letter from Hon. JAMES BRYCE, an Honorary Member of the Society, received while the meeting was in session:

December 1st, 1913.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS, — While I feel highly honoured by the tone of the references made in the Introduction to your lectures to the views expressed by me in our talks at Washington, I ought to tell you that I was very far from intending to convey what, as appears from your Introduction you took me to mean; and as I gather that the substance of your Introduction will be given to the Massachusetts Historical Society in your next Presidential Address, I write at once as an Hon. Member of that Society to correct the misapprehension.

1st. It was only the details of the War of Secession that seemed to me to be so far imperfectly known to the younger generation of Englishmen that you could not safely assume them as known. The main features of the War, and in particular the characters and achievements of Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman on the one side, and of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson on the other, are familiar to us and still excite the liveliest interest.

2nd. I hold, as fully as you do, that the Civil War was an event of the first magnitude, and for much the same reasons as those which you have stated with such lucidity and force. What I meant to convey in our talk was that the Slavery Struggle culminating in the War seems to be a chapter now closed in American history: i. e. that it lies outside of, and has not materially affected, the main current of your historical development as a democratic state. Almost the only permanent result still felt in American politics would appear to be that "solidity of the South" which is largely due, not to the war itself, but rather to the policy of reconstruction pursued after the War, together with those aspects of the relation of the white and coloured races which are traceable to the events of the period from 1865 to 1876. In this view you may possibly yourself concur.

With what you say as to the results of the War upon European opinion, and as to the distinctness with which it marks the end of human slavery, I entirely agree. Slavery was, no doubt, already doomed and would have somehow or other expired before the year in which we are now living. But its extinction in North America is none the less an era in the social and economic annals of mankind.

May I add that you seem to me to overstate the amount of sympathy felt in England for the Southern cause? The fashionable world was doubtless on that side, but on the other side there stood

not only almost the whole of the working classes but also, among the most educated classes, very many able and influential men, particularly in the Universities. I remember that at the Oxford Union — the great Debating Society of the University — where there was usually a large Tory majority, we carried in 1862 or 1863, after a long discussion, a Resolution of sympathy with the Northern cause. My recollection is that while many public meetings were held all over Great Britain by those who favoured the cause which promised the extinction of Slavery, no open (i. e. non-ticket) meeting ever expressed itself on behalf of the South, much as its splendid courage was admired.

I am, very truly yours,

JAMES BRYCE.

The following letter was sent to members of the Suffolk Archæological Society and others interested:

11 KING STREET, ST. JAMES'S, LONDON, S. W., 20 Sept., 1913.

MY DEAR SIR, — As is well known, the so called "Journal" of Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, is a record than which none connected with American history has greater historical value. Emigrating in 1630 from Groton, in Suffolk, and taking with him to New England the charter of the Massachusetts-bay Company, Winthrop's contemporaneous Journal constitutes without exaggeration the Book of Exodus of the great British-American migration, than which few events have been more momentous. It covers a period of eighteen years, contemporaneous with the latter part of the reign of Charles I, and the Protectorate.

The earlier portion of this invaluable record is, however, missing. This loss is due to the fact that when Winthrop went to New England he left his wife, Margaret (Tyndal) Winthrop, at Groton. She followed him to America a year later; but, during that most interesting period, the daily detailed record of events kept by her husband, was by him transmitted to her. Governor Winthrop was also at the same time in correspondence with other east of England personages, interested in the Massachusetts-bay enterprise. When Margaret Winthrop left Groton in 1631 to join her husband in Boston, she apparently left behind her the letters of her husband. Certain of Governor Winthrop's letters of this period were in the Carew family, and were then seen by the late James Russell Lowell within forty years. While there is no reason to suppose that Winthrop's letter, whether to his wife or to others, have been destroyed, all traces of them have disappeared.

Two separate editions at least of Winthrop's Journal have been

published, the last (Savage's) about sixty years ago, and copies of it now command £5. The Massachusetts Historical Society proposes to prepare and issue a new edition, which shall be at once monumental and definitive. Fully and carefully annotated, and containing original matter not included in previous editions, it will be enriched by maps, portraits and other authentic material illustrative of the early migration to New England.

In preparing this edition the Society feels that no effort should be spared to recover anything which may still remain of Winthrop's correspondence with his wife and English associates. The historical interest of this missing material can hardly be over-estimated.

As President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I am now in England, accompanied by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, the editor of the Society, to initiate this search; and we earnestly solicit the aid and co-operation of any one and every one interested in historical topics. We are given to understand that you are so interested, and possibly have material in your possession, or know where it could be found. In such case, we most earnestly solicit your co-operation.

It is not our purpose, or necessary to the end in view, to obtain possession of the material; all that is desired is to ascertain its place of deposit, and to obtain copies for purpose of inclusion in the forth-coming edition of the Journal. It is needless further to dwell upon the subject, or to point out that the discovery of Governor Winthrop's letters to his wife, written in 1630 and 1631, would round out and complete the Book of Exodus of the great original English migration to Massachusetts, one of the most important of recorded events.

Again respectfully and earnestly soliciting your aid in this search, I am, etc.,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Mr. SPRING read the following account of the visit of Colonel Samuel Walker to John Brown in 1858:

In looking over my Kansas papers recently I found notes of a conversation with the late Colonel Samuel Walker of Lawrence about his visit to Old John Brown in Linn County, and at a place which may be called for want of a better name Fort Little Sugar Creek. The Colonel was a prominent free-state man in the Kansas troubles of 1855–59, served in the federal army during the War of the Rebellion, first with the rank of Captain, then of Major, then of Colonel, and in the Indian outbreak of 1866 was promoted to the rank of Brevet

Brigadier General "for gallant and meritorious service in the field." Moreover, what so far as our present purposes are concerned is of greater importance, he stands well with biographers of John Brown, such as Mr. Sanborn, Major Hinton and Mr. Villard. All this is simply to introduce the man who told me the story which I shall repeat without critical note or comment. The story as befits a mere communication is brief, and so far as I am aware has never been in print. I thought that possibly this little border vignette in which Old John Brown appears might be worth a moment's attention.

Some time in November, 1858, — Colonel Walker could not remember the exact date, though he did recall the fact that the day was chilly and depressing, — two horsemen rode up Massachusetts Street in Lawrence and stopped at the Eldredge House for dinner. These horsemen were strangers, and attracted attention on account of their clothes if for no other reason. One of them wore the uniform of a federal lieutenant and the other, a territorial deputy, affected a more distinctively border costume, having a Sharp's rifle slung across his shoulders, and revolvers and knives protruding not only from his belt but also from the legs of his Wellington boots.

After dinner the pair called upon Walker, then sheriff of Douglas County and deputy United States Marshal, who had been sent during the preceding summer by Governor Denver to Linn and Bourbon counties with a writ for the arrest of Colonel Montgomery and was familiar with the region. "We are on our way south," said the lieutenant, "to arrest that old man, John Brown, and as we were passing through Lawrence we thought we would call upon you." Walker stared at the lieutenant in unfeigned astonishment. "'To arrest old man Brown,'" he repeated; "that 's a very serious piece of business. I know him and I know the crowd he 's got together — Kagi, Pat Develin, Young Pickles, Preacher Stewart and the rest. They are not the kind of a crowd that it's healthy to fool with. You'd better let them alone." "We shall see about that," said the lieutenant. "You will see — mark my word," retorted the captain.

Not many days passed after this incident when Walker got word from Lecompton that he was wanted there

immediately on important business. It turned out that the business concerned our men of valor whose eyes were so red with eagerness to overhaul John Brown. "Those fellows," said Acting-Governor Walsh, "are in trouble. The old scoundrel nabbed them, took away their weapons and shut them up. I hear he threatens to hang them. I don't believe he'll do that, but they are badly scared. Now I want you to go down to Linn County at once, see Old Brown and tell him that he must release his prisoners forthwith. Tell him further that the disturbances in Linn and Bourbon counties must stop; that he who has been a ringleader in them must leave the territory without delay, and that if he does n't take himself off, I'll put the militia into the field and drive him out."

Walker undertook the commission. A horseback ride of forty or fifty miles brought him to the vicinity of Little Sugar Creek, where in the month of November, 1858, Brown and his men had built a so-called fort. It was after nightfall and the trip had been thus far uneventful, when suddenly three men, ambushed in thickets which skirted the trail, leaped in front of him with drawn pistols. "Halt," shouted the leader in no very gentle tones. "Halt yourself," replied the traveller defiantly. "My God, Captain," said one of the trio, "I'm glad you spoke. I was just going to *pull* on you." Young Pickles, a horse-thief when not otherwise employed, whom Walker had once befriended when he was in trouble, proved to be the man on the point of shooting.

The next morning Walker was conducted into the rude, extemporized fort. A stone wall had been built across the mouth of a ravine and a small cannon mounted upon it. In this ravine half a dozen tents had been put up and a few men were visible here and there, lending to the place a sort of semi-military air. Near the head of the ravine there was a log-cabin, where Walker found the Commander of Fort Little Sugar Creek, sitting at a rough table upon which a large map was spread. "Good morning," said Brown cheerfully, — the two men had been acquainted since 1855 and were friendly, — "come here and see what I am doing. I'm blocking out a Southern campaign. These dots which you see on the map represent a chain of forts which we are going to establish from Kansas to the Gulf of Mexico. This fort will be my headquar-

ters from which I shall start on the expedition. The negroes will hail me as their deliverer and rise against their masters. I shall strike a fatal blow at slavery."

It was necessary for Walker to interrupt this discourse and turn it from prophecies of a redeemed and glorious future to a less agreeable topic. "I have come here," he finally said, "with a communication from the Acting-Governor, who says that you must leave the territory at once; that if you do not go voluntarily he'll put the militia into the field and drive you out." The message grated on the ears of the visionary commander of Fort Little Sugar Creek like laughter at a funeral. "Would the militia obey the call?" "I think they would." "Captain Walker, would you obey it?" "I would. You know how I have regarded your violent methods. I have always considered them unwarranted. Yes, Captain Brown, I should turn out. And there is another matter which I am obliged to speak about. Are n't there a couple of men shut up in your camp as prisoners? They undertook to arrest you, I understand, and made a bad mess of the business. Walsh says that you must release them." Brown was silent for a moment and then gave orders that the prisoners should be produced. They soon appeared. Good heavens, what a change. Walker scarcely recognized them as they sidled into the cabin. The fine braves who cut such an impressive figure in Lawrence had shrunk into a remarkably sheepish and crestfallen pair. Not only had Old Brown nabbed them and cut short their career of glory, but he had stripped them of their good clothes and given them in exchange garments apparently picked up among the negroes about the camp — garments coarse and hempy in material, outlandish in fashion, rent and frayed by long service. Even the militant aspect of the deputy did not save him from pillage. His captors took the trouble to pull off his long-legged Wellington boots, empty out the weapons and replace them with some outlandish plantation foot-gear or other. "Captain," said Walker, "you must let these men have their clothes. They can't go back in this shape." "In my opinion," said Brown, "they are lucky in getting off with whole skins."

When the trio were well out of sight and hearing of Fort Little Sugar Creek, Walker, turning to his plucked and mel-

ancholy companions, trudging afoot as their horses could not be found, said, "Well, gentlemen, it might easily have been worse." But neither the lieutenant nor the warlike deputy was in a talkative mood.

Mr. WENDELL, in communicating letters addressed to John Barrett of Boston, read an extract from an account by Rev. John Eliot of a visit to the Moravians at Bethlehem, Penn.[1]

Mr. SANBORN submitted a paper on

COLONEL WEARE OF HAMPTON FALLS (1713–1786).

The burning on the 24th of October of the Gove House in Seabrook, N. H., built in 1713, by the son of Edward Gove, and a few months earlier of the Weare House, not ten rods distant, where Col. Meshech Weare was born in 1713, — the year the Gove House was built, — removes two of the oldest residences in Colonial New Hampshire, and effaces the visible memorials of two of the families who bore prominent parts in the various changes of government in that Province from 1683 to 1784. Edward Gove was the promoter, and Justice Weare the accomplisher of the recall of the first royal governor of the Province in 1685, and the grandson of Justice Nathaniel Weare was the Colonel Weare who held successively, or at the same time, nearly every office in the Province and the State, dying in January, 1786 (in a house of his own building, in 1738, a short mile from his birthplace, but now in a different town), after carrying the new State through the most difficult part of its existence, from 1776 to his death. He was its President, Chief Justice, Generalissimo and Admiral, — raising troops, commissioning armed vessels, issuing paper money, presiding in the courts and exercising hospitality in his modest house; where he entertained General Washington, Paul Jones, and numerous officials of other States and countries; held Council meetings, issued proclamations, and did all the things that a hereditary sovereign might do, unquestioned in his authority, though sadly limited in the finances both of his State, his nation and his family, and heartily supported by a people rather tumultuous and inveterate in their dealings with political

[1] See p. 110, *infra*.

parties. He was, in fact, the one model official person in the nearly three centuries of New Hampshire history who was in constant activity, until he died worn out with his public labors, and yet was the favorite of his people, though practising none of the arts by which politicians commend themselves in popular governments. He therefore merited the brief obituary which the Rev. Samuel Webster, the clergyman of Salisbury in Massachusetts, gave to the press soon after his death, and which, preserved by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. J. W. Parsons of Portsmouth, N. H., has lately come into my hands.

On Saturday last, January 14, 1786, about 5 of the clock, P. M., departed this life in the 73rd year of his age, His late Excellency Meshech Weare, Esquire, after a lingering illness, which he bore with uncommon patience and fortitude, and met death with as much calmness as he had lived. And this day, January 18th, 1786, his remains were interred honorably; leaving behind him a numerous offspring to mourn his loss, with a multitude of others. A gentleman so conspicuous for wisdom and every virtue that it is not easy for an ordinary person to do his character justice; but it is a comfort to think that it is already so well known throughout these United States, that little need be said. It need only be observed, for the sake of some that knew him not, that he descended from ancestors, for two generations at least, who were men of eminence and renown, and bore some of the highest offices with honor, and to the great acceptance of the Public. And it will be readily allowed that the deceased President was far from short of his honored ancestors.

To give a few lines of his character is all that will be attempted. Heaven favored him with a happy Genius, which was cultivated by a liberal education, and by such other studies that his knowledge became very extensive; which gave his mind such an elevation as few arrive at. Accordingly he was early called into public life and business, and went through all the important offices of the State, — too many for us to mention, — for about Forty-five years together, with dignity, and to as universal acceptance of the Public as perhaps ever was known; till he arrived at the chief seat of Government; which his bodily infirmities caused him to resign. This he signified before the last Election. And such was the greatness and calmness of his humble soul, that not the least alteration was perceived in him, amid all his afflictions, — not even at his last breath. Throughout his sickness he remained the same mild, pleasant, modest, amiable Christian he ever was before.

Mrs. Parsons has also furnished me with a copy of Governor Weare's last public paper of much importance, — his Proclamation for the annual Fast in his State; which, as a document written before the formation of the Constitution of 1787, is remarkable for the care with which it specifies to what petitions the prayers of his people ought to be directed. He had been bred a clergyman, but turned aside early to secular and military duties, in consequence of his marriage with a lady of large estate, which he had to manage together with his own considerable inheritance. This clerical training, along with his later legal studies and practice, gave a professional tinge to his thoughts and style, which were seldom sprightly or entertaining, as were those of his younger contemporary, John Adams. His studies were in those books which Milton recommended to Satan, but which that potentate had no inclination to learn from,—

> In which is plainest taught and easiest learnt
> What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
> What ruins kingdoms and lays cities flat.

To these were added the maxims and decisions of English justice in the Common Law, in which he and his ancestors had been grounded from their youth. He was old enough in 1718, when the first Justice Weare died, in the house lately burned, to remember that venerable man, to whom his father, the third American Nathaniel Weare, succeeded in those offices of a good citizen, which Col. Weare so sedulously and constantly performed. Omitting the formal opening of this Proclamation of 1785, it proceeds thus:

Inasmuch as the belief in the government of the Most High God over the Natural, Moral and Political System of the World must convince every rational mind of the propriety of addressing to Him prayers and praises at all times; and as religious adoration is due to the King of Kings from public bodies equally as from individuals, and His honor will be more advanced when a whole people assemble and unite in asking the blessing of His goodness, or acknowledging the favors of His providence:

THEREFORE, while the season calls us to look forward through the various business of the ensuing year, and consider our dependence on God for all things, — I have thought fit to appoint, and with the advice and consent of the Council, agreeably to a vote of the General

Court, do appoint Thursday the 14th day of April next, to be observed as a day of general FASTING AND PRAYER throughout this State:

Hereby exhorting all the inhabitants to assemble themselves in their religious societies, of whatever denomination, and to offer up their united supplications to the Eternal Majesty in Heaven, that He would make them sensible of their sins, — especially of such vices as bring open reproach on the Christian profession, and tend to weaken, corrupt, and ruin the Body Politic, — and would graciously bring them to repentance and Reformation; that He would bless the United States in Congress assembled, keep them under His sacred influence, and enable them to maintain the general Government agreeably to the Confederation; that His providence would direct every State in the Union to the most prudent and equitable measures for discharging the national debt; that we may be continued in the strictest amity with our faithful Allies, and that our Embassies in foreign Nations may be prospered for our security from Wars, and for the enlargement of beneficial Commerce.

That it would please God to grant His blessing on the Government of this State, direct its councils and public acts for His own honor and the happiness of its people; preserve us from party contentions, and guide us through every public difficulty; that of His mercy He would continue the great blessing of general health, and preserve us from mortal epidemic distempers; that He would prosper our Mercantile affairs, especially bless our common labors, smile on our Husbandry, order the successive Seasons favorably, and give us the products of the earth in plenty; that with ease and cheerfulness we may support both private and public expenses; that He would incline the body of the people to industry, frugality, honesty and sobriety, and keep them from everything that corrupts and enfeebles a nation; and that He would preserve them from ignorance, false religion and spreading infidelity, and continue among them schools and seminaries of learning, that successive generations may be furnished with wise and virtuous Patriots and learned and pious Ministers of the Gospel:

That God would be pleased for these ends to send down His Holy Spirit into our hearts, enlighten our minds in all things relating to our true interest, and incline us to obey all the commands of His Son, Christ Jesus our Lord. Also that He would so overrule the minds of the Kings and Potentates of the World, that they may be kept from engaging in destructive wars, and may cultivate the arts of Peace, and the Principles of humanity; and that He would continue and increase our present encouraging appearance of the spreading of liberal principles in the kingdoms of Europe, both in

Civil and Religious matters; and cause all kinds of persecution for conscience sake to cease, and knowledge, Liberty and evangelical doctrine to prevail more and more until all nations enjoy the rights of humanity, and blessings of the glorious Redeemer's kingdom.

And all servile labor and recreations are forbidden on said day.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Hampton Falls, this 18th day of March in the Year of our Lord 1785, and in the Ninth Year of the Independence of the United States of America.

By His Excellency's Command, with advice of Council, E. Thompson, Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE STATE!

(Printed in the New Hampshire Mercury, printed and published in Congress Street, Portsmouth, N. H., Tuesday, March 22nd, 1785.)

In connection with the burning of these two old houses, it may be mentioned, on the recent authority of Warren Brown, the historian of Hampton Falls, that the first boundary line between Salisbury in Massachusetts, and Hampton, N. H., ran very near these houses, a mile or two further north than the present line between the two States, which was established by royal order in 1738 and surveyed and fixed in 1741. Massachusetts, which sought to obtain all New Hampshire except a small section in the northwest, had then to give up several towns in the southwest, and land enough between Salisbury and the original Hampton to make a small new town, incorporated in 1742, and called South Hampton. The earlier line was of 1657, and was known as the Shapleigh line, from the name of the surveyor. East from South Hampton the land gained was included in Hampton Falls, and became a part of what is now Seabrook in 1768. The Weare homestead, acquired about 1662, was always in Hampton; but the original Gove house seems to have been rated in Salisbury; for Edward Gove was entered as a petitioner to the Massachusetts General Court from Salisbury in 1653, when the fining of Major Pike for free speech was in question. His estate was in both towns, and eventually was all in New Hampshire. Immediately after the final settlement of his estate in 1712, one of his sons built the old house recently burned, and about the same time, justice Weare deeded his house to his son Nathaniel, the father of Colonel Weare, but continued to occupy it till his death in 1718.

Some twenty years earlier, in one of his two visits to England on business of the Province, he had brought two young English elms, probably from his father's native parish in England, and planted one of them near this house, lately burned, and the other a short distance westward by another house of his. The original elm by the burned house, more than two hundred and twenty years old, and decaying, but not dead, was finally killed by the fire. But a seedling from it, apparently one hundred years old, still lives on the place. These are well authenticated instances of the introduction of the English elm in Rockingham County before 1700; probably there are others.

Mr. PEARSON offered for publication

LETTERS OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF ARGYLL TO CHARLES SUMNER.

Concerning the handful of English supporters of the North during our Civil War many words of generous and grateful praise have been written. Forster, Bright, Cobden, Thomas Hughes, J. S. Mill, Cairnes, and Goldwin Smith, sturdy champions of democracy, are remembered as men of clear sight and disinterested conviction in the midst of surroundings highly unfavorable to such qualities. Another friend of the North, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who died in 1863, was an important member of the Cabinet. But the sympathy of still another, also a member of the Cabinet, George Douglas Campbell, the eighth Duke of Argyll, though well known, has possibly received less comment and explanation. The Duke's life of usefulness and distinction was prolonged until 1900, and it was not until 1906 that two stout volumes of Autobiography and Memoirs appeared. The Autobiography covers the first thirty-four years of the Duke's life, — that is, to the year 1857; the Memoirs are made up of selections from speeches, publications, and letters, connected by meagre references to personal and public events. Though it is much to be regretted that we have not the story of the Cabinet action on questions arising during our Civil War told in the same fluent and clear-cut fashion in which the events of the Crimean War are related, what is given is full of suggestion and significance. From this material, and from the letters written by Argyll and his wife

to Charles Sumner which are preserved in the Sumner collection of manuscripts in the Harvard College Library and of which only fragments have hitherto been printed, it is possible to put together a connected account of the course which the Duke held toward our contest. Some notion of this course, as well as of the character of the correspondence, may be gathered from the brief portion of it that is here presented.

A fundamental reason for the Duke's sympathy with the North may well be the fact that his bringing-up had been totally different from that of the ordinary English nobleman. He was the son of a Scotch recluse,[1] a man caring nothing for politics, absorbed in problems of animal mechanics, particularly the flight of birds, a deft and industrious worker with tools. Living under such influences, taught by tutors at home, except for attendance at a few courses of lectures at Edinburgh University, and above all endowed with an excellent mind, the son early developed into an eager and independent thinker on matters of politics, religion, and science. His *Letter to the Peers from a Peer's Son*, published when he was nineteen, is an argument on the Scottish church question which displays his aggressive if not militant independence. In short, his intellect was typically Scotch, — keen on all matters of speculation and fond of argument. By reason of his detachment from the sympathies and antipathies of his class, he was little affected, when it came to taking sides with North or South, by considerations of aristocracy or democracy. As a political idealist, therefore, he favored the North because with it remained the national sovereignty. In a speech to his tenantry in October, 1861, he declared "that there are some things worth fighting for, and that national existence is one of these."[2] And at another time: "No government had ever existed which could admit that right to renounce allegiance to it which was claimed by the Southern states."[3]

A more cogent reason for the Duke of Argyll's support of the North is to be found in the fact that, through his marriage with Elizabeth,[4] oldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, he had been brought into a family connection

[1] John Douglas, seventh Duke of Argyll.
[2] *Argyll Memoirs*. Vol. II. 174.
[3] Ib. II. 169.
[4] 1824–1878.

distinguished for its sympathy with what the phrase of the day called "humanitarian causes." The Earl of Carlisle and the Duchess of Sutherland were a worthy brother and sister to stand for these things. No people in England were more cordial to Americans than they, and of Americans the most eagerly welcomed were those who had spoken out against slavery. Under such auspices the young Scotch son-in-law of the Duchess made the acquaintance of Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose book had already "entirely engrossed" him. The pages in the Duke's Autobiography in which he describes his impressions of the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are vivid in themselves and moreover form a striking revelation of the character of their writer. His sense of the social and personal insignificance of the woman serves to heighten, not to diminish his reverence for her as a chosen vessel of prophecy. At the outbreak of the war between North and South, the seed sown in him by the book bore its proper fruit.

Another influence that made itself felt with the Argylls was that of Charles Sumner. His acquaintance with the Duchess of Sutherland went back to a period nearly twenty years before, when the young and handsome American, mentally alert, and full of lofty enthusiasm, had captivated British society. The Argylls accepted the family friendship for Sumner and made it their own. They received him on intimate terms at Argyll Lodge, in Kensington, and had him to visit them at Inveraray Castle. In him they saw a man who was at the same time a high-minded public servant and an implacable foe to slavery, and through long talks with him they attained some understanding of the unconquerable and aggressive idealism to be found in America. Thus, thanks finally to Sumner and other Americans of the same traditions and beliefs, such as Palfrey, Dana, and Motley, the Duke, when he reached the parting of the ways, was prepared, with prompt certainty, to turn to the side of the North. Four years after the end of the war, the Duchess of Argyll wrote to Sumner: "I do not think I have ever made you understand how *intense* our own feeling was; but much depended on knowledge of America. It was the result of friendships, old even then."[1]

As for the Duchess, she was a woman inheriting from her

[1] June 4, 1869.

mother many generous qualities, and happy in a position where she could continue the traditions amidst which she had grown up. Her active mind and social address gave effective character to her participation in political and philanthropical affairs; her point of view was consistently not so much feminine as maternal. Cleverness and humor were wanting, but her matronly earnestness was of the kind that commands respect. She understood and sympathized with the Duke's views on the relations between England and the United States, and during the engrossing days of the Civil War more than half the letters to Sumner are from her. They are naturally more colloquial than those of her husband, and matters of international import are frequently jostled by family details. There are many glimpses of the complex life of an important British household, — the periodic migrations of the family from Rosneath or Inveraray in Scotland to London, and the return at the end of the season, the Christmas visit with the Duchess of Sutherland at Trentham, trips to the continent for health or pleasure, the entertainment of English and American guests; or, to speak of matters still more personal, the birth of a child (she was the mother of twelve children), a run of measles through the family, the fact that one of the boys at Eton wins a prize for a "little essay on the life of Washington." Although there is nowhere the extended treatment of personal doings that constitutes the charm of literary epistles, there is, on the other hand, not a trace of literary self-consciousness, and the mingling of politics and personalities in such casual and detached fashion gives the Duchess's letters the vividness of rapid talk.

By way of further introduction to the Argylls, here is a letter written to Sumner just before he sailed from England for home.

From the Duke of Argyll.

Inveraray, October 20, 1859.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — Shall you be in town till the day of embarkation, — or the day before? For if so, I shall have a chance of seeing you. Meanwhile I am about to tell you a story, ending with a request. Professor Simpson [1] of Edinburgh was to have come here to attend the Duchess, and in anticipation thereof

[1] Sir James Young Simpson (1811–1870).

several patients came to the hotel here, to be near him whilst he should be staying with us. Among others the family of an American gentleman came, and our local doctor used to report to us now and then how ill one of the American ladies was. We were able to do her some little service in providing her with articles not to be found at the inn. On enquiry I was amused by the account of the gentleman. He was said to be a doctor himself, — a red hot Republican, highly scandalized at all aristocratic doings, and holding forth freely on such subjects: "but otherwise" — said my informant, "a very sensible man." One of his sayings reported to me was that he admired this place very much, but he wondered how anyone could breathe in it, seeing that it belonged to one man. So thinking this altogether a man worth seeing, and unlike any of your countrymen I had hitherto met with, in respect of his more than genuine Republicanism, I resolved to make his acquaintance and asked him to dinner; — the result is that I have seen a good deal of him and have got some entertainment and good information from him. He is reserved, "self-contained" — but probably not like King Arthur "passionless"; and I am told that he is beginning to admit that we have some glimmerings of "liberty"; though we may be far behind in "equality." He seems absorbed in his profession, and worships the genius of Simpson. He has brought over some drugs new to this country, which he says are specifics in certain complaints — one, especially, in which I am interested. Amongst other matters I have been asking him about some of your trees and plants, and of one he has given me such an account that I am anxious to get some seed. It is the *Locust Tree*, commonly planted in New England, he says, of quick growth and great durability in its wood.

Now can you send me a packet of the seed of the locust tree, when you have crossed?

We are on the move; on Monday next I mean to go to Edinburgh, and on Wednesday to attend the banquet there to Lord Brougham, after which we shall make our way to London very speedily. The Duchess is going on very well indeed.

By the bye, our American, Dr. Voris, is an Anti-slavery man, and much interested in you. He says in reply to my question "Who will be the next President?" "That bad man, Douglas." "Why do you think so?" I said. "Because he is perfectly unscrupulous in bidding to the mob."

Come, thought I, pretty well for such a genuine Republican — as an account of popular virtue.

I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

When Sumner left the shores of England in November, 1859, his parting with the Argylls was to be for life. The correspondence which they immediately entered upon, — at first a friendly and casual interchange of opinions, — was presently to assume an importance commensurate with the position of the two men in public life. With the coming in of the Republican administration, Sumner was made chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations; the Duke was already a member of the Cabinet of which Lord Palmerston was Premier and Lord Russell Foreign Secretary. Of Americans, there was no man in public life who had so recent a knowledge of English affairs as Sumner; among Englishmen of rank in a position of influence the Duke stood practically alone in his support of the North. These circumstances, and the confidence which the two men had learned to place in each other, gave to their correspondence on matters concerning the difficult relations between the United States and England great weight in the cabinet councils of the two nations. Such a channel of frank and unofficial communication, in which opinion could flow back and forth unobstructed by diplomacy, could not well have been spared in those critical times. As we read these letters today, searching for help in penetrating the maze of British opinion on our Civil War, we perceive the burden of them as a whole to be the haunting dread of war between the two nations. The shadow of that cloud is ever present, now lifting, now shutting down more sombrely than before. Every topic of irritation between England and the Federal Government is discussed earnestly, at length, and again and again. Thus the Argylls' letters are in effect a justification, step by step, of the course of the Queen's ministry. As a member of the Cabinet, the Duke could hardly have taken any other stand in writing to Sumner, but his Scotch idiosyncrasy also had something to do with the matter. In one of the Duchess's letters she replies to a complaint of Sumner's about Lord Napier,[1] the British minister at Washington before 1860, also a Scotchman, in these words: "He is of an argumentative race and perhaps likes giving you all that could possibly be said on the other side, and perhaps he fights your battles when you are away. That sort of thing is very natural to some people." This remark may or may not

[1] Sir Francis Napier, ninth Baron Napier of Merchistoun (1819–1898).

be a generalization from the Duchess's marital experience, but it is a precise description of the attitude which during the Civil War the Duke held toward his fellow-countrymen and toward his American correspondent respectively. Certainly in his letters to Sumner he says all that could possibly be said on the English side and with the address of one to whom the work is very natural.

The quality of the correspondence is perhaps best indicated by the group of letters that fall in the middle months of the year 1863. It was a period of intense strain between the two countries, — a time when old grievances continued with little abatement and a new cause of irritation was added with almost every week, and when the task of defending the British Government demanded equanimity as well as dialectic skill. The facts which the Argylls found themselves obliged to explain or condone were many: the escape of the *Alabama* in consequence of the negligence of the Government, the piratical bonfires that starred her course on the high seas, English protests against the capture of the blockade-runner *Peterhoff*, the tactless comments on the Emancipation Proclamation in one of Earl Russell's despatches, speeches in Parliament that sought to cloud the issue by asserting that the North had profited much by the purchase of arms in England and that in 1861 overtures had been made to the shipbuilding firm of the Lairds touching the construction of vessels of war for the United States Government, and finally the continued use of British ship-yards for the building of vessels for the Confederate navy. On all these points the letters of the Argylls were frequent, long, and earnest to the verge of passion.

The critical nature of the situation at this time was greatly increased by the baffling attitude of the Foreign Secretary, Earl Russell. To the American student his conduct must always present itself as a problem of irritating fascination. Though Earl Russell's hold on principles was clear and consistent, it was otherwise with his command of methods, and even his principles were conditioned by his insular point of view. Thus not all his conscientiousness and rectitude could keep him out of pitfalls. His errors of statesmanship and his frank acknowledgement of them show at the same time his limited grasp of a course of conduct as a whole and his en-

tire honesty of purpose. His manner, too, the embodiment of that British officialism which is so exasperating when manifested toward foreigners, continually stood in the light of his own good deeds. Finally, his first duty was to defend British interests. Cobden, reporting to Sumner a call upon Earl Russell, in which the minister, "a trifle impatient under the treatment," was forced to listen to "every word" of one of Sumner's "indictments" of him and Palmerston, indicated this fact to his American correspondent: "John Bull, you know, has never been a neutral when great naval operations have been carried on, and he does not take kindly to the task."[1] That is to say, the work of the Foreign Secretary was to plot, from confused and contradictory data, the course where British interest lay. Naturally, the result was a zigzag not altogether happy as the graphic representation of a statesman's line of conduct.

For Earl Russell, then, the Duke of Argyll became apologist to Charles Sumner. To bind the two ministers together there were many ties, — not only those of political sympathy and cabinet loyalty, but also those of friendship, for the elder man had undoubtedly exercised upon the younger the personal charm which there is abundant testimony to show was his when he chose to use it.

From the Duke of Argyll.

Private. London, April 24, 1863.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — I found your letter to the Duchess of April 7th on my return from the House last night. The Duchess is in Scotland; but your letter is so important that I lose no time in replying to it.

I need not tell you that I accept your writing so freely only as a new proof of your friendship; and you will wish me to write as freely to you.

You say that there are no two opinions as to the "*inevitable tendency of our relations with England.*" If you mean that the American people are so excited that they will not listen to reason, and that under the impulse of their passions, they will insist on your Government committing hostile acts against us, then I can understand you. But if you mean that your Government has any

[1] Morley, *Cobden*, 585.

just cause of quarrel against ours, to justify such acts, then I must declare my conviction that there is no shadow of such cause, and that if war arises, the blood will be upon the heads of your Government and your People.

You assign two reasons, or rather, two causes, for this extreme irritation: 1st, the tone of Lord Russell's despatches; and, 2d., the case of the *Alabama*.

As regards Lord Russell's despatches, I don't know which of them you complain of. But I am certain there is not one of them which would justify even an official protest, far less, hostile acts tending to "inevitable" war. Shortly after your letter was written, you will have received the report of the debate in the Lords with Lord Russell's reply to Lord Stratheden (Campbell). Surely this speech will have opened your eyes to the strictly impartial course of the Government and to the friendly "tone" in which Lord Russell speaks of the Government of the United States. When I got your letter last night, I had just heard another speech from him on the subject of Admiral Wilkes' proceedings towards some of our ships,[1] in which he reproved the irritation with which others had spoken, and declared that we did not intend to object to anything done within the limits of those legal rights which we had ourselves asserted, and established on behalf of belligerents. If your cruisers keep fairly within those limits, we shall make no resistance or remonstrance. Can you ask more?

2d. As regards the *Alabama*. I fully admit that irritation on this head is *natural*. But I deny that you have any cause of quarrel with the English Government. It was a mere accident that we did not stop her. And you will now have heard that proceedings have been taken against another vessel [the *Alexandra*] supposed to be intended for some similar destination. But you must remember one thing, which it is natural you should not always bear in mind. Your Government, in the throes of a great revolutionary war, has been compelled to act arbitrarily, and in suspension of the ordinary principles of law. I don't blame you; no revolution ever was, or ever can be conducted otherwise. But we — the Government of England — can act only in strict accordance with law. The spirit

[1] Wilkes, who had been given command in the West Indies, had captured the *Peterhoff*, a steamer running between England and Matamoras, Mexico. The suspicions of Wilkes' intentions held by the English were not unjustified. "I am about to sail with a squadron to the West Indies to protect our commerce there and maybe bag Slidell and Mason again, which I shall surely do if I run across them. It is believed they are about returning to uphold the fortunes of the Confederacy; it would be quite a funny affair if it should happen." *Wilkes to Mayor Wightman*, September 16, 1862.

and temper of the English people is adverse to all Government prosecutions. It is very doubtful whether, if the *Alabama* had been seized, we should have been able to *prove* her supposed object and destination. Now the American Government has no right to expect the English Government to attempt any arbitrary proceedings in respect to *ships*, any more than in respect to rifles, or guns, which you — the Government of the United States — have been buying in enormous quantities from British manufacturers.

You speak of the *Alabama* as a ship in which "every rope, every spar, every plank, and every arm from the knife to the cannon, are British." Surely you don't mean to contend that a foreign-built ship *can't* be invested with a nationality other than that of the port in which she is constructed? Foreign nations are *perpetually* getting ships built here — "every plank, every rope, every spar," — and yet they become French, or Dutch, or American, by virtue of the nationality of those who buy her, or employ her. We sometimes buy American-built ships, especially in the timber trade. But they become British in every legal sense of the word when they are bought with British money, and hoist the British flag under British ownership. In like manner the *Alabama* was built by a private builder *for sale* to foreigners, who paid for her, and for all her fittings, who armed her beyond British waters, and are her bona fide owners, and employers. It is against all reason to talk of her as "British" in any sense which involves the British Government in responsibility — or to say that she can not be a Confederate ship, because she was not built in a Confederate port.

I have, indeed, personally much doubt whether the present understanding of international law on this subject can be sanctioned permanently. I doubt whether a Government which is unable to keep open one single port of its own seaboard ought to be allowed to exercise the rights of a *naval* belligerent. But no such doctrine as this has ever been laid down hitherto; and your Government has no ground of complaint against ours, because we have not interfered in this matter. *You* treat the Rebels as belligerents, as well as we. You *had* to do so, — unless you meant to execute all your prisoners, and make your war a war of extermination.

And now let me say, before I conclude, that I remain unshaken in the opinion I have always held, that your Government were compelled to undertake this war, and have been justified in carrying it on. Of course, the moment a war becomes *hopeless*, it becomes wrong; but I have no means of judging when hopelessness can be predicated of it. That responsibility rests with you. I regard your undying confidence with astonishment. But I should rejoice to see that confidence justified by the event. I can tolerate the idea

of Slavery as an admitted, and a temporary evil. But I cannot tolerate it as the avowed object, and the chosen flag of a new State seeking admission among the Governments of the world. There are many here who hold that Slavery is even more sure to fall by the success of "Secession," than by the conquest of the South. I cannot allow my sympathies to be guided by any such belief, even if I entertained it. I wish those who are in the right to triumph. I wish those who represent a wicked cause to fail.

But in conducting the contest, you really must limit yourselves within the recognized limits of international law. You have no right to expect neutral nations to submit to any infringements of those limits. You will give a handle, and a lever, to the secret aiders and abettors of the Slave cause, if you extend *arbitrary* action beyond the sphere of your own municipal law. You ought not to have sent Wilkes to command on that station.

Pray do what you can to look at these questions, and to make others look at them, in a more reasonable temper. I look upon a war between us and you with horror. But whilst the People and Government of this country will bear the full and free application to ourselves of our own doctrines on belligerent rights, they will not stand any clear violation of the rights of neutrals. In weighing whether any special act is, or is not, a violation of those rights, we shall be guided by the cool judgment of lawyers, not by the passions of popular feeling, or popular assemblies. Do you follow the same course, and there will be no danger of war.

I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

Argyll.

From the Duchess of Argyll.

April 29, 1863.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — I have your letters of the 7th and 13th to thank you for, with all my heart. Friendship would be a poor thing if it did not make frankness a *necessity*. I have never shrunk from telling you what may have been very disagreeable. My husband has answered your letter of the 7th. I entirely agree with him. I am sure our Government would be free from any guilt if war were to arise with America. I believe it would be a monstrous iniquity to find cause of war in anything we have done, or not done.

You know that I think the escape of the *Alabama* was a great misfortune, but has the American Government the right to say so much, if it is true that they too wished to order ships at Liverpool?

I believe our neutrality was a necessity. England estimated better than America the magnitude of the contest — we knew that it would not do to have a ninety days' theory. It was well for

Lancashire we knew from the first that a long bitter war was certain. The United States always resented the utterance of this conviction, and I agree with you that it was not for Ministers to speak it; but it has been from the first the belief of friends and foes in England that the misery of a long civil war was before you, and Mr. Seward's prophecies naturally provoked counter prophecies.

I think the confidence you entertain that this iniquity is not to triumph is in one sense founded on trust in God's righteous government, and will in the long run *not* be disappointed. But it is a different thing to know that good shall in the end prevail, from knowing that the Federal Government is the ordained instrument for overcoming evil. You say this "great wrong shall not be with our sanction"— surely there was much more of *sanction* in the Union when Slavery was protected by Fugitive Slave laws, than there would be if necessity compels you to give up the contest after having done your best.

I agree with you in regretting Lord Russell's remarks upon the proclamation, but I think it was natural that English people should have been much disappointed by the limitation. From the first, it has been clear to those who had followed American politics that the cause of Freedom was really involved in the contest, but it was not so *obviously*. Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward repeated over and over and over again that it was the Union Cause, *not* the Anti-Slavery Cause, — and many in England believed.

I think you have the right, however, to be disappointed in the English press and in much besides. But how nobly thousands have behaved of the working classes. I am thankful to have entire confidence in Lord Russell, and I had good hope — which your last letter confirms — that his answer to Lord Campbell has done good.

You do not think I write coldly to you? It would be very untrue, for my thoughts follow you closely during all this time of anxiety and of frequent sorrow. I know what grief war is to you. God grant that this hideous dream of war with England will pass away. You will write again soon. You cannot write to me too freely. I have been looking at your trees, and thinking of our happy time in '57. My Duke has joined me, and is glad you like Lord Russell's speech.

God bless you, my dear friend. I can never half tell you how my heart aches for you, and for many during this agony of your country.

I am yours truly and affectionately ever,

ELIZABETH ARGYLL.

The time must come ere long for you to feel *enough* has been done; — much must depend on the next battle.

The "next battle" was Chancellorsville. After that disaster it seemed in England as if indeed enough had been done. The following letter was written by the Duke at the darkest hour of the military situation, when Vicksburg was only a forlorn hope, and Gettysburg a dawn that no one dreamed of.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private. BALMORAL, May 30, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I have received your letter in reply to mine and I thank you for it. You wrote after Hooker's failure must have been known, but you still speak as if the subjugation of the Rebel States would certainly be effected, and as if it were only delayed by the sympathy which you attribute to foreign nations. I confess that, however strongly my wishes have been and are with your Government in a war which was forced upon them, the probability of such success seems to me to be, now, very small.

I entirely dissent from one part of your letter — that in which you blame us for recognizing the Confederacy *as a belligerent*, and in which you speak of "recognition" in this sense as almost equivalent to recognition of independence. We could not possibly avoid recognizing the *fact* of belligerency. You do so yourselves. You *call* them Rebels. But you treat your prisoners as prisoners *of war*, and how you can blame other nations for doing the same passes my understanding.

I agree with you that "International Law" is often so indefinite in its precepts as to leave room for readings of the widest divergency. "Law" merges into "Policy." But I think that the English Government has shown a disposition to treat all these questions in a judicial spirit. You refer to the *Trent* affair as indicating the reverse. It is of no use now going over that ground again. But I assure you that, with all my warm sympathy with your Government, the moment I read of that proceeding I felt at once, "This *cannot* be allowed — it would establish so dangerous and fatal a principle, affecting the safety of all political refugees when under neutral flags, that we cannot allow it to be even discussed as a legitimate proceeding." That was my feeling, and reflection has only confirmed my first impression. On the same principle, for example, Kossuth passing from Hungary to England, in an English packet, might have been seized by an Austrian cruiser, and carried into Trieste. It was clearly *impossible* for us to allow such a doctrine to be considered as admissible within the limits of any mere technical discussion. I do not defend our own high-handed proceed-

ings in former wars. But we never asserted any such power as this. What we *did* assert, and to what you compared it, was quite different, though I think equally wrong, viz: the power of claiming the service of our own sailors wherever we could find them.

And now let me put before you one aspect of your contest which, very naturally, never seems to be present to your mind. You dwell almost entirely on the *moral aspect* of the contest as connected with Slavery, and you demand our active sympathy with you *upon that ground*. *You* have a perfect right to merge all other aspects of the contest in this one. Slavery has been the evil against which you have fought for years, and for your hatred of which you have suffered. In waging this war, you, personally, wage it with the desire of abolishing that curse, as the one object which justifies and glorifies the war. You have a perfect right to do so. You could do nothing else.

But has it never occurred to you that the Government as such, your nation as such, is not entitled to hold the same language,— that its object in the war, however legitimate, is inferior to *your* object, as claiming the sympathy of mankind? This is no question in dispute. It is a *fact* that the Government fights, not against Slavery, but against rebellion. Quite right to do so, but *this* fight does not claim in the same degree the special sympathy of the world. And this is the explanation of the fact that many persons in this country say [deny] that the United States Government represents, or is entitled to the credit of, the Anti-Slavery Cause. I am accustomed to reply to this argument thus: "The American Government *represents* the Anti-Slavery cause indirectly, though not directly, or as its first intention. It is fighting, it is true, against Rebellion, not against Slavery. But the Rebellion is animated by Slavery, and the force of circumstances and the political necessities of its position, *compel* the Government to take, more and more, an Anti-Slavery position."

Do you not admit this to be a true representation of the facts? If you do, then you must admit also that your Government is not entitled to claim that personal sympathy which a pure anti-slavery contest would undoubtedly awaken in this country.

I tell you this to explain the position of others, not to explain my own. These considerations do not affect my judgment, because I hold that it matters little *how* men are induced to fight against a great evil. As Dr. Guthrie [1] said the other day in the pulpit. "Was it not necessity that drove the Prodigal to his Father's house?" In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is some selfish interest, or

[1] Thomas Guthrie (1803–1873).

at least some lower motive than the pure conviction of truth, which leads individuals, and still more, nations and governments, to take up a righteous cause, or maintain a righteous principle. I believe it to be the design and purpose of the Almighty that this war should bring about the abolition of Slavery. But I think it quite possible that your Government may not be chosen as the honored instrument of so great a blessing, and this on account of its long and obstinate complicity with the abomination which has at last turned upon it and rent it.

I see quoted in your newspapers some — a few — sermons and confessions to this effect. *You* must have felt this view of the matter, at times. For you have been always warning and predicting to your countrymen the consequence of harbouring, fostering, and protecting this "barbarising" institution. Yet the practical conclusion never seems to occur to you that it may be God's will — and who shall say that it is not a righteous will? — that Slavery in falling should bring down a guilty government in its fall.

I should not be writing candidly to you if I did not confess that these thoughts do occur to me very often. They do not affect my wishes. Because my wishes must go with those whom I think *in the right*, and I do think your Government was in the right, even on the lower ground of Constitutional principle. But they do affect, and do shake the confidence I should otherwise entertain, that the abolition of Slavery is to be effected through the triumph of your Government.

These are speculations. But they bear upon the *moral* claims you make upon the People of this country. They have no bearing, I maintain, on our duty, one way or another. We must be *neutral*, but it does not follow that we should be *indifferent*. I trust and believe that Peace will be kept.

Ever, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

Argyll.

Meanwhile, as the summer wore on, the issue of peace or war, which is to be felt behind all these arguments, rested with the fate of the two ironclads, destined for the Confederacy, which were nearing completion at Birkenhead. And as the fate of the ironclads rested ultimately with Earl Russell, men of the North studied anxiously his acts, hoping from them to find the clue to the future. Some months earlier he had disavowed responsibility for the escape of the *Alabama*, "implying," as Mr. Adams remarked in transmitting the brief

and dry notes to Seward,[1] "the practical abnegation of will as well as of power to perform obvious international obligations."[2] Later, he had detained the *Alexandra*, but the interpretation put by the court on the Foreign Enlistment Act made necessary her release. To prevent England from serving as a Confederate naval base, her Majesty's Government could not act except within the law, and the law was declared to be inadequate! A letter from the Duchess conveyed to Sumner the Foreign Secretary's position in his own words.

From the Duchess of Argyll.

Argyll Lodge, Kensington, July 23rd, 1863.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — I like you to be quite frank with me, but I wish you did not hope for what is impossible. We must be neutral, as a Government. I believe we shall be honestly neutral. I sent some of the newspaper extracts you sent me to Lord Russell, *not* your letter, for he would not understand your complaint of the Government, and I believe he would have expected you to agree with that particular despatch which gave you so much offence.

He writes, "The newspaper extracts are of no use to me. We do not 'fit out ships by the dozen,' and Mr. S. must know the allegation to be untrue. One — two — three ships may have evaded our laws, just as the Americans evaded the American laws during the Canadian Contest. We are not in the habit of 'condemning and punishing without proof,' etc. . . . You will have seen that the Government did their best in the *Alexandra* case. As to the ironplated ships, there seems to be great difficulty in getting at the truth, but it is said that one at least is for the French."

Now I wish to tell you that it is a grief to those who care about the North, and a very telling reproach for those who do not, that you do not allow chloroform and other medicines to be exempted from the blockade penalties. I know that the same reproach was made to us sixty years ago, but I hope we should not make ourselves liable to it now.

I must tell you that we liked H. W. Beecher, and that he reminded us of his sister.

[1] "For crisp and lucid discouragement, which left his antagonist with a sense of humiliation, though without anything to complain of, Lord Russell's despatches are a perfect literary model. . . . Lord Russell certainly dispersed his curt and almost scornful criticisms too freely to all sorts of powers." *London Spectator*, June 1, 1878.

[2] *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1863, 165.

One who cares about the North, and ought to know you, said, "Perhaps Mr. Sumner will be carried on to join in a cry for war against England." You know that my answer could not but be very positive, and very indignant. . . .

We wait for the accounts of next mail with intense anxiety. How long must it go on? Mr. Beecher said that, whatever the North might feel at first about European sympathy, that now you are bearing down such rapids, — in an inevitable course, — *whatever* Europe may think. So should I think.

Dear Mr. Sumner, you quote Mrs. Butler[1] about Slavery. Whatever happens remember your Union *did* uphold it; thank God for the loosing of those chains upon your necks, and trust Him to do more in his own way. Ever yours truly,

E. Argyll.

P. S. . . . You do not answer me as to your feeling about Channing. It is my impression that he would have felt the Union almost intolerable after the Dred Scott decision. I know that my impressions must seem often very ignorant, but I like to think I am talking to you. Shall we ever again? I hope so with all my heart. Your trees are flourishing, and bring back what seems yesterday but *is* nearly six years ago. God bless you. Remember me to all my friends in Boston, and believe me, ever yours sincerely,

E. Argyll.

When this letter reached Sumner, he was engaged in the preparation of an address on our foreign relations.[2] In the light of Earl Russell's declarations but one result seemed possible. Accordingly he framed his speech so that, in the event of war, it should be an indictment of England and a justification of his own country. In particular, he sought to make plain to the nations of the world that which the Duke had told him so pointedly was not plain,— the fact that the North, in fighting rebellion, had at length closed in a death-grapple with slavery. Before the speech was delivered, however, the crisis with England was past, though the fact was unknown to Sumner. By reason of Northern victories, of the growth of anti-slavery sentiment in England, and of diplomatic pressure as inexorable as the laws of nature, but principally, one must believe, by reason of the fact because John Bull had at last

[1] Frances Anne (Kemble) Butler (1809–1893).

[2] Printed in *Works of Charles Sumner*, VII. 333.

discerned where his own interests lay, the course of the Foreign Secretary was shaped in favor of the United States. At the last moment Earl Russell detained the rams. The arbitrary act which again and again he had protested that he could not do he did. When Sumner's speech, based on the supposition that Earl Russell would let the rams sail, was read by Englishmen rejoicing in a new sense of security, its taunts seemed cruelly inopportune. Full of grief, the Duchess sat down at once to write.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

INVERARAY, September 22, 1863.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — Your letter and your speech came together yesterday. Alas, that it has come to this — that you should have felt it right to charge England as you have done in a public assembly. Was the fire not hot enough already? I have been thankful for your frankness to me, but I could not read your speech without much pain. I feel that my assurances are worth very little. I have said over and over again that Lord Russell would hate war with all his soul, — his last speech in Parliament was a noble one, and as emphatic against recognition as you could desire, — but all this is taken no notice of. He *did* detain the *Alexandra*. Was it his fault that the Judge decided as he did? He *is* detaining the ironclads.

The *Trent* story — is it fairly stated towards England? I should have thought my letters at the time were unhappy enough to show that we *did* not, and *could* not, make sure of its being an accident, — and if it were, the right to expect that the undoing would have been much more rapid than it was.

As to the disagreeable cheer in the H. of Commons, it should not be omitted that it was chiefly produced by Mr. Laird's statement that he had received offers from the F[ederal] Government.

You mention the remarks we have made about the impossibility the Confederates have laboured under of obtaining medicines and chloroform, and you say we have done the same. Surely we are not to be prevented from using our hearts and our tongues on this subject because sixty years ago we did the same; that some have been ignorant of our own history is very likely.

I am quite unable to see why your judgment of the French course seems rather more favourable than it is towards us.

You know how much there is in your speech I agree in, but there is much that goes far beyond my comprehension. . . .

But I know, dear Mr. Sumner, that one glorious hope colours all these things, and that your mind's eye is fixed on things that *will* be, but perhaps not to be seen by us.

I am much obliged for the likeness of that noble young Colonel Shaw, and for the father's letter.

I do *not* admire Emerson's lines.[1] I hope you will forgive my plainness, and write to me. I see your charges against England were received as might have been expected, in New York. Our comfort must be in the *South* being very angry with Lord Russell.

ELIZABETH ARGYLL.

It is superfluous to remark that in Sumner's statement of the case against England there was more than indignation. His vigorous criticism of English neutrality extorted the tribute of a reply from Earl Russell at a public dinner,[2] and the Duke of Argyll, writing to Gladstone that "Sumner has made in many respects a foolish and inexpedient speech," added, "But he puts the matter of the ships strongly and well."[3] The best signs of the Duke's sense that England's position was weak are his endeavor, in company with Gladstone, to "stir up Lord Russell" to secure amendments to the sadly defective Foreign Enlistment Act, and his and Lord Russell's proposal to the Cabinet that the *Alabama* should be detained if she entered a port in the Queen's dominions, — a plan that produced among their colleagues "a perfect insurrection."[4] Though nothing

[1] Probably the "Boston Hymn" on the Emancipation Proclamation.

[2] *Works of Charles Sumner*, VII. 488.

[3] Memoirs, II. 207.

[4] *Argyll to Lord Russell.* December 5, 1872.

"I must remind you that *our* conduct, when you were Foreign Ministers, was not unanimously considered by ourselves so certainly right as you would now hold it to be. Let me call to your recollection one circumstance, of which I have a vivid recollection.

"You and I had a conversation one day about the 'escape' of the Alabama or the Florida (I forget which), and I urged on you that, although she had fraudulently escaped when you had meant to seize her, that was no reason why we should not detain her if she touched at any of our ports. You agreed with me in this view; and you drew up a despatch directing the Colonial authorities to detain her if she came into their power.

"If this order had gone forth, one great plea of the Americans could never have been urged against us; and the American claims would perhaps have never been made at all.

"But what happened? When you brought it before the Cabinet there was a perfect insurrection. Everybody but you and I were against the proposed step. Bethell was vehement against its 'legality,' and you gave it up.

came of these efforts, they testify again that in the Cabinet the Duke valiantly fought the battles of the North. In writing to Sumner, however, concerning the speech on "Our Foreign Relations," he occupied himself exclusively with the errors he found in it.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private. INVERARAY, September 30, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I read your last speech with sorrow, not seeing what good it could possibly do in America and feeling sure that it would do nothing but harm here. You will see that Lord Russell at a dinner this week has replied to it, and I must own that I think your attack on him about your prize courts is not a just one. The tone of his speeches in the Lords has been to deprecate any interference with the right of your courts to decide on the legality of captures, and to repel the attempts of other peers to force us to interfere diplomatically. He may have said something as to there being no judges now in your courts to compare with your older authorities; and this may be true or untrue. But you must really allow men to have some freedom of opinion and expression on such matters.

I object also very much to that part of your speech where you condemn the expression of individual sympathy with the South as inconsistent with real *neutrality*. No one regrets more than I do the extent to which sympathy has gone with the South; but if it is inconsistent with neutrality to express this feeling, it must be equally inconsistent in me and others to express sympathy with the Government of the United States, which I have felt myself free to do.

You have confounded *indifference of opinion* with neutrality of action, just as the Tories did in the case of Italy. In that war we were *neutral*, and the Tories insisted that we should express no sympathy. But we repudiated that doctrine. I quite understand your point of view. But it is a point of view which ignores many facts, however consistent with and even inevitable it may be from your own individual position.

There are no two opinions in this country as to the inevitable necessity of our recognition of the South as belligerents. The *Daily*

"Well, now I keep to the opinion that you and I were *right*, that the action *ought to have been taken, and that the Cabinet was wrong*.

"The correlative of this opinion is that America *had* reason and right in complaining that the Alabama was received in all our ports, and that so far we were in the wrong." *Life of Lord Russell*, 355, note.

News and the *Star* admit it as freely as the *Times* asserts it. This fact ought to make you bear in mind that you *may be* wrong, — a very difficult thing to remember when we think and feel strongly, and under circumstances of great excitement.

The question whether *as* belligerents, and although belligerents, the South has therefore a right to commission ships which never saw a Southern port, — this is quite a separate question, and is not the least affected by the *Slave* character of the new Power which has been, so far as I know, the first to attempt the practice.

The distinction you draw between a *new* Slave Power and an old one is not logical. . . .

Pray continue to write as freely as ever, and as you see I am now doing. I take all you say, never forgetting from whom it comes, and always trying to see matters as they may justly seem to you. You will accept my letters, I am sure, in the same spirit.

Lastly let me express my sincere delight with your late successes. *I rejoice* in them — may the end be hastened and may it be as you desire, and such as you have fought for.

Yours ever most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

The last letter dealing with the momentous events of 1863 refers to the decision of Earl Russell that the Laird rams must not sail, and to the American minister's note to him of 5 September, 1863, containing the famous sentence, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war." The Duke's statement of the reason why the rams were detained is as bravely ingenuous as his protest that the escape of the *Alabama* was a "mere accident," and no "cause of quarrel with the English Government."

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

Private. PRIVY SEAL OFFICE, February 16, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I have just received the paper you have sent ascribing our change or apparent change of policy in respect to the rams to Mr. Adams' letter of the 5th September.

That letter might have had the effect of making it more *difficult* for us to stop the rams — it certainly never *could* have made it more easy. But luckily it did not reach Lord Russell till some days after the order had been given. You will see this by the discussion of last night in the Lords. Lord Russell wrote to Palmerston on the 3d that he thought the rams must be stopped. The

Treasury was communicated with on the 4th. I wrote from Scotland before that date saying that I thought they ought to be stopped.

The action of the Government was precipitated by the very simple and obvious circumstance that the rams were so nearly ready to slip out that they might go any day, and then it would be too late; whereas by stopping them in time we at least secured a trial of the law as it might be interpreted by our courts.

I wonder that *you* should not see that any threat, even though founded on reasonable grounds, only constitutes a difficulty in the way of any British Minister in acceding to any request. It would be, and has been, the same with any American Minister.

We all appreciate very highly Mr. Adams' conduct here. He has done his duty well, with temper and good sense. . . .

I wish I felt more secure than I do of the state of our law. But it will now be tested in every form available in the courts.

I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours very sincerely,

ARGYLL.

At the end of the war the point of most significance in the Duke's interest in America was his comprehension of President Lincoln's greatness. Argyll's standard of the measure of a public man was exacting, unindulgent to the exigencies of democracy. His austere ideal is finely phrased in lines addressed to him by Tennyson:

> Be thy heart a fortress to maintain
> The day against the moment, and the year
> Against the day; thy will, a power to make
> This ever-changing world of circumstance
> In changing, chime with never-changing law.

The realization that Lincoln was the great figure of the war came slowly to the English observer, the second inaugural address being almost the first act of the President's to call forth any noteworthy comment from the Duke. "When your last letter to me came," he wrote to Sumner on April 5, 1865, "I was on the point of writing to you to congratulate you both on the good progress of the war, and on the *remarkable speech* of your President. It was a noble speech, just, and true, and solemn. I think it has produced a great effect in England. Even a paper like the *Saturday Review* speaks of it with a sort of puzzled but sincere admiration."

In the letters written from England after the assassination of Lincoln is reflected the passion of joy and grief which the

men and women of the North were suffering. The words that are most worth preserving, however, are found in a letter from the Duke to Lord Dalhousie, printed in the London *Times* of June 8, 1865. Writing only seven weeks after Lincoln's death, he was here able, thanks to a transatlantic perspective and to an absolute standard of statesmanship, to proclaim with finality the fame of Lincoln. In unerring perception at this time of what Lincoln's name was to mean in history, the Duke's judgment ranks with that of Lowell in the "Commemoration Ode."

> President Lincoln may be said to have spoken aloud his thoughts upon every new step he took, with a magnificent and noble candour. . . . As a man, he said he could not recollect the time when he had not hated slavery. As President, he was pledged to oppose its further progress, and to resist its predominance in the national councils. When this policy was resisted by arms, — 'when appeal was made from the ballot to the bullet,' — a new sphere of duty was opened before him. He entered upon it slowly, warily, solemnly, as a man ought to do who was under such heavy responsibilities to God and man. But when he did enter upon it, looking to the great issues involved to the civilization of the world, it may be safely said that no more splendid progress has been made among the triumphs of the world. "I invoke," said Mr. Lincoln, "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." He has had the last; the other is less important, but it will follow in its time.

Two letters from the Argylls in July, 1865, are at the same time valedictory letters on the war and indicative of the subjects that for the next seven years were to vex the diplomats of the two countries.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ARGYLL LODGE, July 4, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I wish you would not dwell so much (to yourself) on those belligerent rights. You know how heartily my Duke has been with you all through. You know how great a historian and how fair a man Sir George Lewis was — you know that there were others true to you, all through. None of these thought that the giving of belligerent rights could be avoided — they believed it was a necessity. What can be the use of arguing that it

was unfriendly? I know that there are Americans who believe that the refusal of the use of our ports was a set off to any mischief the other measure did you. We assumed sooner than you did that the rebellion was to be a great one — a long one — and, alas, we were right so to think!

But I believe all has been said that is to be said. I protest again against your supposing it a proof of Lord Russell's ill-will, when it was a Cabinet measure. As to the haste, I suppose there would have been less of it, if the consequence attached to it by you had been foreseen.

I hear still of the strange supposition that *you* are hostile to England, and this is said in America. Those who know much of your indignation and little of your love for England misjudge you. I grieve that it is so. I rejoice to think that you will like the Duke's letter. Lord Russell likes it too! I quite agree with you that he did not understand Mr. Lincoln, and that he did not foresee many things; but his heart *was* with the slave; and he was impatient.

Believe me, ever yours sincerely,

E. Argyll.

From the Duke of Argyll.

Privy Seal Office, July 7, 1865.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — My letter to Lord Dalhousie I knew you would see in the *Times*. It gave me great pleasure to have so good an opportunity of saying what I wished to say.

It is no use now disputing about belligerency. I don't see the force of your "therefore" when you say that, because the cause of the South was a bad and even an immoral cause, *therefore* we had no right to recognize them as belligerents. It was a *fact* that they were belligerents. We recognized a fact, and we could not have recognized your own proceedings unless we had done so. As Cromwell said to the Presbyterian minister in Edinburgh Castle, I say now to you: "I beseech you, dear Brethren, think it possible that you may be wrong." All European governments are unanimous on the point as to the necessity of recognizing the fact of belligerency; and you may fairly recollect that your position hardly enables you to judge fairly on this subject.

I have always thought you unjust to Lord Russell, because of little irritating speeches and phrases. Substantially, he has always had a large amount of sympathy with the United States — much more than others whom you seem to dislike less.

I have great confidence that the United States will get through their political-social difficulties — at last — as they have done through the war. But I don't like the present aspect of things. Of

course *here* where the suffrage is not considered a right, I don't feel sure of the negro suffrage being good policy. But if there is any risk of re-enslavement it may be the only protection.

Let us hear from you, as often as you can. We watch your proceedings with constant interest.

We go to Scotland on the 13th, to Inveraray, where I hope we may see you some day again, when peace and freedom has been assured to those for whom you have worked so long and so well.

Yours sincerely,

Argyll.

From the tone of these letters it is plain that on two points Sumner pushed the Argylls to the verge of patience. The original granting of belligerent rights to the South and the unfriendly acts of Earl Russell to the North were grievances on which he harped with persisting intensity. No amount of protest from his friends in England availed to unfix his mind from these ideas. By reason of iteration of these points the letters from the Duke and the Duchess in the years immediately succeeding the war may be disposed of briefly. A final defence of Earl Russell by the Duchess, though ineffective with Sumner, may at this day induce a more charitable mood toward the Foreign Secretary's limitations and mistakes.

One of the American papers had an article on Lord Russell which makes one hope that the writer had not read Lord Russell's speech at the Garrison Breakfast.[1] The man would be base indeed who could read of the old man's noble confession that he had been mistaken, unmoved. It is not a common thing to hear uttered by statesmen or any other men, and might as well have made *some* impression. More than that he could not confess, for I always told you that in his case there was nothing but *mistake*, and impatience resulting from mistake; — there *could* not be malignity towards the Republic in that honest and impulsive nature. — February 5, 1868.

Again, at the time of the rejection by the Senate of the first attempt to provide by treaty for the settlement of the Alabama claims, Sumner's speech was harsh in its indictment of England and extravagant in its demands for reparation. But the Duchess, though full of grief, was able to write (June 4, 1869): "I wish we could talk again; I think I could

[1] Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, IV. 208.

make you understand things about English feeling during the war you do not understand and wish I could the more freely explain from our own thoroughly Northern point of view." Still, notwithstanding Sumner's visit to England in the summer of 1872, the opportunity for talk never came. So, in the letters written to him in the last years of his life dangerous topics are avoided, and the first place is held by personal matters of interest and affection.

Undoubtedly the immediate impressions made by the reading of these letters are: first, the disturbing effect upon the course of diplomatic affairs sure to be produced by the increasing rigidity of Sumner's temperament, and secondly, the bravery of Argyll's defence of the Queen's ministry. Reflection, however, reveals as the fact of fundamental importance the Duke's unfailing purpose to establish a basis of common understanding between the North and Great Britain. The persistence and good temper of his arguments with Sumner on behalf of England are earnest of similar qualities shown in similar labors at home on behalf of the United States. In the "inhuman dearth of noble natures" capable of such understanding and sympathy at that time among the members of the British aristocracy, the part played by the Duke of Argyll, both in the Cabinet and outside it, is one that all Americans should delight to honor.

ADDENDA.[1]

From the Duchess of Argyll.

Inveraray, Oct. 22nd. [1861.]

My dear Mr. Sumner,— . . . After I have read something very ugly in the *Times*, I have a sort of longing to tell you how full one feels of sympathy for all you are going thro'. How one prays and trusts that good will be brought out of all this. I trust your 1st October speech[2] will do great good, — that it will help people to fix their hearts, on the only possible compensation for so much suffering. . . .

Ever yours,

E. Argyll.

[1] From the Sumner MSS. in the Harvard College Library, by courtesy of that institution.

[2] *Works of Charles Sumner*, VI. 1.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

TOULON, Dec. 1st, [1861.]

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — Your welcome letter has followed me here. We had been thinking of you much in the country about Avignon which you must have passed on your way to Montpelier. But what miserable news has come to us about the seizure of the confederate passengers. It seems to me the maddest act that ever was done, and unless the government intend to force us to war, utterly inconceivable. I wont entirely agree with you as to the odious spirit of some of the newspaper articles, but this outrage must have made the hostile feeling *English* which it was *not* before.

I think you rate the importance of the *Times* very high, but you must know best its importance in America; but such men as Mr. Seward know that it is very often not a true representative of the English people, and it is a tremendous burden he takes upon his soul if he forces England to war.

Those who have long watched American politics; and have seen how surely tho' slowly the Anti-Slavery cause has been becoming *the* all important one might be expected to see that this war might become a war of liberation; but I do not think Americans have any right to expect the world in general to believe that it *is*, what many of its leaders are asserting that it is *not*. As to some high influences, certain electioneering words about Canada have warned us long ago not to be surprised at *anything*. But it is too deplorable, and we are very unhappy. We left England a week ago, when all looked well. We may have to go back soon. Soon after you wrote you will have seen that my husband did his best to make his own feelings about your cause understood. But there will be no possibility of understanding it now. God save us from the greatest misery that can happen to us both. Always yours,

E. ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

NICE, Dec. 8/61.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — A week ago I received your letter at Toulon, and wrote to thank you, and to tell how very unhappy the news of the event of the 8th had made us. Today, it moved me much to have your letter of the 18th, full of the friendship, which has filled our hearts for you during this year of your great trouble.

I thank God, and take courage in the midst of this terrible anxiety when I hope that there may be power in your hands to turn the helm, which some seem to be guiding so recklessly. Even if your lawyers were satisfied as to the precedent being in point, *you* would not feel

that the nations *could* shed each others' blood *because* the English may have committed an act of revengeful violence in 1810. As to the seizure of Mr. Lawrence [1] it seems to have been on board of a hostile *not* a neutral ship. But *à quoi bon*, this strange act? Are Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell so irresistibly eloquent that we must not run the danger of hearing them speak? Surely this act has spoken better things, for the South than can the *Times*, than any inconvenience and suffering from the blockade — in short, than any conceivable act of man.

As to the suffering for want of cotton, I suspect the North has done England great injustice in thinking that there has been murmuring on that score. Even the cold-blooded in the Northern cause are too proud to dream of breaking laws of nations; — till *this* was done. But even now you — and those who think of right and wrong not as the mob thinks — may stand in the gap, and may cause men to bless, and God to approve.

Tennyson has just written an ode for the *peaceful* opening of the great exhibition. God grant it. Thank Mr. Dana for his kind remembrance. The Duke is to be back for the answer from you. He is pleased to hear you liked his speech.

Ever, my dear friend, yours faithfully,

E. Argyll.

From William E. Gladstone.

Hawarden, N. W., Jan. 8, [18]62.

My dear Sir, — Mr. Dicey,[2] the author of a small work on the career and character of Cavour, is about to visit the United States in these troubled times. He has asked me for introductions: and I venture to commend him to your kind notice because from the spirit in which he has applied himself to the history of that great man and from the remarkable ability with which he has treated it, I think he is a person whose acquaintance you might not regret to make. I should add that my own knowledge of him is at present limited to what I have derived from correspondence by letter.

I write in the interval, not let us hope a trough between the waves, when your answer to our demand in the case of Mason and Slidell is on the way; but as yet we are ignorant of its purport. The *Europa* reports *your* statement in the Senate that there would be peace. If you said so, it can have but one meaning and God be thanked.

I must not enter into the gigantic question of the convulsion now

[1] Henry Laurens.

[2] Edward James Stephen Dicey (1832–1911).

agitating the North American Continent. For British interests, I could heartily wish the old Union had continued. I will only further say that I am sure you have entered on this terrific struggle in good faith and good conscience: and that I do not believe even it can destroy your greatness. Believe me, ever sincerely yours,

W. E. Gladstone.

From the Duchess of Argyll.

Argyll Lodge, Jan. 9, [1862.]

My dear Mr. Sumner, — The blessed news came last night. God bless all those who have helped, and we know that he *will* bless Peacemakers.

It was a strange feeling — to be so miserable as not to be able to look at such a future in the face; — and yet to have *no* misgiving about the necessity and entire justice of our course.

We have gone through great sorrow since I wrote to you from Nice.

The terrible news of our Prince's death met us at Genoa, and we were too anxious and too unhappy to remain away.

Thank God the Queen's health has stood better than one dared expect, this extremity of anguish; but I cannot tell you how heart-breaking it has been, and is, to hear of such sorrow, after a life of such great and holy happiness.

You, who know England, know what it must be to her people, how many of them would have *died* to spare his precious life, how intense and passionate the loyalty (great before) is now.

My mother saw Her a few hours after all was over and knelt with her beside the form which was beautiful in death. She had from the first admired and loved him much, and she has felt this very deeply. Ever with affectionate regards from my husband, your true friend,

E. Argyll.

From Henry Reeve.

Private. 62 Rutland Gate, London, Jan'y 28, 1862.

My dear Sumner, — I have just received and read your very interesting speech of the 9th January,[1] and, with due allowances for the different sides from which we view these events, I entirely agree in your conclusions, as you will perceive if you will do me the favour to read an article entitled "Belligerents and Neutrals" in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*. I am enabled to state that the doctrines, arguments, and views contained in that article are

[1] *Works of Charles Sumner*, vi. 153.

assented to by many, perhaps I may say, most, of the highest legal authorities in this country. The difference between us is therefore very slight.

I must however say that you have entirely mistaken our case, as regards the *Trent*. I cannot understand on what grounds you make the assertion at the bottom of the second column at page 4, of your speech (beginning "Thus it appears" etc.). On the contrary these *are* the grounds on which we hold the seizure of Mason and Slidell to be illegal, although Lord Russell in his despatch very properly avoided assigning any grounds whatever. Your argument seemed to me to be addressed merely to something which appeared in one of the newspapers.

I also think that the whole of your argument addressed to the old practice of impressment is totally irrelevant. As Great Britain has for very good reasons entirely relinquished the right of impressment in her own ports by the creation of the naval reserve, it is needless to observe that *à fortiori* she has not the slightest intention of exercising the old and barbarous right of impressment on the high seas. But the old American grievance was in great part that American citizens were impressed by the king of England under colour of being British subjects — and a very great and real grievance it was.

This however has nothing on earth to do with the seizure of Mason and Slidell, except in as far as it may show that that act was directly opposed to all American precedent.

With all you say as to liberal principles of maritime law, I agree: except that you appear to have forgotten that by numerous treaties — those of 1659, those of Utrecht, and the treaty with France of 1786, Great Britain did adopt these liberal principles, though they were unhappily abandoned by all the belligerents in the great revolutionary war. I hope we may all do better in future.

But if the case of Mason and Slidell was as clear as you make it out to be, and as I am convinced it is, how came the American government not to disavow at once the act of Captain Wilkes and declare that the men could not be detained? Instead of that, they were kept in prison seven weeks; you only surrendered them at the point of the sword, and Mr. Seward's despatch, far from advocating the same principles as your speech, rides off on the narrowest part of the case, and raises assertions which are totally inadmissible. In point of international law, we consider the despatch of Mr. Seward as a greater enormity than the act of Captain Wilkes.

We continue to watch with the greatest interest your great struggle, although we don't share your views about the men whom you call "rebels" and "traitors," but who are to you exactly what

Washington and Franklin were to Great Britain in 1776. I think another three months will decide the contest: if the South is conquered by that time, or gives in, well and good. If not, the time will be come for Europe to recognize the Southern Confederation. I think I have shown by your own authorities that such a recognition by neutral powers is not a legitimate *casus belli*. Indeed as all the great powers of Europe will probably act together, you will have to submit or to go to war with all mankind. Hitherto England is the *least disposed* of all the powers (except Russia) to recognize the South. France and Spain would readily do so immediately. They have been held back by England: and I do not think that when Parliament meets any immediate steps will be taken to urge the recognition. But, unless a very great change speedily occurs in the attitude of the combatants, we almost all regard the recognition of the South as an inevitable occurrence, and it is my own belief that this will bring about the termination of the civil war.

We were staying at Teddesly last week and often spoke of you. Mrs. Reeve joins in best regards. Ever yours faithfully,

Henry Reeve.

From the Duke of Argyll.

Private. London, Jan. 10, '62.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — The news which came to us two days ago has been *indeed* a relief. I am sure I need not tell you how I *hated* what appeared the prospect before us. There were just two things which appeared to me certain, one was that if the act of the *San Jacinto* were defended, war was absolutely forced upon us; the other was that such a war, odious at all times, was doubly odious now.

I write today to avert — to beg that you will do what you can to avert — a danger for the future. I make every allowance for the great difficulty of Mr. Seward's position in writing his reasoned despatch. He had to write not only *for us*, but for the American public, and consequently much of what he says must be ascribed simply to the necessity of putting his concession to us in as popular a light as possible with the people.

But I see a great danger ahead in the principles laid down in the despatch. He assumes, or at least concludes, that on all points *except one* Captain Wilkes was right, and that one point is the narrowest and most technical of all, viz. the *not* taking the *Trent* before a prize court.

Now if this principle be acted upon we shall be at the point of war every week. No week may pass during which some "Con-

federates" may not take a passage in some neutral packet: and all the captains of your navy are gravely told that they will do quite right if they take such packets into port before a prize court.

Now we rest our case on the broad principle taken up in the French despatch,[1] that a Packet running *bona fide* from one neutral port to another neutral port, *cannot* contain contraband of war, and that "despatches," or communications of any kind from one belligerent to a neutral power, are not contraband and are not liable to seizure or detention as such.

Mr. Seward passes lightly over this topic — like a skater going over thin ice — in a single incidental sentence. He says, "I assume in the present case what, as I read British authorities, is regarded by Great Britain herself as true maritime law, that the circumstance that the *Trent* was proceeding from a neutral port to another neutral port does not modify the right of the belligerent capture." Now we believe that no action of England either lately or at any former time entitles Mr. Seward to assume that we hold such doctrine. The principles laid down in Lord Stowell's decisions all seem to me to imply that belligerents are entitled to hold intercourse with neutrals, and that where there is no suspicion of fraud in the destination of the vessel, such destination from neutral port to neutral port, does absolutely free them and their cargo and passengers from any possible construction of contraband of war.

It is quite plain that on the principles laid down in Mr. Seward's despatch, the *Trent* may be seized next week, nay more, that Refugees from insurrectionary countries would be liable to capture anywhere on board neutral vessels, wherever the government against which they had rebelled could catch them. On this principle an Austrian frigate might have seized Kossuth on board an American ship in the Mediterranean: Can the government of the United States gravely lay down a doctrine leading to such consequences? I have always agreed with you that the RIGHT OF SEARCH should exist in all cases, no matter what the destination of a vessel might be, or what might be her flag. But this right is only a check *on fraud*. Does the vessel bear her flag *lawfully?* Is her nominal destination her real destination? or is it only pretended? To ascertain these and other such questions, the right of *search* must exist. But in the case of a regular packet of course such questions do not arise at all: and in the case of any ship, when it is known that her neutral character and her neutral destination is real, and not assumed, we should hold that she is free from any possible charge of contraband, and I am satisfied that the capture of any such

[1] *Thouvenel to Mercier*, December 3, 1861.

Vessel, in any form, would be resisted as a matter of essential principle by us, and by all the neutral powers.

America would be the very first to maintain this doctrine — under other circumstances.

I write begging that you will use your great influence to let it be understood that our stand has been, and would be made on a much broader ground than that what Seward concedes. Ever yours, Argyll.

From the Duchess of Argyll.

Argyll Lodge, Kensington, May 18, 1862.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — I am afraid letters are things you have not time to write, or to receive, but I cannot resist congratulating you and wishing you God speed on the occasion of the passing of the right of search bill. A great deal has been done; and this is a great event, and one which would have rejoiced the souls of many who laboured for it — and are gone.

I should like a line about your own self, if you have not time for public matters.

We are, I need not tell you intensely interested in all that is going on, and often think of you with much sympathy. You must not, you who know England so well, think it is unfriendly not to be able to enter into American convictions about the necessity of having the *whole* South again, but we are very ignorant about it all. My hope and prayer is that you may come out of the fiery trial, stronger, *freer*, happier than before. I hope we may meet in this life again.

My mother's eyes are not worse. My husband is with the Queen at Balmoral. She is brokenhearted. God bless you, my dear Friend. Yours very truly,

Eliz. Argyll.

From the Duke of Argyll.

Private. Argyll Lodge, Kensington, June 12/62.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — I need not tell you that the Duchess and I have been watching with deep interest all that has served to indicate the better tendencies and most hopeful results of your great contest. But I write now merely to tell you that public feeling here has been much shocked by the reported proclamation of General Butler at New Orleans threatening the women of that city who are complained of by the troops as insulting them. I trust the proclamation is a forgery; and if it is not, that your government will mark its displeasure at once.

Your cause has been steadily "*marching on*" by the inevitable force of events. I think that whatever may be the fate of the Union the fate of slavery is settled. Yet I see you daily abused in the American correspondence for giving *consciously* and intentionally to the struggle that one great aim and object for which, more than for any other, it will be memorable in the history of the world.

Let us hear how you are, and if *you can*, what your expectations are. I am yours most truly,

ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

THE ATHENAEUM, July 12, 1862.

Private and confidential.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — As your war is prolonged with no apparent probability of a definite result, and as the difficulties here increase from the paralysis of the whole cotton manufacture, there is, and there will be a growing tendency to urge the Government to take some action in the matter, no action being possible that will not bring increased embarrassment to ourselves but also greatly increased embarrassment to you. But under the pressure of necessity men do not act always reasonably, and I fear that the pressure upon us to act in the direction I have indicated may increase.

Surely, in these circumstances, it would be for the interest of both Governments that your Government should give every possible facility to our trade in cotton. When the Southern ports you have taken were declared open it was with the ostensible object of allowing the cotton trade to be reopened. But the opening of the ports is of no use unless you allow third parties to pass up the rivers, or into the country, and trade unmolested with the planters. I know it will be said that this is giving them means and money for a prolongation of the contest. But its effect in this way would be comparatively small, whilst it would greatly tend to dissipate the danger which is really a growing one — not only as regards England, but as regards the rest of Europe also.

We have just heard of the apparent defeat of your army before Richmond. At least such is the construction put on the telegraphic news here. Will it only excite the Government the more to more determined efforts, or will it tend to induce a disposition to concede a separation? We are all speculating. I am, my dear Mr. Sumner, yours most sincerely,

ARGYLL.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL.

ROSNEATH, December 3, 1862.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — I was going to thank you for your letter of November 12th, and now I have your welcome one of the 17th, and am grateful to the untrue report about India, as it has given me so much that is grateful to me in your letter. I like to feel that you would miss us here, my dear friend. India must never be for my Duke — his health does not stand heat and I never could think of it for him. But I trust it was a false alarm about Lord Elgin, and that he and Sir Charles Trevelyan have some good years of noble work before them. Among the gleams that cross the dark foreground of war the hope of cotton instead of opium growth in that vast land is one of the most cheering.

I feel with all my heart what you say about the position of England and I have felt the lukewarmness and the coldness bitterly. But you will make, I know, due allowance, — the issue has *not* been clear. Those who should have made it clear have often done their best to darken it, and the language of Cassius Clay at the beginning of the struggle, and worst of all the course of Butler, and the apparent approbation of the Government and the North, did much mischief. But I am sure that there are many whose hearts are with you, and no American has written better (perhaps not so well?) as Cairns and Mill. Your speech has I think done much good here. Guthrie was delighted with it. "Let my people go" sounded in his heart till he too could not refrain from applying the old words to your struggle, and I heard him in his church pour out his prayers for *the* cause, and say "and let us *not* taunt them, because they have been *driven* to this policy, — because the President's proclamation was forced upon them by necessity. Was it not necessity that drove the Prodigal to his Father's Home?" We met the Comte de Paris at Arthur Stanley's at Oxford the other day, and were much interested in all he told us. When you write again, soon I hope, tell me about Mr. Longfellow. He knows how many care about him here.

The conduct of our Lancashire people is abundant compensation for all coldness and frivolity about America on the part of the idler part of the nation. It has been very noble, and altogether the way the calamity is borne by givers and receivers makes one very happy and thankful.

The Government had not, when we were in London lately, any information they could act upon about other ships in Liverpool. I think Lord Russell may be trusted in this matter. But you know that we are very powerless in these matters, and that the Caffers were supplied with *English* guns when we were at war with

them. You may be sure that bad and foolish as our papers often are, war with America *would* be felt to be an intolerable misery, and that no Government without necessity — the necessity of Honor — would dream of it. All England thought that necessity might arise last December; thank GOD that was only a hideous dream.

I think I told you in my last to read an article on the Supernatural in the *Edinburgh*, and there will be one on Lord Dalhousie's Administration of India in the next *Edinburgh* by my Duke. Many messages to Mr. Palfrey who has not written for a long time, and Mr. Dana. Ever yours most truly,

E. Argyll.

From the Duchess of Argyll.

Argyll Lodge, Kensington,
March 26, 1863.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — I had the great pleasure of hearing from you very soon after I had sent you my little reproach. It is very pleasant to hear from you, — and never think that you can be too frank with us. Let it be as much as possible, what I *wish* it could be, like talking to us.

We grieve about the *Alabama*, but there was inevitable delay caused by the Queen's Advocate (Harding's) illness. It was quite necessary to wait for the advice of Crown Lawyers, and owing to this illness, it came too late. One must remember that the supply of arms is against the Proclamation, and by the non-enforcement of this act the North has profited more than the South.

I deplore, too, the line taken by some newspapers and some speakers, but you always seem to me not able to make allowance for the haze upon the cause. Is it not natural that those unacquainted with American politics should be puzzled by the Proclamation which leaves the slaves of the loyal, in Slavery? and worst of all, there was *hope* held out of the continuance of the Fugitive Slave Law. These things are puzzling, and one feels thankful that no human statesman is ordering all these things to their great issue. How it is all moving on through darkness and cloud. There are many who hate Slavery very much, who have from the first thought there was more hope of its destruction, when separation is accomplished. I have never been able to see any reason for this hope, but I am sure it is honestly entertained by some.

You will be pleased with Lord Russell's speech; let me hear whether it gives much satisfaction. All friends of the North are afraid of giving a wrong impression as to the belief here. The feeling is against the possibility of subjugation so strongly. All our

history is full of the success of those who fight for, and on their own land, the one exception of Ireland is a very ominous one. There is no doubt that some of the vessels suspected to be for the South are *really* for China, at least that there *is* a contract with the Chinese Government for some ships. What do American lawyers think of "Historicus'" letters? The writer Mr. Harcourt married a daughter of Lady T. Lewis', and lost her in childbirth lately to his great grief. How is Mr. Longfellow? I hope dear Mr. Sumner, I may be out of this world before we are at war with America. The bitter fear of it at the time of the *Trent* affair was misery enough.

I suppose you have no time to read, or I should ask you to read an article in the January number of the *Edinburgh* by my Duke on Lord Dalhousie, and another on Lord Canning is to be in the April number. Do not be so long as you have been about writing.

We are just going to Scotland. Write to me to Rosneath. . . .

E. ARGYLL.

FROM WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

11 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 1, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — It is very kind of you to write to me. In the midst of a struggle, which you have regarded throughout as one for the life and death of your nation, you naturally entertain views and feelings which may well make ours on this side of the water seem cold and heartless. The call upon you for Christian charity in these circumstances is great, (as is of necessity the corresponding call on the people in both countries); but you have been able to meet it, and I reply to you without fear.

The power and energy displayed in this wonderful but dreadful contest have been beyond all anticipation and almost beyond all belief. If you are ultimately defeated (I do not mean in the field but in your object), it will be by virtue of a law stronger than the will of man. Ever since the development of an earnest purpose in the South, my opinion has remained absolutely the same. But no good can now be done I think by egging on the combatants from our safe position in Europe. That might be done, I think while there was a hope that European opinion was so formed as to be in a condition to speak with moral force, and with a prospect of usefulness. But the contest has long passed that phase, if indeed it ever was in it. And I am bound to say that as far as I can see European opinion is a good deal bewildered, if not divided. I have therefore only two things to wish, that the issue may come soon, and that it may be beneficial to America, whatever be its form. For an enemy of America, for one hating its institutions, for one jealous of its

aggrandizement, nothing can be more a treat I imagine, than to see your best blood flow, and your public debt mount up at a rate as compared with ours like the proportion of the Mississippi to the Thames. I am not one of those. As an Englishman, I have neither fears nor prejudices in regard to America, and I have ever held that for our particular interests nothing can be so good as the old Union. I grieve over every hour added to your sufferings, not the less that they are sufferings of a kind which will only make themselves fully felt in the future. You will perhaps wonder that I have said nothing of the black race. I hope, and incline to believe, that now, whichever way the war ends, it will leave the prospects of that race at the least materially better than it found them.

But I pull away from these bald generalities to the subject of maritime rights. I cannot presume to form an opinion what the ultimate decision may be in the case of the *Alexandra*. But I think the law officers of the Crown are hopeful. As regards the case of the ironclads, which is in some respects different, and lies more favourably for the Crown, I should venture, speaking as an ignoramus, to feel sanguine as to the application of our statute laws in the sense which you desire.

Our duty to apply our laws without fear or favour is clear. Beyond that the horizon seems to me obscure enough. All that I read or hear on these matters, all that I have read of the decisions in your courts, so much considered here, leads me to imagine that the doctrines of international law, however sound and however little disputed in their general form, are sadly obscure or imperfect in their application to particular cases. It is for our interest to adopt a strict and high doctrine. But whatever we may do in applying our Statute Laws to the circumstances of the present war, invests us with no claim as against other third Powers in any war in which we might be engaged. I do not know whose business it is to move in the matter. I do not even know whether a satisfactory and fair solution can be found on all points; but the matter seems to me in a state, apart from the particular obligations of our Statute Law, and of yours, fraught with the menace of future difficulties for the civilized world, arising out of the relations of belligerent and neutral rights at present so imperfectly defined. . . .

W. E. Gladstone.

From the Duchess of Argyll.

Argyll Lodge, July 21, '64.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — I give this to Lord Airlie for you. Your letter of the 4th July, recounting the blotting out of those

things in the statute book which have been curses, was very pleasant to me.

How can you speak still of foreign aid abetting the Rebellion? Surely two or three privateers do not cause the "To be or not to be" of the Rebellion. I assure you our consciences are much at ease, on this score, since the stoppage of the rams.

If you *will* judge England by the *Times*, I cannot help it, but I cannot think it just.

God grant that the end, and an end in righteousness may be coming near. I feel your sad words, "If anything can make me unhappy now." I know this war must have entered into your soul. I know it is daily and hourly grief to you. I do hope for your victory, and for the spirit of mercy, of kindness to the many who have fought for this bad cause, so well.

God bless you. Yours very sincerely ever,

E. Argyll.

Argyll Lodge, May 12, 1865.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — Your letter of the 24th was very touching to me, the first from America since the dreadful event, since which I may truly say I have lived *there*. My absorbing thought is — "Will they follow him in being merciful?" It seems to us that the best hopes of men are centered in this.

Lee's letters to his sister told us how severe the struggle might be between loyalty to the Union or the State.

It was very kind of you to send me Lincoln's autographs, which I shall value dearly. I do not remember what I said of him in the letter he saw.

I suppose you mean Lord Russell as the man who misunderstood him. He did, and it grieves me bitterly that he did.

But you who care above all things for the Cause of Freedom must remember that it *was* impatience for that cause which made Lord John so slow to understand Lincoln's own view of his position at the time of the Emancipation Proclamation.

But I grieve for this. You will be satisfied with Historicus' last letter. Do not suppose bad faith in his legal argument.

I do not think you do justice to Lord Russell in his action on the steam rams. All the details you sent me about the President were more interesting to me than I can tell you. One feels sure that the memory of his simple goodness, his unselfishness, his mercifulness, will be a blessing to his people for all time, if they will but listen to his voice.

We may feel thankful that the hearts of Canadians and of Eng-

lishmen have united in one deep lament over his honoured grave. Alas that death should be so often the Revealer of the goodness of such men.

My dear Mr. Sumner, do not think I *wonder* when I think you too angry. I would like you to believe that Lord Russell, if he mistook your noble President erred in judgment, *not* in heart.

My Duke is to be in the Chair next Wednesday at a meeting for the Freedmen's Aid Society, and then he goes to Balmoral. Believe me ever yours sincerely,

E. Argyll.

Inveraray, October 27, 1865.

My dear Mr. Sumner, — Many thanks for yours of the 10th, and for your speech which I was glad to receive. It made me, I think, understand what you feel about negro suffrage, — that it is the necessary security for the freedom of black race, and of course so thinking you cannot but strive for it with all your heart and strength.

Do not think too little of the great gains already won, even if political rights are delayed. The right to be a man, husband, and father —

> Freedom's battle once begun
> Though baffled oft, is ever won.

It seems to me that there is much which reminds one of the state of things in William III's time, when he acted as *if* he believed men loyal to make them loyal. Shall you ever win over the men of the South, without something of this policy?

But I do agree with you heartily that *if* the freedom of the race is not secured the bloodshed of these four years will be a bitter thought. Do let us trust Him who has already given so much of your heart's desire. The extracts you sent me about the Freedmen are very encouraging. Our West Indian mistakes ought to be very carefully studied. If it had as well carried out a good work, as it was well begun, there would have been a tiny model farm for your great continent. . . .

You must be kindly hearted to Lord Russell. I would not tell you, if it were not true, that he was never a "Malignant" to America. I often think of your disappointment and weariness with much sympathy. There is only One who can really help to bear our Life's burden. May it be given you to feel this more and more.

My Duke is gone to London. . . . I am glad you liked his speech so much. Ever yours sincerely,

E. Argyll.

ARGYLL LODGE, March 20, 1866.

MY DEAR MR. SUMNER, — My boy writes very interesting letters from Hayti and Jamaica, that place of bitter humiliation for us. . . . One understands the indolence of the Negroes after their terrible associations with labour, but it is more difficult to understand their breaking of domestic ties, which seems the most hopeless part of their case in Jamaica and in Hayti, and I suppose in the other West Indian Islands. My boy is seeing it all, in a very enjoying, but *thorough* manner. Though, so much interested, I do not feel able to judge of the state of things at Washington at all. I do not understand the *degree* of Importance you attach to Negro Franchise, when it seems to us from old experience that it may be worth very little to such an entirely dependent class as they must be, and the political awkwardness of forcing it on the South *before* the North gives it, seems very great.

Why not urge the abolition of the black codes, the equal rights in courts of law, as the great necessity? . . .

Write to me soon. Do not lose heart, though it sinks at the thought of cruelties done still in what were till lately the "dark places of the Earth." I feel what it must be to remember that good honest heart, President Lincoln, and to long for him again; but this man does know the South, and his reputation is bound up with the fair treatment of the black race, so in spite of that mad speech I will hope that he cannot wish to put in jeopardy the cause for which he has suffered so much,— for after all I suppose no one believes in *Union* lasting if virtual slavery returns.

I have talked my vague hopes and thoughts, but what made me write now is my indignation, and I wished to say again God bless you. Writing is poor work, and I wish we could talk instead. . . . Ever yours very sincerely,

ELIZABETH ARGYLL.

INVERARAY, July 23, 1866.

. . . I think, dear Mr. Sumner, your anxiety not to lose the opportunity for the full freedom of the coloured race very natural, but it seems to me that their social position which *must* depend on the whites, do what you will, is so important that I would not risk that for the sake of political advantages.

Of course if you are sure that it is necessary to their getting common justice, there is no more to be said; but it is obvious that while the North still withholds political rights (to some extent) the forcing of them upon the South will make them the hated badge of *white* servitude, and the coloured race will suffer.

However, it is all matter of knowledge and experience, and I cannot judge. In Jamaica we failed, though political rights were given, but one cannot argue from that case of total failure. . . .

Ever yours sincerely,

E. Argyll.

The Trent Affair.[1]

Extract from a letter written by Hon. Edward Twisleton, of London, to William Dwight, Esq., of Boston, Mass.,[2] dated London, December 7th, 1861.

What may be deemed a criterion of War's being imminent, is a conviction in your minds that your Government will, at all hazards, refuse to surrender Messrs. Mason and Slidell. I think that the English regard their national honor pledged not to allow men to languish in prison who trusted to the British Flag as a protection, and were illegally seized. The only glimmer of hope is that Mediation might be tendered, and accepted, on the bare point of whether the capture was legal under the circumstances of the case. But there is such a conviction in Members of the Government that for some months Mr. Seward has been acting with the desire of occasioning a war between the two countries (or, otherwise, has been acting in a wholly inexplicable manner) that I have scarcely the slightest hope that such a Mediation would be accepted.

As you understand law, you may like to know some details as to the Opinions of the law Officers of the Crown, on which the Government has acted.

The capture of Messrs. Mason and Slidell was known in London on the evening of November the 27th. Some time before, the Government had received intimation that a similar attempt would be made, and the opinion of the Law Officers was asked as to the legal rights of the different parties under such circumstances. An answer was given dated November the 12th, signed by the Queen's Advocate General, the Attorney General, and the Solicitor General.

Amongst other statements, the Opinion contained remarks as follows:

> The United States Man of War falling in with the British Mail Steamer beyond the territorial limits of the United Kingdom might cause her to bring to, might board her, examine her papers, open the general mail bags, and examine

[1] From the Sumner MSS.

[2] William Dwight was a native of Springfield, and was connected with railroad enterprises in the West. He died at Brookline, September 20, 1880.

the contents thereof, without, however, opening any bag or packet addressed to any Officer or Department of her Majesty's Government.

The United States Ship of War may put a prize-crew on board the West India Steamer, and carry her off to a port of the United States for adjudication by a Prize Court there: *but she would have no right to remove Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and carry them off as prisoners, leaving the ship to pursue her voyage.*

The value of this opinion is somewhat increased by its having been sixteen days before any Article appeared on the subject in London Newspapers.

On the 28th of November, the Law Officers gave an opinion on the case of the *Trent* and the *San Jacinto;* which was in accordance with the principles above laid down. They say: "The *San Jacinto* assumed to act as a belligerent, but the *Trent* was not captured, or carried into a Port of the United States for adjudication as a Prize and, under the circumstances, cannot be considered as having acted in breach of international law. It follows that from on board of a merchant ship of a neutral power, pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage, certain individuals have been taken by force. They were not, apparently, Officers in the military or naval service of the Confederate Government. It does not appear that any papers whatsoever were demanded or taken by the captors, nor upon what charge or imputed offence, if any, the delivery of the prisoners was enforced. Her Majesty's Government will therefore, in our opinion, be justified in requiring reparation for the international wrong which has been on this occasion committed."

The idea is nearly universal in England that the capture of Mason and Slidell was *intended as an insult to England.* I wholly disbelieve this; and take every reasonable opportunity of saying so. But it is right to know this idea, in order to understand the anger which their capture has excited.

I also fully believe that when the demand for reparation will reach the United States, the majority of the people will have been fully persuaded *bona fide*, that Commodore Wilkes was legally justified in the course which he adopted; but I do hope that intelligent men will reconsider the subject, and if they are satisfied that the capture was illegal, they will not be deterred from recommending a surrender of the Prisoners by "the fear of being thought afraid."

None of the questions of importance, which would have arisen, if the despatches had been seized, and the *Trent* had been carried into a Port of the United States for adjudication by a Prize Court, have been judicially decided. This is an important point as shewing how improper it was in Commodore Wilkes to take the law into his own hands. The Law Officers of the Crown, in their Opinion of the

12th of November, wrote as follows on this head: "The questions whether any of the documents on board the mail-vessel are despatches contraband of war; and if so, whether they are protected either by the nature of the conveyance, or by the character of the persons to whom they are addressed *are all questions which may admit of doubt and controversy*, and do not appear to us to be concluded by authority; but we think that the decision of them, in the first instance at all events, belongs to the Prize Court of the Captors."[1]

The most important Precedent which, *prima facie*, seemed to justify Commodore Wilkes was quoted in a letter of Mr. George Sumner published in Boston and republished in London. This was the case of Mr. Laurens, captured by a British Man of War in 1780, when he was on his way to request recognition of the United States by Holland. This Precedent, however, seems completely to have broken down in a most essential point. Mr. George Sumner speaks of Mr. Lawrens as having been in *a neutral Dutch Vessel* going from Martinique to Holland, whereas the Vessel in which he was captured appears, beyond all doubt, to have been a Vessel of *the American Congress*, the *Mercury*.[2] It was as if Commodore Wilkes had captured Messrs. Mason and Slidell in a Vessel of the Confederate States going from St. Thomas or Cuba to England.

Penuel Bowen[3] to John Barrett.[4]

Watertown, 9th March, [17]76.

Dear Sir, — I have but a moment, improve it to acquaint you that yesterday a flag of truce came to our Line, Viz Major of the 10th. Messrs. Thomas and Jno. Amory and a person wrapt in a cloak unknown.[5] I happening to be at the Commanding officer's[6] in Roxbury went with him to the lines to meet them. They bro't a paper sign'd by the four select men in Town,[7] to this purport that as General Howe was determin'd to leave the Town with the Troops under his command, the Inhabitants had apply'd thro Robinson to him, to know whether the Town might expect to be

[1] See the "Atalanta" 6 C. Robinson's *Admiralty Reports*, 440. "The Caroline," ibid. 461. Hautefeuille, *Des Droits et des Devoirs des Nations Neutres en Temps de Guerre Maritime*, II. 462, 470; Wheaton's *Elements*, sixth edition, 567. (note a.)

[2] It was a packet vessel, and had for a time been accompanied by a ship-of-war, the *Saratoga*.

[3] Married Susannah Barrett, sister of John Barrett.

[4] (1750–1810). See p. 61, *supra*.

[5] Peter Johonnot. Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, 303.

[6] Colonel Ebenezer Learned.

[7] John Scollay, Timothy Newell, Thomas Marshall and Samuel Austin.

left undemolished. He assur'd them he had no intention of Destroying it, or damaging unless his Troops were molested or opposed in their Departure. They therefore apply'd to General Washington for assurances that such opposition might not be made, being a[n]xious to prevent such a dreadful calamity. They allowed there was great Distress among Women and Children occasion'd by the late canonade, but said there was no life lost, and but one man slightly wounded in the leg. I doubted the Truth of this from their looks, and we have since heard by a man who got out, that it was talked there were some lives lost, and twenty wounded. We don't know certainly what to make of all this, but appearances and circumstances corroborate the intelligence of their being about to depart. However our Generals determine not to remit their vigilance or operations yet. The two heights on Dorchester side were possess'd and fortify'd by our Troops last monday night and the hithermost called the Nieuch-Hill [1] is to follow very shortly, also Noodles Island. The man of Boston says they embarked for an attack on our advanced posts there on Tuesday even, but were prevented by a storm which happened that night.

I left my little family on Tuesday and hope to see them well the beginning of the week. Yours etc.,

Penu'l Bowen.

[Addressed,] For Mr. John Barrett In Fairfield. Per favor Mr. Fessenden.[2]

John Eliot [3] to John Barrett.

Fairfield, May 5, 1782.

Dear Sir, — Flattering myself that it will agreeable to you to receive a letter from me during my absence from Boston, and wishing to present my respects to the various branches of your family, I do myself the pleasure of writing. And shall expect you to convey my regards to the whole circle of my enquiring friends.

I arrived here Saturday evening after somewhat of a tedious journey from Philadelphia, which City I left Monday about four O'clock, and as you may well judge was obliged to hurry in order to spend the Sabbath with my Brother. I rode in company with General Wolcott [4] a very worthy man, one of equal good sense and sociability, but taking the rout over Kings Ferry we were much alarmed with news of Horses being stolen, Men fired upon, etc.,

[1] Nook's Hill.

[2] Josiah Fessenden, who served as messenger between the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts and the Continental Congress.

[3] (1754–1813), one of the founders of this society.

[4] Oliver Wolcott (1726–1797.)

for about forty miles at every stage. I find it necessary to tarry here in Fairfield, one week to be sure, which will make my return delayed a week beyond my first intention. Your friend Leach may make this a subject of his displeasure and vain impertinence, whom I value as little as the old emission of paper money. As to others of my congregation they who wish to see me will be the more gratified when I reach home. Let the desire be increased according to my absence. Nothing however but sickness or some very bad accident will prevent my returning so as to administer the Communion the third Sabbath in May. I shall write particularly to Mr. Bentley,[1] but lest my letter should not obtain a place in the Post Office (I fear about this) wish you to mention it to him or some one of our family thro' whom he may receive the intelligence.

You will doubtless make it a question when you see me. Have you had an agreeable journey? I will therefore answer you by saying that I would not but have taken this ride, on account of the advantage which I imagine it will be to my health; and I think it impossible that I should ever repent it, even this being set aside, from the very ample tribute which hath been paid to my curiosity. I am disappointed however, in not seeing W[est] Point but the thing was impossible without making a tarrying at least several days which I could not do when I passed H[ead] Quarters going to Philadelphia on account of losing company, and which was impracticable from the course I took on my return. I had the honour of spending the greatest part of a day with General Washington, and was entertained with the politeness which one may expect from any knowledge of his character. From New Windsor we passed the rout unto Bethlehem, where was a scene I wished you to see, and in the midst of the service thought of you and E. Sigourney,[2] as having a taste adapted to relish it.

We attended the Moravian Chapell (Sabbath Evening) where were assembled between 2 or 300 Women, and nearly the number of men. Most of the service consisted of singing, and this whole company joined in a soft humming accompanied with an organ, two base viols, etc. No one voice could be heard above the Rest, but the whole one compleat harmonious sound. The Nunnery, as they call it, which we visited the day after, is an object of curiosity. A picture of diligence, but as I could not but observe much to the ruining of their hea[l]th and to the destruction of the social disposition. About sixty or more Girls kept entirely to work without any recreation or amusement, and without any intercourse with Men,

[1] Rev. William Bentley (1759–1819), now occasionally preaching in the neighborhood of Boston, but not ordained over any church until September, 1784.

[2] Elisha Sigourney.

under the strict orders of an *Old Maid Governess*. Judge how miserable must be their condition! Their complexions are wan and sallow, and discontentment is painted in every countenance. More ordinary people I never saw. A remark struck me when I heard an old Man praise the conduct of our Soldiers when they were in Bethlehem. He said there was no one instance where they attempted the chastity of their Women, which I could impute to another cause besides their love of virtue. For No woman need have a better weapon against Man than her ugligence, and the Girls at Bethlehem are well equipped with *this Coat of Mail*. I must leave many other thin[g]s I intended to mention and not lengthen out my Letter further. We shall see each other soon. In the meantime, I am yours, etc., John Eliot.

Nathaniel Barrett[1] to John Barrett.

Paris, 24 April, 1787.

Dear Jack, — Though I had several times determined to write no more Letters to America till I rec'd answers to the several I had written, yet I cannot let Mr. Breck go without a Line to the family whom I love and reverence so much — tho by most part of them I seem to be forgotten.

I think when you receive this my son will have left Boston and be on his way to this Country. I am sorry to inform you that hitherto my Expectations of Business from America has failed me. Notwithstanding the great Encouragement I rec'd no Vessell has arrived to my Consignation, but Captain Coffin and 100 hds. Tobacco from my friend Codman. Let me beg you to use your Influence, and that of such persons as you can interest in my behalf, to promote an Establishment, which has been attended with much Expense and Trouble, but must finally receive its support, from your side of the water.

The English Court having absolutely forbid the landing in England [of] Oil, Bone, fish and spermaceti, these articles must come to this Kingdom.

I should imagine that this piece of revenge against our particular State, must irritate the Inhabitants against the British Commerce, and turn their attention more to this Nation, which holds out its arms to receive them, and offers greater Advantages to their Commerce, than that of any other nation.

In the Treaty of Commerce with England, that Country is to be treated as the most favoured *European* Nation; but any peculiar

[1] (1743–1793); married (1) Mary Hunt; (2) Hannah, widow of General MacDougall. Was the first American consul at Rouen, France.

favours granted to our Trade, will have no effect with them, and this Clause is purposely made.

The present Ministers are in the highest Degree, favourable to every project for promoting the Commerce of America. I wish to see the same disposition take place with you. Most articles of American produce are higher here than in England — in particular Virginia Tobacco, Rice, pott and pearl Ash.

It is in Agitation, to grant another free port to our Trade, vizt, Honfleur, which as it commands the entrance of this River, will be the most beneficial port in France, being convenient, for transportation to England, or any port in Europe, if the sales are not more advantageous here. I shall as soon as we have compleated this matter, establish myself there. In the mean time Vessells stopping at Havre may know the state of the markets, and sell either there or at Rouen, and at both places are Houses established with whom I am connected. Also at L'Orient, Vessells or Goods consign'd to the Order of Mess. Le Couteulx & Co., Paris, will be received, and sold on the most advantageous terms.

I shall expect when Gerrish arrives, to have Letters from every branch of the family, and all those friends who have not totally discarded me. I have been very unhappy in having Mrs. Barrett sick ever since we left Boston.

She is now confined to her chamber, her complaint a stoppage of Breath, violent pain in the stomach and cough. I have an excellent physician, who has acted in that capacity for thirty years to the English Embassadors here. He has retired from business, but only visits me from his partial regard to America — he was an intimate friend of Doctor Franklin. He tells me that air and exercise will remove her complaints, as the season advances, that she can use them.

Let me have a full account of the state of politicks with you, and likewise from time to time, the clashes that happen among people in Trade. I hope that our Commerce will some time or other get on a respectable footing, but this never can be, until more force is in the Government, and the regulations of Trade fixed in one channel. . . .

Yours Sincerely,

NAT. BARRETT.

Tell Brother Sam [1] and Mr. Hill [2] that I am living and in France. If Gerrish is not gone, tell him, if he comes by New York, to call on Mr. St. John de Crèvecœur, in my name, by no means to omit it.

[1] Samuel Barrett (1738–1798), who married (1) Mary Clarke, daughter of Richard Clarke, merchant, and sister of Mrs. John Singleton Copley; (2) Elizabeth Salisbury, of Boston.

[2] Henry Hill (1737–1828), who married Ann Barrett, a sister of John Barrett.

I am under great obligations to this good Friend, for his particular attention to Nat, and doubt not his shewing the same to Gerrish.

Mr. St. John goes out in this packet. Please to deliver the inclosed as soon as possible.

Thomas Fletcher[1] to John Barrett.

St. Croix, July 12th, 1788.

Dear Brother Johnny, — I received yours of 10th December last per Captain Haynes, and an other some time before April 7th, for both o' which I am much obliged to you. I have been more backward in writing my Friends since my repeated misfortunes than ever, but my affection for them has not abated one ace I assure you.

I was on the verge of coming home in the year 1785, when the hurricane came and disappointed all my hopes; and altho' it was very discouraging to fall from so pretty an income, £500 ster: as I had in Rents per annum, to nothing at all; having only two houses left and those not very tennantable, which bro't me in only thirty dollars per month, yet I plucked up Courage and collected my scattered fragments, and by my industry and economy with the small rent I received I repaired my shattered works, which, with a small sum of eight or ten hundred pieces of 8/8 would bring me in a hundred Joes per annum: this, my dear brother is my apology together with six months confinement by a severe fit of the Rheumatism, which emaciated me to a mere skeleton and sunk my spirits to such a degree that I was not much concerned whether I lived or died; but I thank God who has again restored me to rather better health than I ever enjoyed, having not only a good appetite but digestion, which I think has added *flesh* to my bones and now mediates betwixt *Skin and Bones*, which were at war before. In the strength of which I shall proceed in the way of duty, and do my best to repair my houses for Rent and for Sale; and am seriously determined to make tryal of a Vendue, and by *Hook or by Crook* bring or send my dear Mother Barrett[2] all I can; Heaven and happiness is not more my Wish, or will be more my Endeavour than to effect the relief of my Friends: But I believe you are all sinners as well as I, if not in the same degree, the lord have mercy on us, and on me in particular, (as the poor negro expressed himself in prayer) "*a poor Black Sun mur Bitch:*" This speech once made your good Mamma laugh, at a time when nothing else would; give my most dutiful affection and esteem to her and tell her I long to

[1] Mentioned in Wallcut's list of the class entering the South Latin School in 1766. *Proceedings*, xvii. 217. He married Sarah, sister of John Barrett.

[2] Sarah (Gerrish) Barrett, wife of John Barrett (1708–1786).

see her and flatter myself I shall again make her smile with my nonsence, and that very soon.

I have not rec'd a farthing of M. Hanners, who is at St. Martins, but shall apply to him should I go thither: nor did I think it worth while to send a power to my Nephew lest that should prove like your other adventures Out P: into the F:[1] I will write him in a few days: tho' there was a report that he was dead.

Capt. Hammet[2] need not be under any apprehensions of his notes falling into any other hands; for if I did not send it to your Father, as I am perswaded I did, it is *lost* in the hurricane: or so hid among a multitude of Papers that Old Nicho: can never find it; he should have paid you the interest, as 'twas money lent and which he promised to give Father Barret as soon as he gat home. He was mistaken as to any Callico remaining unsold. Henry Gandys Account inclosed amounting the 18 ps: to ps: 287: 2: 1½ as he settled with me in the year 1774.

I am sorry that brother Nat: has lost his Wife, but I never thought her l-o-n-g lived. pray remember me to him when you write him, and to Bowen, to Brother S[am] B[arrett], brother Cunningham[3] and brother Hammatt, brother Hill, and their connections, yea, to every enquiring friend, relative and neighbour; and to Ned Green and wife, E Storer, Esq. and wife etc. etc. and believe me to be, dear brother John, with the same truth and sincerity I ever professed my self to be, Your Affectionate Friend, etc.

THOMAS FLETCHER.

P. S. I fear you have not, did your Father ever receive any thing of Capt. Layton for *a trunk of R: Linnens* I sent to Virginia, who was (as I heard) cast away on that shore; but young P: Crequi, a passenger, assured me it was saved, in A. Wells or Hayn's employ.

Or did he receive anything of one Captain Field or B: Cushing, from Providence, by whom I sent Cloathing amounting 241 ps. 8/8.

Or did he receive anything o' Thos Williams of Camden, N. Caro: by an Acct. Sales of an adventure in 1779 with net Pro: £1051:10½?

Or did he receive any thing of Thos & Henry Brown of Portsmo. Virginia, for an adventure per Ephraim Misservey, 1778, cost about 100 ps.?

Or did he receive anything of Rob: Taylor & Co., Smithfield, Virginia, for an adventure in 1778, per Schooner *Kitty Taylor*, Timo Coffin, cost 239 ps. 8/8?

[1] Out of pot into the fire?

[2] Probably Benjamin Hammett (1746–1829), who married John Barrett's sister, Mary.

[3] William Cunningham, who married Elizabeth Barrett, sister of John Barrett.

I sent him a hhd. Rum per Captain Gardner in Brig: *Brittania*, Oliver Gardner, March 22, 1779, who was taken as he told me.

I sent also, a Brigantine *Lydia* amounting to 3000 ps. 8/8 in 1778, one Jeremiah Guild, Master, taken off Bermuda by the *Maidstone* Man-of-War, Captain Gardiner, Commander for G-dsake what can a man do more? ! ! !

JOHN FENNO[1] TO JOHN BARRETT.

NEW YORK, July 26, 1789.

MY OLD FRIEND, — Was it in my power, I would suggest an apology for your silence. Six months have not produced a line from you — you who have it so abundantly in your power to shorten as it were the distance between this and Boston; and to abate in a good degree, the variety of disagreeable reflections which obtrude themselves upon me, maugre all my engagements, and the novelty of my situation. I expected now and then a line from you. No person could have entered more fully into my feelings by a variety of domestic details and occurrences, which no circumstances will ever render indifferent to me. I have frequently had the pleasure of hearing from you, and Mrs. Fenno informed me of your friendly calls upon her, for which receive my thanks — but never to write me! I however forbear. How is it with you? how is it with the Circle at Crockers? how are parties? what is the situation of things in Boston? in Massachusetts? Will Congress have due respect paid to their Laws? Who are the present Demagogues? Do any of them mean to make opposition to federal measures a *round* in the Ladder of popularity? Who are they? Are there any young Sprouts coming forward in the political world that will make an eclat? What is your opinion of Titles? Of Congressional debates and proceedings?

[1] John Fenno was born in Boston and served as secretary to General Artemas Ward in 1775. The society possesses his MS. Orderly Books from April 20 to September 6, 1775. He established the *Gazette of the United States* in New York in 1789, the first issue appearing September 15; and removed to Philadelphia with Congress in 1790. His journal was recognized as the leading federal newspaper and the organ of the administration. In September, 1789, Samuel Davis, of Plymouth, Mass., passed through New York, and visited Federal Hall, where Congress held its sessions. Here he met Fenno in the gallery, who pointed out to him the members as they sat. He was taking the debates for publication, but that morning nothing of importance was being done, and Fenno showed pleasure in seeing Davis because, though unknown to him, he came from Massachusetts. Fenno was carried off by the fever in 1798 and was succeeded in the management of the newspaper by his son John Ward Fenno. Under his lead the journal turned against the Adams mission to France. *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, II.430. Mary Eliza, only daughter of John Fenno, married Gulian C. Verplanck, of New York. *Proceedings*, XI. 23.

Of the Government so far as they have proceeded? and lastly I want your *advice*, *counsel*, and *opinion* upon the Gazette of the United States — 600 Subscribers, about one third only of the requisite number.

My Compliments to the Gentlemen at Crockers, and all enquiring friends. Any news from Mr. Jones? My respects to Mr. Burgess. How stands trade and commerce? who breaks? and who are the nabobs? What is the issue of Bruce & Sears' matter? Don't say you have no subject to write upon. Accept Mrs. Fenno's compliments, and the best wishes for your Happiness of Your friend and humble Servant,

JOHN FENNO.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. THAYER, RHODES, and SANBORN, and by Mr. WINSHIP, a Corresponding Member.

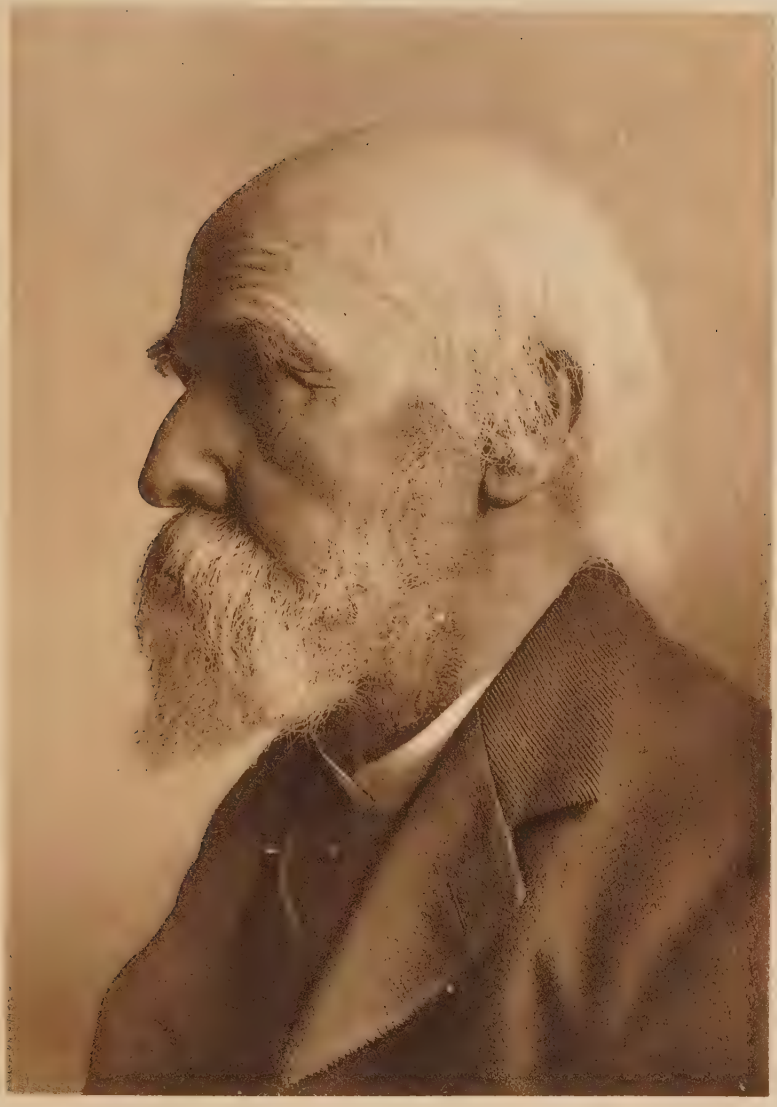
MEMOIR

OF

HENRY FITZ-GILBERT WATERS.

By ROBERT S. RANTOUL.

It is a sad privilege to be permitted to say a word in memory of my townsman and life-long friend, Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters. He was my junior by ten months. He was born at Salem, in one of those fine, square, three-story brick dwellings, often overlooking the harbor and the shipping, — built in the prosperous commercial period, and thought to have been modelled after the official residences provided by the British Government for its civil servants in India. His father, Joseph Gilbert Waters, also born there in 1796, was a Harvard graduate of 1816, and a man of note. Towards the end of his career, he was for many years the trial-justice of the District Court of Southern Essex, and, for years before that, a special justice, and a member of the bar of Essex when that body counted on its distinguished roll such names as Saltonstall, Merrill, Choate, King and the brothers Lord. He read law with John Pickering. He was, at its foundation in 1823, the responsible editor of the *Salem Observer*, and he made his facile pen of service to his townsmen in other ways. He sat in the State Senate for 1835. He was secretary of the Essex Historical Society for twenty-one years before it was merged, in 1848, in the Essex Institute. Dr. Henry Wheatland pays tribute to his "versatile and extensive knowledge of English literature and history." Contributions to local history, — among them being the best extant life of Parson Wil-



Very truly yours
Henry F. Osborn

liam Bentley whose parishioner he was in youth, — survive to keep his memory green. He married, in 1825, Eliza Greenleaf, a daughter of Captain Penn Townsend, a worthy representative of one of the most conspicuous of Colonial and Provincial families, and he died at a ripe age in 1878. Besides the antiquary, he left other children, — one of them a son whose idiosyncrasies, not yet forgotten, won him a place in the famous preface of Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter." Judge Waters was entering upon his career at the period of the White murder trials, and acted as secretary of the Vigilance Committee which unearthed the secret of that startling crime. Largely through his personal activity was traced the source of a blackmailing letter sent to the suspected parties, and a Maine state-prison convict, fully conversant with the plot, was brought to the witness-stand at Salem, to draw from Webster the famous declaration that Truth was Truth, though it come from the bottom of Hell.

The subject of this memoir was born, March 29, 1833, and, under the excellent tuition of Oliver Carlton, was prepared for Harvard, where he was graduated in 1855, receiving her honorary A. M. in 1885. Both on his father's and his mother's side he was connected with some of the best sea-faring stock which once made Salem and her ship-masters the boast of Essex County, if not of New England. Of his father's origin, a word later. His mother's family, among the best-known people of their day, as witness Sewall's *Diary*, had filled almost every high, local function, whether civil, military, or social. But his career began a little too late to enroll him among the toilers of the sea, albeit he was a playmate of Frederick Townsend Ward and of other sturdy, down-in-town youngsters in their harbor-boating and in their deep-water ventures. During his college life he had taught a District School at Northborough, and on looking about for a profession he turned to teaching in Salem as a possible resource, for there his rank at Cambridge had recommended him to favor. He first established a private, preparatory school to succeed that of Master Carlton who had moved away, and after some years of success, and the rugged discipline of the War, he became later clerk of the School Board and superintendent of the public schools of Salem. But nothing could wean him from his inborn love of

archæological research. He began, in 1880, printing his results in the publications of the Essex Institute which body he had joined ten years before. And when the Historic-Genealogical Society, under the lead of our late associate, John T. Hassam, raised a substantial fund pledged to the support of an agent for the investigation of English records relating to Colonial America not heretofore explored, and its choice fell upon him, he accepted the tempting proposal and lost no time in entering upon the work.

This sort of work, however faithfully pursued and widely extended, has little significance for the general public, and would not have been likely to bring him into special notice. Singularly enough, his wide repute rests almost wholly on researches the pursuit of which was a departure from his accepted and long-practiced methods. The light he has been able to throw upon the little-known connections of the Washington and the Harvard families has brought him fame, while no amount of delving in musty archives for what they might possibly conceal, would have served him better than to bury him out of sight.

On his first English pilgrimage, furnished with a generous purse of money, his one impulse was to make it last. Accordingly, when he should have ridden he walked. When he should have eaten he abstained. When he should have slept he worked. And this self-abnegation could lead to but one result. His classmate and comrade-in-arms and close personal friend, Dr. Emmerton, found him a little later at his lodgings at Greenwich on the verge of collapse, and, by virtue of his professional authority and of his life-long attachment, brought him promptly home, built up his shattered health, and sent him back with sounder views of the limits of physical endurance.

For his chosen work the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, preserved in great mass at Somerset House, proved most alluring, and while Waters often said that the Essex County Court House at Salem, with its Probate Office and Registry of Deeds, was the place of all others where he liked to delve, he spent many happy days in this vast repository of English wills and deeds, leaving behind him there a delightful memory amongst those who shared his toil. In 1903, on my visiting, when he was no longer there, this well-nigh

monastic retreat, the courtesies of the place were amply extended to me on his account, and I found there a score of his co-laborers, cherishing their kindly recollections of the man, kept fresh by an excellent pen-and-ink likeness of him drawn by the hand of one of their number.

A good deal had been learned by Mr. Sparks, Colonel Chester, and others, of Washington's origin and family connections, before Mr. Waters took up the search in 1883. Much of what Washington himself supposed he knew proved to be misleading. Even the old Country was beginning to concern itself in a topic no longer of purely American interest, as I learned when attending, in 1879, a Washington birthday-dinner, given by the English-speaking colony of Geneva, and when among the speakers was an octogenarian British civil-servant, who had passed a half-century of honorable toil in the Consulate at Naples, able to give Bulwer-Lytton helpful points in writing *The Last Days of Pompeii*. He had now reached a period in his distinguished service when he was treated as a privileged character, — transferred to the easier position of the Geneva Consulate, and indulged in a liberty of speech quite rare among subjects of the then-reigning granddaughter of George III. It was usual to receive the toast of the Queen's health in silence. But he responded. In referring to Washington he scouted the idea that any credit was due to America for him. "He was a fine, English country gentleman. He did what any English gentleman was bound to do. Crazy-headed old King! What else could he do but fight him! and fight him he did, and he did it bravely!"

A more striking indication of the change in English feeling towards America came to me on the day in May, 1905, when Ambassador Choate signalised his retirement from the British Embassy by presenting a Harvard Memorial Window to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral of St. Saviour's at Southwark, which stands just across London Bridge from the Houses of Parliament. As we approached this ancient church, where Harvard had been baptised and in which he had worshipped, to my astonishment I saw displayed from the flag-staff on its square, stone tower, a single flag. It was the flag of the United States, and no other national colors were in sight from that point.

Did space permit, I should be tempted to reproduce, in his own words, — so terse, so idiomatic and so characteristic of the man, — the account which Waters has himself given of the discovery of the Harvard connection. The *New England Historic-Genealogical Register* for July, 1885, and the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for June, 1907, tell the story in detail. His methods were his own, and those who appreciate the satisfaction of hard work, long endured, and in the end not unrewarded with valuable results, will find delight in searching these records of his well-spent life.

But this Harvard episode seemed, as I have said, to be a distinct departure from the line of work which he had set himself to do. His ideal method seemed to be to enter some promising field of research and to plough right on, turning up whatever lay hidden under the rich soil. Nothing escaped him, and he made copious notes of every valuable item, so that the mass of undigested matter in the hands of his literary executor, though signifying nothing to the uninitiate, may contain facts which, when brought into their normal relation one with another, will lead to disclosures of antiquarian value. Agassiz, it was said, could evolve a pleiocene monster from a single fish-bone. So a stray date or an isolated fact may prove the key to an unsolved problem. This habit of "browsing," as Waters called it, was so inveterate that he repeatedly ignored the flattering offers of the rich, when they would fain have tempted him aside, at high compensation, to work out for them their old-world lineage. He was never willing to commercialize his gifts to that extent. He regarded them as a trust. As soon would he have asked a pension for his service to the Country.

It is not easy to bring before the reader, in a few words, a long and laborious career the first attribute of which was modesty. Mr. Waters was direct and genuine in every thought, and those who knew him could not misunderstand him. An unremitting worker, it was no part of his aim to get credit for what he did. He had the instinct of the antiquary. Reputation, — remuneration, — these were the last things thought of. What he was in quest of was the exact fact. Give him but that and he was content. I have known him well since 1855, when our late associate, William P. Upham, and I used

to walk down with him from Cambridge over Dana Hill to intercept trains at Revere or Somerville on our way home to Salem. Upham and he developed in later life very kindred lines of work, and pursued much valuable research together in the Essex Institute. One of their projected schemes promised so much in our exhaustless local field that I cannot but regret they should have left it to be executed by less able hands. They proposed to issue maps of Salem drawn at intervals of a generation or so, showing the town as it was, say in 1630, — 1660, — 1690, — and so on, — tracing highways and lanes and farms and homesteads, as the settlement developed, — an undertaking for which I know of no antiquary living so well qualified as they.

I have said that Mr. Waters derived his descent on both sides from that unique and sturdy race of navigators who made the name of Salem a synonym for honesty and energy and ability the world over. It was they who, when the close of the War of Independence found them with their capital invested in fast-sailing privateers, — with their well-trained crews of able seamen, drawn from the best blood of New England, capital and crews now left unemployed, — struck out new lines of traffic for their idle fleet, and opened to this Continent a trade with India of which they kept the control until the railroad-system transferred all foreign commerce from the lesser to the larger ports. It was they who built the great, square, red-brick houses so characteristic of the place, — the chimneys supporting the end-walls and the end-walls supporting the chimneys, — many of them surmounted by a cupola from which to observe the harbor-shipping, — each of them surrounded with an ample garden where the merchant, quitting his nearby counting-room for his mid-day meal, might follow it with an hour's siesta in his hammock, or enjoy his pipe amongst the exotic fruit-trees and flower-beds of his tropical voyaging. Of these mansions the one built on Derby Street overlooking the sea by the paternal grandfather of Mr. Waters, — the birthplace of his father and himself, — was later bought by Captain Bertram and converted to the use of an "Old Man's Home." This ancestor, Captain Joseph Waters, was so competent a seaman that he was chosen, in 1798, by the merchants of Salem, to supervise

the building of the Frigate *Essex*, presented by them to the infant nation, when "Adams and Liberty" was the watch-word of the hour, and French insolence was getting past endurance.

The Civil War found Waters not long out of College and engaged in teaching. He was also a member of a drill-club of patriotic young men gathered in anticipation of the threatened assault by the betrayers of the Union. Before long the stress of war became so great that the Club thought it well to enlist as a body, and it was merged in company "F" of the 23rd Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry, in which the founder of it became a Captain. Waters became a Corporal and soon saw active service in North Carolina. He was present at Roanoke Island and at Newbern. On the fall of Newbern, the Federal troops were quartered for a time in abandoned rebel barracks where they encountered sanitary conditions too vile to be described, and where the health of Waters, with that of others, suffered accordingly. He was ordered away to "Academy Green" hospital and, on his partial recovery from yellow fever, being found to be a valuable man for hospital-service, was made clerk and orderly, and retained on duty there. The hospitals were crowded and the medical staff was short-handed. A college-bred man could make himself extremely useful there. In April, 1864, he was transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps, and remained on duty at the hospital until his honorable discharge at the end of his three years' enlistment, in October. But the War still raged and his work was not done. Resolved not to desert his comrades or his flag, he reëntered the service as a civilian clerk in the Quarter-Master's department and remained there, without furlough or respite, serving at Beaufort, S. C., until the Autumn of 1865, when the War was over and he resumed his teaching in Salem. His labors at the Essex Institute were unremitting after he found himself again settled in his ancestral home.

Mr. Waters never married. His interests, outside of his life-work, were indicated, in a way, by his membership of the Twenty-Third Massachusetts Regiment Association, of the American Peace Society, of the Free Trade and the Anti-Imperialist Leagues. He was an honorary member of the

Φ B K and of the Hasty Pudding Club. He was a share-holder in the Salem Athenæum. He was also a member, from 1890, of this Society, and of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society from 1872. He was a devoted lover of music in all its forms, a familiar figure among the bass singers of the Salem Oratorio Society; and, for a number of years during the seventies, he was the clerk and treasurer of the Boston Music Hall Corporation. He was a diligent collector of old furniture when he found it what it purported to be, and he had at one time the best exhibit of this sort known in our section, unless we expect that of his friend, the late George R. Curwen, now at the Essex Institute. His collection included a settle which he supposed might have belonged to Governor Endecott, and also the "Grandfather's Chair" made famous by Hawthorne.

He spent his evenings at the Salem Club, where he was an honorary member and where it was hard to say whether he was the more welcome for his conversation or for his card-playing, and he had living rooms in a fine old mansion at Barton Square, in which General Frederick W. Lander had been born a century before. Here he housed his large and varied mass of books. He died at the Salem Hospital, peacefully and almost painlessly, with scarcely an hour's warning, August 16, 1913, and he rests in the rarely-used little Howard Street Cemetery, amongst the graves of Crowninshields, and Whites, and Stones, and Uptons, and Ropeses, and Landers, and of other National Republican partisans, who had their own places of worship and of entertainment, and their own militia companies, banks and insurance offices, as well as this chosen place of burial, to which they brought from Halifax, with an affluence of pomp, the body of Captain Lawrence, after the fatal disaster to the *Chesapeake*, off Salem harbor. They dominated, to a large extent, the industries, the politics, and the social life of the lower section of the town, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The seemingly impenetrable mystery which so long associated itself with the name of Harvard College has at last yielded to the light. And if almost as much has come to be known of John Harvard as is known of his contemporary and

neighbor, William Shakespeare, the revelation, so welcome to all graduates of the College and to lovers of good learning everywhere, is due to no one person in larger measure than to our unassuming, our untiring, our greatly valued associate, Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters.

JANUARY MEETING, 1914.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift of forty engraved portraits of Lincoln, including a framed one by William E. Marshall, from the estate of Francis F. Stockwell, of Boston, through the Bostonian Society; of a photogravure of Eliel Shumway, of Groton, from Dr. Green; of a photogravure of former Chief-Justice Marcus P. Knowlton, after a painting by Irene E. Parmelee, 1912; and an engraving of the proposed building of the Second Church, Boston, corner of Beacon Street and Audubon Road, after the architect's design, both from Mr. Norcross; the gift of a brooch set in pearls, containing locks of the hair of Daniel Webster, sent by him in 1818 and in 1852 to Miss Eliza Buckminster, of Portsmouth, N. H., and a miniature portrait of Edward Everett, given by him to Miss Mary Lyman Buckminster, afterward Mrs. Samuel K. Lothrop, both given by Mrs. Eliza Lee Homans.

Mr. WENDELL, in presenting to the Society, on behalf of his brother, Evert Jansen Wendell, of New York, a portrait of Jabez Crosby Howe, said in effect:

Though not a man of public eminence, Mr. Howe was among the well-known merchants of Boston in the middle of the nineteenth century. Born in Brookfield, on February 5th, 1787, and engaged in business for some years at Spencer, he came in 1822 to Boston, and there in 1834 founded the firm of J. C. Howe & Company, at the head of which he remained

until his death in September 7, 1869. He was not, I should think, a man of remarkable ability; but, unless I am quite mistaken, he maintained throughout his long life such simplicity of heart, such integrity of intention and such charity of spirit that those who knew him best felt most deeply his remarkable dignity of character. Among his partners, all much younger than he, were able men: particularly Mr. George Hovey, Mr. Samuel Payson, and for a while our late associate, Mr. Charles Dalton. For many years my father, Jacob Wendell, was the most active representative of the firm in New York. This picture hung there, in his office; and when the partnership was dissolved in 1874, he took it home to his library, where it remained until his house was broken up, a few months ago. To my brother and to me, the only survivors of his family, it has thus represented, almost all our lives, an affectionate tradition of the times when, more than now, Boston was a centre of American energy. The nature of this tradition is implied in a personal memory of mine. Not very long ago, during a debate of the Harvard faculty, an eminent officer of the college used as an invidious term the word *commercial*. In instant reply I found myself telling him that to my mind the noun suggested by that adjective is *honour*. If I am not at fault, it is largely from the memory of Mr. Howe that I have derived this most precious of New England traditions.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of letters accepting their election from Charles Grenfill Washburn, of Worcester, as a Resident Member of the Society, and from John Holland Rose, of Cambridge, England, as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor reported the gift of a collection of letters written to the late William Everett, a Resident Member of the Society, from Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, of Washington, D. C.; also the gift of a letter of Franklin Bache, about the proposed Franklin Monument in the Granary Burying-ground, the "records" of the subscribers to the monument, and a sketch plan of the monument presumably by Solomon Willard, from Dr. J. Collins Warren.[1]

[1] See p. 215, *infra; Proceedings*, XLV. 484.

Frederick Lewis Gay, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT presented the resignation of Dr. Green as first Vice-President of the Society, and gave the circumstances of Dr. Green's decision to resign.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
BOSTON, December 15, 1913.

DEAR SIR, — In view of my present inability to do active service in the office of Vice-President, and also because as President you should have one in this position who will be ready promptly and efficiently to undertake the duties in your absence, I wish to be relieved from the obligations of the position. Will you be good enough to convey to the Society my resignation of this office, to take effect at the earliest convenient moment, and to express to the Society as well, my high appreciation of the honor they have conferred on me since the year 1895.

Very respectfully,
SAMUEL A. GREEN.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq.,
President, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. CHANNING was then called upon and said:

I have certain resolutions in my hand that I wish to move, expressing the feelings of the Society on this occasion.

Thirty years ago, in January, 1884, I mounted the stairs of our old building on Tremont Street and presented a letter to Dr. Green from Justin Winsor. I remember the bare room, the desk piled high with papers, and the presence of a young man of about my own age, whom I have since come to recognize as Mr. Tuttle, our assistant librarian. Dr. Green received me kindly, made some inquiries as to my family, and caused the documents which I desired to see to be laid before me. In October of that year, my first literary venture — "Town and County Government in the English Colonies" — appeared. Two months later — thirty years ago next December — I was elected a member of this Society, being nominated by Dr. Green and seconded by Justin Winsor. At the time, I looked upon this as a tribute to my historical precocity. Since then I have come to suspect that the fact that my mother, Ellen Fuller, was Dr. Green's playmate at Groton may have had something to do with his interest in my welfare.

Looking backward over his whole career, the one thing that compels attention is his loyalty, — to the town and state of his birth, Groton and Massachusetts; to the city of his adoption, Boston; to the cause of Union; to the amelioration of the lot of an oppressed race; to Harvard University; and to this Society. Three young physicians — Dr. Billings, Dr. Weir Mitchell, and Dr. Green — began their professional services at the same time as army surgeons in our Civil War. Each of them will be chiefly remembered from his connection with literary pursuits. Only two months ago, Dr. Green, feeble and helpless as he is, went to New York to attend the meeting of the Peabody Trustees for the uplifting of the colored race. On the accessions books of Harvard College his name stands, or stood a few years ago, as the giver of the largest number of books and pamphlets — some of them of great rarity and pecuniary value. It is to his feeling of loyalty to this Society, very, very largely, in turning the possessions of John Langdon Sibley and Mrs. Sibley to our coffers, that today we meet in this beautiful building and under conditions which enable the Society to stand at the front of historical societies.

Mr. CHANNING offered the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

Voted, That the Society receives with profound regret for the occasion thereof the resignation of Samuel Abbott Green as its senior Vice-President, which position, first chosen thereto in April, 1895, he has consecutively filled.

Voted, That, while accepting this resignation, the Society desires to put on record its deep sympathy for Vice-President Green because of that increasing physical infirmity which has led to his withdrawal from the position that he has held so long and in which he has so identified himself with the Society. In doing so the Society desires further to express its profound sense of the great obligation it is under, and will ever remain under, to Dr. Green, not only for the services he has rendered it in the office now laid down, but for the interest in other and in all ways he has ever evinced in its standing, its welfare, and its development. Largely through the action and influence of Dr. Green the Society now finds itself in its present prosperous condition; and to no one of its numerous benefactors is a weightier debt of obligation due. Of its sense of this it desires to take the present occasion to make permanent record: therefore,

Voted, That in accepting the resignation of Dr. Green, the Society directs this expression of the sentiments of the Society to be spread by the Secretary upon its records, in lasting evidence of the circumstances under which the resignation was tendered and is by the Society accepted.

On motion of Mr. CHANNING it was also

Voted, That in accordance with the provisions of chapter III of the By-Laws, the Society proceed at its next monthly meeting to choose by ballot a Vice-President to fill the position made vacant by the resignation of Vice-President Green, notice thereof being duly in advance given.

Mr. FORD read a paper on the visit of Mr. Adams and himself to Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk County, England, and the meeting of the Suffolk Archaeological Society at Hardwick House. Suffolk being the Winthrop County, offers a field for special investigation in connection with the proposed re-issue of the Winthrop *History*, and enough was found to warrant the belief that a systematic and intelligent examination of manuscripts in private hands would give new and valuable material on the migration of 1630, if not letters from the Massachusetts Bay plantation itself. He then noticed the rich historical character of the personal letters of British diplomatic representatives on the continent.

Mr. DAVIS communicated a paper on

THE TRIALS OF A GOVERNOR IN THE REVOLUTION.

Several years ago I made a catalogue of the Trumbull manuscripts for this Society. This collection constitutes a part of the papers which bear the same relation to the State of Connecticut that the Archives in our State House bear to the State of Massachusetts. Through what at the present day would be considered a singular interpretation of what constitutes personal property, they were retained by the Trumbull family, and in recognition of their public value they were deposited in trust with the Massachusetts Historical Society, the archives of that Society being at that time the only available place for such action. A small part of the documents and letters treat of topics connected with the early history of Connecticut. It is not easy, today, to conceive how any

claim of ownership for them could ever have been set up by Governor Trumbull. He must have received them as Governor of Connecticut from his predecessor in office. It must be remembered, however, that some of the more important official documents of that day were strictly personal. The instructions to the several royal Governors, for instance, involved only the régime of the Governor to whom they were issued and did not apply to his successor. There was no reason, therefore, why a set should be left on file. The extension of the theory that such documents as these were personal was easy of application. There was to the Royal Governors no such thing as a continuous Colonial Government. The relation of the governors was temporary and their official connection was with the privy council. Their relations to the local government of which they were the executive officers were much the same as those which exist between a general in the field and his army.

The greater part of the collection of papers in question is made up of Trumbull's official correspondence as Governor of Connecticut and of documents received or issued by him in that capacity. Today, no doubt would exist in the mind of the Governor of any state that all the documents and most of the correspondence of this character would constitute a part of the official files which should be left in the custody of the state. In Governor Trumbull's day, this question of ownership was not clearly settled, and this fact must be borne in mind when considering the retention by him of the great mass of papers relating to the events just prior to, and during the Revolution, with which he as Governor of Connecticut was brought in contact.

The perusal of these papers brought forcibly before me the perplexities in which the colonial office holders of that day were involved through their resistance to the authority of Great Britain. Some of these perplexities are treated in detail and with force by writers of general history; others are alluded to but not dwelt upon; others again are passed by with perhaps mere mention, and one curious illustration of the times — the imposing by the colonies of embargoes against the export of their products — is generally neglected by historians whose works comprehend the story of the whole coun-

try, and is rarely referred to even by those whose field is of a more local and topical character.

I have thought that the grouping together of the difficulties and perplexities with which men, situated as Governor Trumbull then was, were compelled to grapple, even though it involves the rehearsal of a number of points necessarily familiar to all readers of history, would nevertheless show that this topic has some interest independent of and in addition to the treatment it has received from our historians.

It is seldom the case that a rebellion against constituted authority starts off with a full fledged government as was the case with the southern states in the recent War of Secession. So far were our forefathers in the early days of the Revolution from having reached the point of acknowledging that independence from the then rule of constituted authority was their intent, that they had actually maintained an army in the field for upwards of a year before they declared that independence was the purpose of their resistance; and so far was this result outside their intention when they actually began hostilities, that they had repeatedly asserted prior to their making a declaration of their independence that nothing was further from their purpose. When they did so the governors of the several colonies were brought face to face with their first great perplexity. Here were thirteen colonies in arms against the mother country, with no other form of co-operative government than a sort of convention, known as the Continental Congress, admission to which and representation in which were governed by no rules; which had no powers of any sort whatever delegated to it; which could pass acts but could not enforce them; which had not even the semblance of a national power, and which was nevertheless compelled to take steps of the utmost importance to the welfare of the several colonies. The acquiescence of the colonies and the co-operation of their governors were essential, if any results were to come from the steps taken by the Continental Congress. During this chaotic condition of affairs, it is easy to see that the executive officers of the several revolting colonies must constantly have been forced to assume responsibilities which bore heavily on their shoulders. The adoption in Congress of the Articles of Confederation in November,

1777, gave to the movement a national character, but in other respects did not materially alter previous conditions. Thereafter there was a nominal government, but its sole claim to power rested upon the good will of the separate states.

In most of the colonies a serious cause for perplexity was to be found in the changes which were necessary to adapt the government to the altered condition of affairs. In some of them this change produced scarcely a ripple upon the surface of politics. Connecticut and Rhode Island had always been so governed that there was no occasion for other movement on their part than to signify their abandonment of their former allegiance. With the exception of customs officers there were no British officials within the boundaries of Connecticut, and there was not the slightest disturbance in the performance of the functions of the several departments of the state. Rhode Island did not find it essential to convert her charter into a constitution for more than half a century. The Provinces, however, which were under royal Governors, were compelled to improvise provisional governments and, for a time at least, it must have been a serious question how far the people would acquiesce in the attempts of the opponents to British Rule to exercise this power. The formidable minority, or perhaps majority — respect for whose feelings held back the Declaration of Independence so long — were evidently a source of anxiety to leaders in the movement of resistance to royal authority and must have caused them many hours of doubt and trepidation.

Another serious cause for trouble was the currency. There never had been an adequate amount of money in circulation in the colonies. The lack of a circulating medium had been supplemented in the early days by barter, by temporary subterfuges of one sort and another, and by various emissions of paper money. Prior to the separation there was no well defined unit of money in circulation. Any coined money was current. Subscriptions to a medal fund in Harvard College, started in 1766, were made payable in guineas, pounds and shillings, dollars and Johannes. The accounts of the college about 1781 show the following headings: Paper Currency, Continental Loan Certificates, Bills on France, Difference of

Exchange, Depreciation Notes, Bills of New Emission, Bills of Old Emission.

It took six New England shillings to make a dollar. In New York eight, and in Pennsylvania seven and one-half were required. After the breaking out of hostilities, the several states soon found that the people did not have money enough with which to pay their taxes. The levying of taxes in kind carried with it the necessity for the state to become to some extent a mercantile house. With troops in the field and men employed constructing military defences and building vessels for the new navy, currency of some sort was required. Hence the issues of state notes which had the credit of the state behind them, and the emission of notes by the Continental Congress which had behind them the credit of the Confederation. This latter was founded upon two things — first, the possibility of the success of the Confederation in the war, and second, the approval and adoption of the acts of the Confederation by the several states of which it was composed.

The history of the various experiments in currency made by the states and the Confederation, the stories told of the utter confusion into which the money affairs of the country were thrown and the accounts narrated of the calamities which resulted from the flood of paper money which was poured out upon the community are familiar to all. I fear, however, that we have never given credit to the state authorities for the hours of worry and trouble which these difficulties must have caused them. The credit of the states was ultimately swamped in the flood of currency which poured forth from the gates of the central mill. The emission of paper money by the Confederation was but an incident in the methods adopted to raise funds. The attempt to do so by requisition or assessments on the states raised another issue which it was difficult to solve. It was the same question that was involved in the attempt to define a principle upon which the emissions of the Confederation should ultimately be redeemed. Should the basis be property or population? If the latter, should slaves be counted? Herein were involved questions fertile for disagreement and little capable of harmonious adjustment.

The calls for soldiers and the attempts to bring all troops in service under control of the central government were the

cause of conflicting claims and serious disagreements. Should allotments be founded upon the capacity of the state to maintain troops in the field, or should they be based on population? Should service in the militia of the state count in relief of the requisitions of the general government? Should calls for service for short terms under great emergencies be considered as contributions to the Continental army?

Wherever the seat of war happened to be the demands upon the people of the vicinity were necessarily in excess of the regular calls for troops. Such was the case of Massachusetts during the siege of Boston. Twice during the war Rhode Island was called upon to put every man she could spare in the field: first when Sullivan attempted the capture of Newport, and second when Rochambeau's fleet was threatened while lying there.

After the occupation of New York, Connecticut was compelled to keep a small corps of observation at Greenwich. This body of troops was constantly maintained during the remainder of the war, and the maintenance of the force was an absolute necessity, if any attempt was to be made to preserve the crops of western Connecticut from the marauders who prowled over the country in the vicinity of New York in search of supplies for the British army of occupation. In addition Connecticut contributed vessels and sailors to the marine service and maintained a great part of the time a boat patrol by night in the Sound. Similar services were rendered by other states. For instance, whenever the communications on the Hudson were threatened all the neighboring states were forced to throw militia into West Point. The presentation of claims for such services and their adjustment in the apportionment of the quotas of troops levied upon the several states raised questions of great importance, the settlement of which demanded the utmost delicacy of treatment.

The exchange of prisoners bristled with conflicting points which caused dissension of opinion, not to say quarrelling. The prisoners were of all grades. There were citizens arrested on both sides because they had made themselves obnoxious to the powers in control. There were marine prisoners captured at sea or under arms in boats. There were regular soldiers captured in the field, and there were militia men who had fallen

into the hands of the enemy. Local authorities were anxious to negotiate for the release of their friends. Pressure from the fellow citizens of men who were suffering by being pent up on board prison ships in New York harbor was brought to bear upon state authorities to secure intervention. Marine prisoners demanded exchange irrespective of the claims of soldiers. Washington as the head of the army insisted upon his right to control the whole question as a part of his policy of campaign. The importance of this power to him was obvious. The large number of prisoners that he had under control after the battle at Saratoga made his views upon the subject of the utmost importance to the British. It was of little consequence whether the American authorities were justified in avoiding the terms of Gates' agreement or not. They claimed the right to do so and so long as they did not carry out the terms, they had the prisoners on hand. The exercise of the power which Congress or Washington thus held produced heart burning and discontent, and the avoidance of open quarrelling was only gained by the suppression of personal feeling and the recognition of the great issues at stake. During the recent war with the South, where the issues were not nearly as complicated, similar feelings were aroused, and I presume doubts exist today whether the neglect to exchange prisoners whenever opportunity occurred, may not be charged upon our government as a grave crime. Where the apparent right to insist upon an exchange existed — as in the inchoate state of affairs during the Revolution it did naturally seem to exist in the hands of the executive of the state — the amount of moral courage required on the part of the governor to resist the claims of his fellow citizens that he should urge the release of their friends, and by thus resisting sustain Washington in his claims that all exchanges should be placed upon a systematic basis and governed by a general policy was very great.

There was much discussion between the governors of colonies which adjoined each other arising from the custom of raiding the premises of obnoxious citizens on the ground that they were hostile to the government. Advantage was undoubtedly taken of this state of political feeling to organize expeditions which were merely stealing raids. These were justified on the ground of politics. There is consider-

able correspondence on points of this nature between Connecticut and New York, caused by the peculiar situation of the territory which came under the nominal control of the latter state. The occupancy of the city of New York and the western end of Long Island by the British forces left the greater part of Long Island cut off from the state to which it nominally belonged. From time to time the British sent out expeditions to the eastern end of the Island, but during the greater part of the time it was entirely free from British troops. It was easily accessible from Connecticut, and expeditions from the American forces were occasionally sent over to secure supplies from those suspected of being Loyalists. In addition to these regularly instituted expeditions, marauding nocturnal boat raids were frequently made, the purpose of which, under pretence of patriotism, was robbery. The determination of these questions called for great discretion and forbearance on the part of those who were carrying on the discussion.

The lack of appreciation of the community of interest among the individual states led to acts on the part of several of the states which though merely protective in purpose were practically hostile in their nature. Of these the most important was the enactment of embargoes upon the export of every particular article which the authorities thought the state itself might need.

When hostilities broke out Connecticut was in a condition of great prosperity. She was mainly an agricultural state, but she had some commerce through New London and New Haven, and she had a few manufactures. She was abundantly supplied with horses, cattle and farm produce. The first hostilities produced no effect upon her except that the disturbance in the vocations of the citizens of the neighboring states began to drain off her surplus produce. The transition from a visible surplus to an impending scarcity led the leaders of public opinion in Connecticut to the conclusion that some steps were necessary to protect the state from the condition of affairs which might result from unfettered trade. On the one hand they might await the check to the outward movement of supplies which would arise from the increase of prices, the inevitable result from the demand of the open market. On the other they might endeavor to maintain things as nearly as pos-

sible at their present stand by preventing all export of supplies. The latter seemed to the law makers in Connecticut the simplest and best solution of the question. They placed an absolute embargo upon exports from the state. To this the following exception was made. In cases where, after due examination of the circumstances, it should seem desirable that a special permit for export should issue, the Governor was authorized to act.

No great time elapsed before the Governor was called upon to exercise his discretion under the powers thus conferred upon him. The residents on the banks of the Hudson and in the valley of the Mohawk, cut off from the sea by the British occupation of the city of New York, had become practically dependent upon the port of New Haven for their West India goods. The salt wells of Syracuse were not then in existence and the interior counties of the state of New York were forced by this division of her territory to rely upon the Sound coast for the salt with which to season their food. By the terms of the embargo the New York farmer could not get a jug of molasses nor a pound of salt from Connecticut, and as the natural and unavoidable source of supplies for the upper Hudson was western Connecticut, the whole region was thus temporarily cut off from salt and sugar.

Rhode Island and southeastern Massachusetts, during the term when the troops were congregated on the eastern Narragansett shore with a view to attack the British then in possession of Newport, had been stripped of their last resources. From that time forward during the rest of the war the people of this whole region had a severe struggle for existence. From time to time the strenuous nature of the situation compelled application to Connecticut for supplies, and the urgency of these calls for aid was especially strong during and after the second concentration of troops at the time when Rochambeau was at Newport.

The method pursued by these applicants for permission to purchase supplies within the limits of Connecticut was simple. A petition was laid before the Governor setting before him the urgency of the situation and specifying the extent of the purchases required to relieve it. Upon the information thus set before him the Governor granted or refused the requisite per-

mission. Why Rhode Island was dependent upon Connecticut was obvious. The same causes that had depleted her had also stripped the country contiguous to her boundaries on the north and east. She had literally no other accessible source of supplies. The towns on Cape Cod were not quite so dependent, but the difficulties of overland transportation and the facility with which they could send a schooner to New London or some other port on the Sound determined this question for them.

Of course the states adjoining Connecticut could not stand patiently by and see this dog-in-the-manger policy carried out without making some exertion in their own behalf. Embargoes were imposed by New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. These evidently were prompted as measures of retaliation or protection against Connecticut. One curious result follows. In 1780 the French fleet and transports arrived on our coast. They came with a chest full of gold prepared to purchase supplies and to pay for them with coin. The agent of the fleet sent to Connecticut ordering beef here and flour there, preparing thus for the sustenance of the men who had come to aid our cause with arms in their hands. To his surprise he found that there was not a merchant in Connecticut who dared to sell him a quarter of beef or a barrel of flour. The French fleet might have the scurvy and the soldiers might go hungry, but Connecticut would not export supplies. Of course the exigency of the situation demanded a relaxation of the rule and affairs were easily accommodated, but it is difficult to conceive what Rochambeau's notions of American political economy and American statesmanship must have been when told that the navy which had come to fight our battles with Lord Howe and the army which had come to aid in the capture of Cornwallis could not buy in open market the fresh bread and fresh meat of which they were in need. For these supplies they stood ready to pay in good French gold. They asked no credit, although they might perhaps have expected supplies to be furnished while in our service, but until Governor Trumbull's permit could be obtained this anomalous condition of affairs prevailed.

These constitute the more conspicuous of the curious difficulties which beset the path of the statesmen of revolu-

tionary times who participated in the administration of affairs. It will be observed that they include many questions which are still sources of contention, and in a general way it may be said that the example set us by our forefathers should be avoided.

If it be remembered that the decision of such points, as a rule, fell personally upon the governor for the time being, and further that such decisions were in addition to the settlement of the various questions which under ordinary circumstances would necessarily be submitted to one holding gubernatorial office, and if to this we add that the incumbent had at the same time incurred the danger and the responsibility of taking service under a government which was in actual rebellion against the crown of Great Britain, it will be realized that the office of Governor was not at that time to be aspired to by those who sought to avoid trouble.[1]

Mr. STANWOOD submitted for publication a paper on

TRADE RECIPROCITY WITH CANADA.

If ever the time shall come, foretold by the prophet, when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, the men of that generation will wonder that for a period which has not yet come to an end two peoples in such close neighborhood as those of the United States and Canada looked with anything short of abhorrence upon artificial obstacles preventing their union. Sprung from the same stock, speaking the same language, having the same habits and modes of life, living so near together that nearly one half of each nation was within a day's railway journey from the territory of the other, tied together by those railways at a score of points, differing from each other solely in the matter of political institutions and political relations, they nevertheless have stood and still stand in an attitude of semi-hostility toward each other, politically and commercially. But the millennium has not begun and human nature has not changed since the children of Israel warred with the Amorites and the Hittites.

So we must take things as they are. We must concede that

[1] A selection of letters from the Trumbull Papers form four volumes of the Society's publications, 5 *Collections*, IX, X, and 7 *Collections*, II, III.

nations regard themselves as entities, that they hold their interests as against other nations to be of paramount importance in their international relations, and that altruism in such relations is unpatriotic and inexcusable. It is that view that has kept Canada and the United States apart. Politically they are separate. On the one hand Canada is attached to the British connection; it dislikes American political forms and prefers its own; perhaps it fears a diminution of importance if it were to become a fraction of a nation much more numerous than itself. The United States has, in time past, wished many times for a union with its northern neighbor. No one knows whether it wishes the same thing today, for such a union would burden it with new difficulties — of a religio-political nature, to specify no other — when it already has difficulties enough of its own.

Commercially, also, they are separate. Each has erected on the frontier a tariff wall, not primarily in a hostile spirit, but with a view to self-protection. But in effect the two walls do impede trade between the two countries. Canada, again not in a spirit of hostility toward its neighbor, but in a spirit of friendliness to the Empire of which it is a part, has lowered its wall on the side toward the ocean to facilitate trade with the mother country. But for a very long time past there have been efforts, one only of which was effectual, without being mutually beneficial, to introduce a system of less restricted commerce between the two countries. Although all the facts are accessible, and although the agitation of the movement lies entirely within the memory of men still living, the history of those efforts has not been carefully studied. Politicians on both sides of the boundary line have rested specious arguments on isolated facts, and their statements and conclusions have been accepted without question. In fact the inability of politicians intent upon sustaining a preconceived theory to attach any weight to facts which are contrary to their theory, the failure of indolent historians to seek for truth at the original sources, and the tendency of men generally to accept as proved what "has been asserted and never denied," account for many of the current perversions of history.

The circumstances that during the last half century and more Canada has frequently showed an earnest wish for reciprocity

with this country, that there has been little response to that wish but a great deal of indifference on the subject in the United States, and that Canadians have contributed almost all the literature on the subject that has been produced, either as history or as argument, are a sufficient explanation of the fact that the generally prevailing popular view of the matter in this country is that presented by those Canadians. So far as the history of the Treaty of 1854 is concerned, probably few Americans would be prepared to dispute offhand the following statements, made by the Hon. John Charlton in the Canadian House of Commons in 1903:

> The operation of the treaty during all the period it was in force was to the advantage of the United States. . . . No reason was given for the abrogation of the treaty, which was really to the advantage of both countries, and would have been more advantageous as the years went by. The abrogation was an act of folly on the part of the United States and an act of unfriendliness as well, and the policy pursued since that time, and up to a recent period has been one dictated, in my opinion, by the belief that the inflicting upon us of a repressive policy would drive us into the arms of the republic.

Here we have it stated that (1) the treaty was advantageous to this country; (2) that therefore it was an act of folly to abrogate it; (3) that no reason was given for the abrogation, but that the real motive was unfriendliness to Canada; (4) and finally, that the persistent refusal of reciprocity by the United States since that time and the policy of the government generally have been dictated by a purpose to drive the people of the Dominion to seek annexation to the republic. The last of these statements cannot be contradicted by any documentary evidence; but every American who cares to think of the matter knows that there is absolutely nothing in it.

Mr. Charlton certainly did not intend to misrepresent the facts. He is as honorable a gentleman as any member of the Canadian parliament; he was for years one of the most earnest advocates with voice and pen of real reciprocity with this country. But if he had studied the evidence that was open to him he would have discovered that Americans did not think the treaty advantageous; that although in the official notice to Great Britain no reason was given for abrogating it, an

abundance of reasons can be found in the Congressional debates; and that if any question of international unfriendliness entered into the decision, it was Canada's unfriendliness to the United States, and not our unfriendliness to her, that had influence on the minds of congressmen, — as it did, to a certain extent.

The situation which led to the conclusion of the Treaty of 1854 is an interesting study, but it can here be described in only the barest outline. What is now the Dominion of Canada then consisted of a group of colonies, wholly independent of one another. Canada East and Canada West, or Upper and Lower Canada, had been united in 1840, but New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were separate colonies, each having its own government. The repeal of the corn laws by Sir Robert Peel, and the discontinuance of the favors to colonial produce, were measures hurtful to the trade of Canada, and as early as 1849 efforts were put forth by Canadian authorities to obtain from the United States concessions in favor of colonial products in return for similar favors to American goods seeking a Canadian market. Mr. Clayton, then Secretary of State, regarded such a measure as unconstitutional, and nothing at that time came of the proposition. But after the administration of Mr. Pierce began various circumstances and a variety of considerations conspired to render the idea acceptable, at the same time that the new administration did not share in the doubt as to the power of the government to make the agreement proposed. There was the old fishery dispute with Great Britain arising out of the true interpretation of the Convention of 1818, under which, even on the American interpretation the rights of our fishermen were less than under the original Treaty of 1783. The colonies were able to use the need of an understanding on this subject to further their plans for an agreement on the commerce between the republic and the colonies; and they refused to consider it, or rather Great Britain in their behalf refused to consider it, unless as a part of a convention on the other matter.

It is impossible to be sure how much truth there was in the statements freely made in Congress at the time the abrogation of the treaty was under discussion, as to the methods by which

the Americans were persuaded to agree to the arrangement that was made. No doubt the interests of New England were conciliated by the prospect of a settlement of the fishery rights. But it was said[1] that a skilful lobby was brought from Canada with arguments addressed to the different sections of the country. It was represented, so the story goes, to the public men of the north that Canada was greatly dissatisfied with the treatment it had received from England, — the withdrawal of the favors previously granted to colonial products, and that a trade agreement bringing the colony and the United States into close commercial relations, would quickly lead to a demand on the part of the people of Canada for annexation to the United States, — an acquisition which was then deemed desirable as offsetting the increase of slave territory in the south. On the other hand it was urged upon southerners that the Canadians were all ready to seek annexation, and that the trade agreement and nothing else would avert what to them would mean a loss of political power. The people of the northwest at the same time were reminded that the transportation facilities for their agricultural produce were inadequate and were not increasing so fast as their crops, and that the proposition to this country included the free use of the St. Lawrence river, and equal terms on the Canadian canals.

The story sounds plausible, but it is not necessary to believe it. There is reason to hold that the treaty would have been acceptable, at the time it was made, had none of these inducements been held out, or at least none but the settlement of the fishery dispute, which was universally regarded as a troublesome matter. For in the middle of the decade 1850–60 the sentiment in favor of protection by tariff duties as a political measure was practically extinct. In 1856 the Democrats declared in their national platform that the time had come for the United States to pronounce in favor of "progressive free trade throughout the world," but the tariff was not mentioned in the platform of any other party. It may fairly be presumed that the employment of means to lubricate the passage of the measure was unnecessary, and that the treaty

[1] By the Hon. Portus Baxter of Vermont, in the debate in the House of Representatives on the resolution directing the abrogation of the treaty.

would have been ratified and the act for carrying it into effect would have been passed, in any event.

The Treaty was negotiated between the Hon. William L. Marcy, Secretary of State, and the Earl of Elgin, Governor-General of all the British North American Possessions, acting as the plenipotentiary of the British government; was signed by them on June 5, 1854; was ratified by the Senate, September 9, and proclaimed on the 11th. It was to become effective when the legislation necessary for carrying it into effect should have been passed by Congress, by the imperial Parliament of Great Britain and by the provincial legislatures of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. It was accepted by all those legislatures. The act of Congress approving it was signed by President Franklin Pierce on August 4, 1854, and by a subsequent act, approved March 3, 1855, all but one of the provinces having accepted the agreement, a refund was authorized of all duties collected on goods made free by the treaty, imported since September 11, 1854, the date of the proclamation of the treaty. That date, although the treaty then went into effect for all practical purposes, is not the official date, for it went into final effect officially on March 16, 1855.

The treaty conceded to the United States and the British provinces each, the privilege of the inshore fishery on the coast of the other, together with the right to land and cure fish. It granted to the citizens of the United States the right to the navigation of the river St. Lawrence, and the use of the Canadian canals on the same terms as to Canadians, and to Canadians the right to the navigation of Lake Michigan. Provision was also made for the free entry of lumber cut on the line of the upper St. John River, on the border between Maine and New Brunswick.

The part of the treaty which afterward became the subject of controversy, and which was supposed to embody the principle of reciprocity, was the third article. By its provisions certain specified natural products crossed the frontier in either direction, free of duty. The list of products was as follows:

Grain, flour and breadstuffs of all kinds; animals of all kinds; fresh, smoked and salted meats; cotton-wool; seeds and vegetables;

undried fruits; dried fruits; fish of all kinds; products of fish and all other creatures living in the water; poultry; eggs, hides, furs, skins or tails undressed; stone or marble in its crude or unwrought state; slate; butter, cheese, tallow; lard; horns; manures; ores of metals of all kinds; coal; pitch, tar, turpentine; ashes; timber and lumber of all kinds round, hewed and sawed, unmanufactured in whole or in part; firewood, plants, shrubs and trees; pelts; wool; fish-oil; rice; broom-corn and bark; gypsum, ground or unground; hewn or wrought, or unwrought burr or grindstones; dyestuffs; flax, hemp and tow, unmanufactured; unmanufactured tobacco; rags.

One can easily understand that, on free trade principles, such an arrangement would be regarded as highly advantageous to both the parties to the agreement. But if we study the particular circumstances of the people most affected by it, it is quite as easy to see why it should have been regarded as highly disadvantageous by those on the American side of the line. Farming was the occupation of almost the entire population of Vermont, New York — the northern part of the State — Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. Further west than the longitude of Michigan, Canada was an unsettled wilderness. The treaty admitted duty free into the fringe of northern states the farm produce and lumber of which Canada had an excess, offering in return the comparatively worthless access to the Canadian markets for the same articles. So far as the schedule of free goods specified products which were exportable by only one of the parties it was also valueless in that particular, for the provinces would not in any event levy duty on raw cotton, and the United States would have no fear of competition with other countries for the Canadian supply of tobacco. So far as the concession to the fishermen of the Atlantic coast was concerned, it was offset more or less — many of them thought more — by the free admission of Canadian-caught fish.

It should be said at once that there was at no time, in any part of the United States, or among American farmers, fishermen, manufacturers or tradesmen, dissatisfaction with the working of the treaty so far as it concerned trade with the Maritime Provinces; for those Provinces did not produce a superfluity of breadstuffs, of poultry and eggs, of meats, nor in fact of any important classes of articles covered by the agreement; and they were good customers of the states. Whereas

under the treaty the exports to Canada proper declined and the imports increased, the reverse was the case with the Maritime Provinces as to the movement of trade in both directions.

With respect to Canada there was great dissatisfaction with the operation of the measure from the beginning, all along the border. As early as 1859 memorials and remonstrances were sent to Congress from the communities most affected, and the legislatures of Maine, Vermont, Ohio, and possibly other states passed resolutions condemning the treaty. But as the agreement was to remain in force for ten years, and for one year thereafter, notice given by either party of the termination of the treaty, which notice could not be given until the full ten years had expired, it was useless to pay any attention to such representations. The earliest date on which the agreement could be terminated was March 16, 1865. An earnest effort to take the first opportunity to abrogate it was begun in 1862. On February 5 of that year the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives of the 37th Congress made an elaborate report on the working of the treaty. The report was written by Mr. Elijah Ward of New York, and was based upon resolutions of the legislature of that state.

The resolutions characterized the treaty as a measure under which "nearly all the articles which Canada has to sell are admitted into the United States free of duty, while heavy duties are now imposed upon many of those articles which the United States have to sell with the intention of excluding the United States from the Canadian markets, as avowed by the Minister of Finance and other gentlemen holding high official positions in Canada; and similar legislation with the same official avowal has been adopted by the imposition of discriminating tolls and duties in favor of an isolating and exclusive policy against our merchants and forwarders, meant and intending to destroy the natural effects of the treaty, and contrary to its spirit." The resolutions did not ask for the abrogation of the treaty, but for the appointment of commissioners to secure such modifications of the agreement as would render it — in the words of the treaty — "reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory." It may be remarked here that in all the debates and parliamentary manœuvring that culminated in the sending of

the notice of abrogation to Great Britain, the contest was between those who wished for immediate and unconditional abrogation and those who endeavored to procure the appointment of commissioners in the hope that a more satisfactory arrangement might be made before adopting the more extreme measure. In all those debates there was not a single expression on the part of any senator or member to the effect that the existing arrangement was satisfactory.

It is now necessary to see what was meant by the New York legislature in its complaint of heavy duties imposed for the purpose of hampering American trade, and the imposition of discriminating tolls on the canals that were to be open on equal terms to Americans and Canadians. There is no doubt that the manufacturers of New England hoped, and probably expected, that the freer commercial relations with respect to natural products would conduce to a situation that would enable them to sell many more of their goods to Canada. The tendency would certainly be in that direction if no impediments were placed in their way. Such impediments were placed there. The duties imposed by Canada were raised in every one of the four years following the making of the treaty. Mr. Ward, himself a strong supporter of the movement to secure a modification of the agreement, rather than its discontinuance — a position which he maintained to the end — showed that in 1859 the duties on boots and shoes, on saddlery and wearing apparel, had been doubled, and the duties on cotton goods, woollens, leather, hats, furniture, glass, agricultural implements, carriages, hardware, and a great variety of other articles, nearly all, in fact, which the United States had been selling to Canada, had been increased more than one half. Mr. Galt, the Canadian Minister of Finance, admitting in Parliament that the measure was an injury to American trade, said that it was "no subject of regret to the Canadian government."

An increase of duties if applied to the products of all countries might not have any other or worse effect than to restrict the purchases of Canada, or to make them pay higher prices for the imported goods they consumed. That would not constitute a grievance of which the United States could complain. And the government of Canada had a perfectly sound

reason for increasing duties. It had entered upon a policy of development, the chief feature of which was the encouragement by subsidy to the Grand Trunk Railway, which gave Montreal and Quebec an outlet to the sea at Portland, Maine. The new policy necessitated a larger revenue, and of course the Canadian government was quite within its rights in deciding to obtain the increase by heavier import duties. But the change was coupled with other measures that made it highly objectionable in the view of Americans. The system of levying duties was changed from specific to *ad valorem*, and it was provided that the appraisal on which goods should be assessed for duties should be at the value at the place of purchase. That meant that sugar, tea, and other commodities which Canada had been accustomed to buy in Boston and New York were to be appraised not at their value in the country of production, but in the American market. It was intended to cut off, and did cut off, the re-export trade of the United States; for if the tea or sugar were purchased in the country of origin and imported direct, the valuation and the duty would be lower. Mr. Galt, in defending this provision, said frankly that it was intended to benefit the shipping interests of Great Britain. That, again, was justifiable as a measure of loyalty, but was hardly in the spirit of the professed desire for closer commercial relations with the United States. Moreover, it was provided that the Governor-General of Canada might, by a departmental order, discriminate in favor of particular routes through this country, which signified unusual facilities not required by any treaty for traffic by way of the Grand Trunk; and the order was issued.

That was not all. In order to divert trade altogether from the United States an act was passed in 1860 providing that if vessels that had passed through the Welland Canal, and had paid the usual tolls, should thereafter enter any Canadian port or the St. Lawrence River, nine-tenths of the tolls paid should be refunded. It was, in effect, a nullification of that part of the treaty which stipulated that the canal should be open to the use of the citizens of both countries on equal terms; for it gave a direct pecuniary advantage to Canadian trade, and discriminated against Americans. This last measure was not at all popular in the western part of Canada, which re-

sented the attempts to stop the exportation of its produce to the United States and to force it to Montreal, Quebec and the St. Lawrence. The report of the Committee on Commerce of the 57th Congress quotes the following from a petition by a board of trade in Canada West (now Ontario), which is referred to as an "example" of those adopted by the chief cities of the province:[1]

> Your petitioners are of opinion that so uncalled-for and unwise a scheme is calculated to affect the existing pleasant commercial relationship between Canada and the United States in the working of the reciprocity treaty, the great advantage of which to this province is well known to your honorable house, inasmuch as the proposed policy of the inspector-general practically shuts the door to the admission into Canada of the leading articles of commerce hitherto purchased in the great markets of the United States, and forcing Upper Canada to import *via* the St. Lawrence, or otherwise pay an enormous increase of duty.

It has been so industriously circulated by Canadians and others who are interested in representing that the treaty worked advantageously to this country, that the abrogation of the agreement was due to spite at the attitude of Canadians toward the United States during the Civil War, that the truth of the matter is almost unknown. As a matter of fact dissatisfaction with it existed from the beginning. In 1859 the Treasury Department commissioned the Hon. Israel T. Hatch and Mr. James W. Taylor to examine the working of the revenue laws and the reciprocity treaty on the Canadian frontier. Mr. Buchanan was President, the entire administration was Democratic, and the Secretary of the Treasury who directed the inquiry to be made was Howell Cobb, of Georgia. Mr. Hatch had been a member of Congress from New York, 1857–59, and on his retirement was appointed postmaster at Buffalo. Mr. Taylor was a citizen of Minnesota. They did not act in concert and made separate reports. The resolution calling for them was passed by the House of Representatives on March 26, 1860, and they were sent to the House on June 16.[2] A consideration of the dates shows that Mr. Taylor's report was not made until some time after the request for its submission was made, for it was dated May 2. Mr. Hatch's

[1] *Report*, No. 22, 20.

[2] Ex. Doc. No. 96, 36th Cong. 1st Sess.

report was dated March 26, two days after the House resolution was passed.

Mr. Hatch's report is based, according to his own statement, upon visits to the principal points of intercourse between the two countries, and interviews and correspondence with leading individuals whose interests were affected by the Treaty. It covers nearly fifty document pages, and discusses the operation of the treaty in all its bearings. Too much stress is undoubtedly laid upon the loss of revenue, which was certainly foreseen when the treaty was negotiated, but Mr. Hatch has no difficulty in showing that the working of the agreement was one-sided. In 1855 the importation of free goods from Canada was valued at $6,876,496; of dutiable goods, $5,305,818. In 1859 the value of free goods imported was $13,703,748; of dutiable, $504,969. Thus the total trade had increased about two million dollars; but whereas the amount of merchandise which Canada had been enabled to sell here free of duty had more than doubled, that upon which duty was levied had fallen off more than nine-tenths. On the other hand, Canada's imports of dutiable goods from the United States in 1855 were valued at $11,449,472; of free goods, $9,379,204. In 1858, of dutiable goods, $8,473,607; of free goods, $7,161,958. Thus the American export trade had fallen off five and a half million dollars, and more than half the decrease was in dutiable goods. Mr. Hatch seems to have had no figures of the export movement for 1859. But Mr. Ward's report shows that whereas the Canadian exports of articles free under the treaty increased from $16,476,093 in 1855 to $20,365,829 in 1860, the exports of such merchandise from the United States to Canada decreased from $7,725,761 in 1855 to $7,069,689 in 1860. So that the treaty did not increase the movement northward of the goods included in the treaty, and the decrease was accompanied by a decline also in the trade in articles outside the treaty. It may be added that the movement continued to the time when the treaty was terminated. Mr. Ward's second report, made in 1864, states that the value of our manufactures exported to Canada in 1856 was nearly eight million dollars. That is probably an exaggeration, but the itemized statement for 1858–9,[1] shows that the exports of

[1] Report No. 39, 38th Cong. 1st Sess. 5.

such goods were valued at $4,185,516; and that in 1862–3 the value of the same articles was only $1,510,802. The United states exported to Canada in the year 1854–5, before the treaty was negotiated, cotton and iron manufactures to a greater value than that of all manufactures in 1862–3. However extravagant, or however modest may have been the hopes and expectations of Americans as to the increase of trade that would come to them from the opening of the Canadian market, it is evident that none of them were realized. Canada took a smaller amount of the goods made free by the treaty, and the trade in manufactured articles was reduced to practically nothing.

Notice should be taken of Mr. Taylor's dissenting report. Mr. Taylor did not make a special investigation; indeed, he admits as much, for he "ventures to present the results of an inquiry into its operation, at least so far as these can be gathered from public documents,"— an inquiry, it may be remarked, which might be made by any one. Mr. Taylor first argues that the fisheries clauses of the treaty are of great value; but on that point a resident of Minnesota would not be recognized as the best authority. He next argues — his report is for the most part an argument on the side of Canada — that there could be no grievance on our part on account of the increase of duties by Canada. He puts it thus:

> It is alleged that since the date of the treaty Canada has increased the duties upon imports, especially by the tariff of 1858. Granted; but this is no reasonable ground of complaint. Canada is careful to include in the free list every article named in the schedule of the treaty; and as to the manufactured articles, what right have we to demand that the provinces should encourage importations from the United States when our legislation of 1846 imposed duties as high as thirty per cent., and the act of 1857 only reduced their average to twenty-four per cent. upon Canadian manufactures?

He goes on to compare the rates on the same articles by the Canadian and the American tariffs respectively. The fallacy of such an argument is easily seen when it is remembered that the difference in rates existed when the treaty was negotiated, and that in the following year the American rates were reduced by the tariff of 1857, whereas those of Canada were increased.

Next, in order to show that the treaty had not injured the American export of manufactures, he compares the exports of 1858 and those of 1859. Aside from the fact that a comparison between two selected years is of no value, it appears from the list he publishes that although there was an increase of a little less than $600,000 in the later year, more than that sum was accounted for by the augmentation of exports of three articles: manufactured tobacco; salt; and brown sugar, which is not a manufactured article and was not the produce of the United States. The tone of the "report" may be judged from the following passage:

> Our manufacturers demand that Canada shall restore the scale of duties existing when the reciprocity treaty was ratified on penalty of its abrogation. When it is considered that the duties imposed by the American tariff of 1857 are fully 25 per cent. higher than the corresponding rates of the Canadian tariff, the demand borders on arrogance.

No action followed the reports of Messrs. Hatch and Taylor, and the subject of the treaty appears not to have been mentioned in Congress, save upon the presentation of memorials which were not reported upon by any committee, until the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress — December, 1861–July, 1862. Concurrent resolutions of the legislature of New York were presented and referred to the Committee on Commerce, and upon them Mr. Ward made the report which has already been mentioned several times. The preamble of the resolutions urged the importance of free commercial intercourse between the provinces and the United States; recited the action of the government of Canada that nullified the purpose of the treaty; but deprecated a policy of retaliation as injurious to Upper Canada (Ontario), "whose people have never failed in their efforts to secure a permanent and just policy for their own country and ourselves." The resolutions urged the appointment of commissioners to meet "persons properly appointed on behalf of Canada," to negotiate a modification of "the unequal and unjust system of commerce now existing." That policy, as has been stated, was advocated persistently by Mr. Ward in his report, and in his action in the House of Representatives. He explained the principles of the *zollverein*, sketched its history and dwelt

upon its success. He presented the reasons for thinking that the system would be equally successful and useful to both countries on this continent.

No action was taken on the report. But it should be mentioned that the suggestion of an American *zollverein* was heard no more, for Mr. Galt, whose attention was called to the report of Mr. Ward, in a paper addressed to the Governor-General of Canada, in March, 1862, only a month after the report of the Committee on Commerce was made public, wrote:[1]

> The undersigned can have no hesitation in stating to your excellency that, in his opinion, the project of an American *zollverein*, to which the British provinces should become parties, is one wholly inconsistent with the maintenance of their connection with Great Britain, and also opposed on its own merits to the interests of the people of these provinces.

At the beginning of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, in December, 1863, the subject of the reciprocity treaty was introduced in both branches: in the House by Mr. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, who offered a resolution providing for the sending of notice to Great Britain of the abrogation of the treaty; and by Mr. Ward, of New York, providing for the appointment of commissioners to negotiate a new treaty; in the Senate, by Mr. Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, providing for the immediate termination of the treaty. In the House Mr. Morrill tried to have the subject referred to the Ways and Means Committee; but Mr. Ward was successful in having it referred to his own committee. Until the matter was finally disposed of Mr. Justin Morrill was the most active member in promoting the policy of absolute abrogation. He took early advantage of "general debate" on the naval appropriation bill to set forth at great length the disadvantages of the treaty and the reasons for putting an end to the agreement.

When the matter came up for action the debate was long and able on both sides. It is not necessary to do more at this time than to summarize the arguments, and as for those in favor of terminating the treaty, the most of them have already been given. Those which have not been mentioned were used for the most part in rebuttal, and will therefore be stated after

[1] See *Congressional Globe*, January 27, 1864, 381.

the reasons for a less radical step than abrogation have been stated. For it should be borne in mind that every speaker on the subject agreed that the treaty had not worked satisfactorily, and no one advocated leaving matters as they were. There was at no time a test vote that would indicate whether any of the members would have voted against any action whatever looking to a more satisfactory condition.

It was urged by the opponents of immediate abrogation that, although the trade had diminished, so far as exports from the United States were concerned, the "balance of trade" was still in favor of the United States; and that was true, although the balance was inconsiderable. It was pointed out that none of the petitions and memorials asked for abrogation, at least not until after an effort had been made to amend the treaty. That also was undisputed. The legislature of Maine did once ask for the termination of the treaty without conditions, but the next year it asked for a preliminary attempt to improve the terms. Much stress was laid on the fact that the treaty put an end to a generations-long controversy over fishery rights on the coast of British America. Some of the western members gave quite as much importance to the opening of the water ways to American shipping. They urged that the limit of the capacity of the Erie Canal and of the existing railways had been nearly reached, and that unless the Canadian routes were available the transportation lines would be able to put freights on the products of the West up to an injurious height. All of the speakers on that side endeavored to show that if a curt notice to terminate the treaty were sent there would be resentment in Canada, and that action would be taken by the government of the province hostile and harmful to American interests. There was, moreover, a great deal of amplification of the benefits of free or at any rate freer trade, and of hopefulness that if the United States should treat the provinces generously, an extension of the reciprocity principle might fairly be expected. That view was urged chiefly by representatives of the lake cities, such as Detroit and Chicago, who pointed to the fact that the boards of trade of most of the western cities had memorialized Congress against abrogation.

Most of these points were answered by the advocates of

immediate action. Some of the representatives of the fishing interest belittled the advantages given to that industry by the treaty. Gloucester was reported to be in favor of a retention of the treaty, but only Mr. Alley of the Cape Ann district of Massachusetts and Mr. Eliot of the New Bedford district, of the entire delegation from that state opposed abrogation. Mr. Pike of Maine, whose constituents were largely engaged in the northern fishery, maintained that the benefits derived from the treaty were not great. The answer to the plea regarding the water-ways was that the St. Lawrence was used hardly at all by American shipping and that it never would be so used, as it was a circuitous route and was unusable during a large part of the year. Furthermore it was asserted that the American canal and railways were equal to any demands likely to be put on them. The advocacy of the treaty by boards of trade was represented merely to signify the satisfaction of those engaged in shipping on the lakes — they forming the chief membership of such organizations — with an arrangement that gave them much transportation business in both directions.

Debate in which these were the leading arguments advanced on either side, took place on the resolution reported by the Committee on Commerce, and an amendment offered by Mr. Morrill of Vermont. The committee proposed that the President should be "authorized and required" to give notice of the intention of the United States to terminate the treaty, "as soon as it can be done under the provision thereof, unless a new convention shall, before that time, be concluded between the two governments by which the provisions shall be abrogated or so modified as to be mutually satisfactory to both governments." The President was by the same resolution authorized to appoint commissioners to meet with commissioners of Great Britain, "whenever it shall appear to be the wish of the government of Great Britain to negotiate a new treaty between the two governments and the people of both countries based upon the true principles of reciprocity, and for the removal of existing difficulties." Mr. Morrill's substitute was a simple authorization to the President to give notice of the termination of the treaty.

By this time, for the question had gone over until the spring

of 1864, two new arguments for abrogation had forced themselves upon the attention of Congress. One of them was referred to in debate at that time; the other was scarcely mentioned until the ensuing session. The country was engaged in civil war, and the government needed every dollar it could raise by taxation or by borrowing. Import duties had been greatly increased and the internal revenue system was all-embracing, or as nearly so as was permissible. In both these branches of taxation the treaty was an obstacle. The government could not levy duties on any merchandise in the schedule of free goods; it could not levy an excise tax upon any articles of domestic production mentioned in the treaty, as that would place the home producer at a disadvantage. Lumber and flour are two examples of the merchandise from which government was compelled to withhold its taxing hand. But aside from such articles it was felt to be a misfortune that import duties could not be laid upon all the merchandise that came in from Canada.

The House came to a vote on the question on May 26, 1864. The roll was called four times, but curiously enough one vote only can be regarded as a test. That was on a motion by Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, to substitute for the committee's resolution a simple direction to the President to give the requisite notice to the British government. The motion was defeated, yeas 74, nays 82. The negative had a strong Democratic flavor, although it was by no means a party vote. Nor was it a sectional vote, for although New England supported Mr. Morrill by seventeen votes to nine, the other Atlantic states gave five majority against the motion. Most but not all of the western states ranged themselves against the substitute. After some parliamentary manœuvring Mr. Thaddeus Stevens moved the postponement of the resolution until the next session, and the motion was carried, yeas 77, nays 72. On that vote advocates and opponents of the two methods of procedure were inextricably mixed.

The matter was taken up early in the next session, in December, and the House made short work of it. There was a parliamentary tangle when the resolution came up for action, but Mr. Morrill succeeded in getting before the House a freshly drawn substitute, providing simply for a termination of the treaty, and it was quickly passed by a vote of yeas 85, nays

51.[1] The only word spoken in the nature of debate on the general question was a remark by Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, who referred to the closeness of the vote at the previous session, "and from what has transpired since, I think we must all agree that the notice ought to be given." The reference was, of course, to the impression that prevailed throughout the "loyal States" that the government of Canada was unfriendly to the cause of the Union, and that most of the leading public men of the province were actively encouraging if not materially assisting the Confederates, many of whom had repaired to Canada as a good basis for a "back fire" at their enemy. On the very day that the vote above recorded was passed the Canadian court discharged the St. Albans "raiders" — British subjects recruited in Canada by Confederate agents and led across the line on a plundering and destroying expedition — on the ground of want of jurisdiction, although the affair was as plain a violation of neutrality as any expedition that ever set out from the United States to filibuster in Cuba or Central America.

The resolution was passed by the House on December 13. When it reached the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and was reported back by Mr. Sumner on the 20th, in an entirely new draft. The parliamentary tangle just referred to was such that the House was not able to get rid of the preamble, which had been agreed to in the May debate, and the preamble was not consistent with the resolution itself, as it looked to a negotiation for a new treaty. Accordingly the Senate substitute left nothing of the work of the House but the words "Joint Resolution." Mr. Sumner wished to have the measure put at once upon its passage, but Mr. Hale of New Hampshire expressed a desire to speak in opposition, and the matter went over. It was taken up again in January, and after two or three days of debate was passed. The opposition was not important. It consisted for the most part of long speeches by Mr. Hale, Mr. Howe of Wisconsin, and Mr. Ramsey of Minnesota. Neither they nor those who favored the measure brought forward any new arguments. The

[1] The *Congressional Globe* gives the nays as 57, but the list given contains only 51 names. It gives the absentees as 40, but its list contains the names of 49, including one of a member who had resigned before the beginning of the session.

vote upon the passage of the resolution was yeas 33, nays 8. The House promptly accepted the Senate amendment; the notice to the British government was given on March 16, 1865, and the treaty came to an end on March 16, 1866, the earliest possible date on which it could be terminated.

Upon a full consideration of all the circumstances surrounding the agreement, the following facts seem to be established beyond dispute:

That dissatisfaction with the working of the treaty existed from the first, but was at that time felt by those only who inhabited the northern fringe of the United States, that is, by those who suffered from Canadian competition, but were unable to compete in Canada, which already produced a surplus of the articles made free by the treaty — in other words by those who were most affected by the operation of the treaty.

That there was at no time dissatisfaction on either side of the boundary with the arrangement so far as it concerned the trade between the United States and the Maritime Provinces.

That the extension of the area of dissatisfaction to American manufacturing communities was due to the action of the Canadian government in raising its duties on manufactured goods, coupling the increase with changes in the method of assessment expressly designed to favor importations from Great Britain and to hamper the trade in such goods with the United States. The same policy was pursued in the regulations which amounted to rebates on Canadian trade through the canals, and orders in council favoring certain land transportation routes.[1] The only criticism to be made of these measures, entirely justifiable on general principles, as promoting the interests of Canadians themselves, and as evidence of loyalty to the British connection, is that they were not in accordance with the spirit of the treaty, but the reverse.

That the events and the conditions of the Civil War supplied two additional reasons for abrogation, namely, the interference of the treaty with the power of the government to make its tax system apply to all products and all occupations and all

[1] The favor extended to the Grand Trunk Railway created a strong sentiment in the city of Portland, Maine, in favor of the treaty, which fully explains the extreme activity in opposition to abrogation on the part of Mr. Sweat, the congressman from that district.

imported articles, and the irritation caused by the assistance given to the Confederates from the Canadian side, unchecked by Canadian government or courts.

That it required the concurrence of all these causes to secure from Congress the passage of the resolution of abrogation, and that even in the last year of the war, when financial difficulties were the greatest, and when the fervor of loyalty to the Union cause was most passionate, there was strong opposition to the termination of the treaty, and in influential quarters a disposition to continue the system if it could be made a truly reciprocal system, that is, one that would permit the Americans to sell what they had to sell, in return for the same favor granted to Canadians.

From the foregoing considerations it seems to follow that but for the hostile fiscal policy of Canada, due to the domination in the government of what is now Quebec province, and the toleration by that government of unfriendly demonstrations of a military nature on our northern frontier, the reciprocity treaty of 1854 would not have been abrogated in 1865, and might even have been in force, with modifications, today.

We have now to consider the suggestions of a renewal of closer commercial relations between the two countries during the nearly half a century that has elapsed since the ill-fated treaty of 1854 came to an end.

Before the notice given in 1865 became effective, Mr. Galt, the Finance Minister of Canada, and Mr. Howard, a member of the government, visited Washington with a view to avert the catastrophe of abrogation. There is no known record of the nature of the proposition made by the visitors. The consultation with the State Department must have been informal. Probably some concessions were offered; indeed, a suggestion of the renewal of the old treaty unchanged would have been hopeless. But as Congress had lately deliberately rejected the proposal of an attempt to secure concessions in favor of unconditional abrogation, Mr. Seward could hardly have taken seriously the movement by Canada. At all events, nothing came of it.

That was the first of several attempts [1] more or less earnest

[1] The Hon. George Graham, who was a member of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet, said, in a speech in Boston in the winter of 1912–13, that there had been

on the part of Canada to renew the system of reciprocity without conceding what alone would render such an arrangement acceptable to Americans, that is, a general reduction of Canadian duties on manufactured goods. No adverse criticism applies to the Canadian government for not yielding on that point, for it is undeniable that the granting of lower rates to America than to British manufactures would be an act incompatible with loyalty to the mother country. But Canadian inability to grant such a favor does not impose upon the United States any obligation, or give it any inducement, to make a treaty which would furnish a market for Canadian products of which it has an excess in return for access to the Dominion with the same articles which Canada does not need.

Canada became confederated in 1867. Its tariff act of 1868 contained a clause making free of duty a certain list of natural products similar to that in the treaty of 1854, whenever the United States tariff should make free the same list of articles when imported from Canada. In 1869 Mr. John Rose, the Finance Minister, was sent to Washington to propose a renewal of the old treaty, but was wholly unsuccessful. Sir John Macdonald was one of the commissioners of Great Britain at the conference which negotiated the Treaty of Washington, by which the "Alabama" claims were sent to arbitration. Judge Longley, of Nova Scotia, in an article in the *North American Review* for March, 1903, reports that

> At one period the American commissioners made a proposition of free wood, coal, salt, and lumber. Sir John A. Macdonald, who was the special representative of Canada on the British commission, desired time for the consideration of this proposition; but when he was prepared to discuss it, the American commissioners withdrew the offer and declined to consider, during the entire negotiations, any proposition whatever relating to a free interchange of commodities between the two countries.

Judge Longley gives no authority for the foregoing statement. I have obtained from the State Department at Washington the following extract from the protocols of the confer-

thirteen such attempts; but many of those specified were "unofficial," and others were nothing more than official expressions of a wish for reciprocity, followed by no action.

ence, which I am assured is the only reference in them to the matter now under discussion:

At the conference on the 6th of March the British commissioners stated that they were prepared to discuss the question of the Fisheries, either in detail or generally, so as either to enter into an examination of the respective rights of the two countries under the treaty of 1818 and the general law of nations, or to approach at once the settlement of the question on a comprehensive basis.

The American commissioners said that with the view of avoiding the discussion of matters which subsequent negotiation might render it unnecessary to enter into, they thought it would be preferable to adopt the latter course, and inquired what, in that case, would be the basis which the British commissioners desired to propose.

The British commissioners replied that they considered that the Reciprocity Treaty of June 5, 1854, should be restored in principle.

The American commissioners declined to assent to a renewal of the former reciprocity treaty.

The British commissioners then suggested that, if any considerable modification were made in the tariff arrangements of that Treaty, the coasting trade of the United States and of Her Britannic Majesty's Possessions in North America should be reciprocally thrown open, and that the navigation of the River Saint Lawrence and of the Canadian canals should also be thrown open to the citizens of the United States on terms of equality with British subjects.

The American commissioners declined this proposal, and objected to a negotiation on the basis of the Reciprocity Treaty. They said that that Treaty had proved unsatisfactory to the people of the United States, and consequently had been terminated by notice from the Government of the United States, in pursuance of its provisions. Its renewal was not in their interest, and would not be in accordance with the sentiments of their people. They further said that they were not at liberty to treat of the opening of the coasting trade of the United States to the subjects of Her Majesty residing in her Possessions in North America. It was agreed that the questions relating to the navigation of the River Saint Lawrence, and the Canadian Canals, and to other commercial questions affecting Canada, should be treated by themselves.

That seems to be conclusive as a contradiction both of the statement that any proposition was made by the American commissioners, and as showing that the British commissioners, acting through Sir John Macdonald, would consider any extension of the system of reciprocity so as to include other

than natural products, unless coupled with a condition that was fundamentally unacceptable to Americans.

The MacKenzie administration came into power in the Dominion in 1873, and in the following year the Hon. George Brown, one of the leading statesmen of the country, was sent to Washington to propose reciprocity. Judge Longley, whose article has already been quoted, says:

> In fulfilment of his mission Mr. Brown went to Washington and was associated for this purpose with the British minister at Washington. He succeeded in framing a treaty of reciprocity which, while it was open to some criticism from a Canadian point of view, may be regarded in the main as fair, and as providing for a larger measure of reciprocity than the treaty of 1854–66. But it was instantly rejected by the Senate of the United States.

That can hardly be regarded as an accurate statement of what occurred. On the 14th of June, 1874, Mr. Fish, Secretary of State, sent to President Grant "a draught of a treaty" which had been submitted by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain "for my consideration." On the next day the President sent it to the Senate for its consideration, with a characteristically non-committal message, in which he commended the purpose of the arrangement, "but whether it makes all the concessions which could justly be required of Great Britain, or whether it calls for more concessions from the United States than we should yield, I am not prepared to say." Judge Longley does not assert that it was "negotiated," though that might be inferred from the language above quoted; but Mr. John Charlton, a most prominent Canadian advocate of reciprocity, has used that word to describe what occurred, in speeches both in the Canadian parliament and in the United States. It is not intended to imply that either of those honorable gentlemen purposely misrepresented what occurred, for the mistake might have been made by Americans, seeing that the message of the President was as usual, confidential; and although the "draught of a treaty" was made public by the Senate on June 22, the general public could easily have supposed that the treaty had been formally negotiated between the representatives of the two governments.[1] But the above statement

[1] It is doubtful if the treaty or the message of transmittal was ever printed in any newspaper in the United States. It was printed as a confidential document,

renders it certain that it was in no proper sense a treaty, but was Mr. Brown's idea of what such a treaty should be, in the preparation of which no representative of the United States government had any part. Moreover, the statement that it was "instantly rejected" by the Senate is not accurate. When it was received by the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. That was the 18th of June. Congress adjourned on the 23d. It was never reported upon by the committee. Indeed, it is difficult to see what action could have been taken, for it did not conform to the constitutional requirement that all treaties shall be made by the President; and President Grant had neither signed the treaty nor even recommended it.

The Canadian proposition did include in the lists of merchandise to be made free [1] when crossing the frontier in either direction, a great many classes of manufactured goods, but it coupled with that concession a condition which would never have been accepted by the people, at any rate not in their then frame of mind. Beside an extended list of natural products it was proposed to admit free of duty, mutually, a comprehensive list of agricultural implements; boots and shoes; coarse cotton goods; carriages and sleighs; furniture; many iron products, such as bar, hoop, rod, sheet and castings; harness and saddlery; locomotives and steam engines; printing paper, printing type and all printing accessories; and tweeds of wool and satinets of cotton and wool. So far it was the fairest and most generous proposition ever made, before or since, by Canadian authority. If tariff reciprocity only had been covered by the treaty, provided, of course, that it had been in form to be ratified by the Senate, there is no knowing what would have been its fate. It could not have been acted upon in the few days of the session that remained after it was before the Senate, but it might have come up at the ensuing session and had a fair chance of approval.

Let us remember that the election of 1874 resulted in the overthrow of the Republicans in the House of Representatives.

of which probably the only two copies now in existence are in the files of the Senate. One copy was kindly lent to me by favor of Senator Lodge.

[1] They were to be assessed at two-thirds of the current duties for one year, at one-third the second year, and thereafter were to be free of duty.

That the Republicans made use of the last months of their ascendancy to pass a tariff act increasing protective duties, suggests that a reciprocity treaty abolishing duties would not have been favorably considered; but it should likewise be remembered that that act was passed in the Senate by one vote, some of the most prominent Republicans voting in the negative. On the other hand it may be noted that during that same session the treaty of reciprocity with Hawaii was negotiated and was ratified by the Senate on March 18, 1875. If a real treaty, embodying only the provisions thus far mentioned, had been presented to the Senate after the Forty-fourth Congress came into being, the Senate, having a Republican majority of only fourteen, including quite a number who were inclined to "tariff reform," might have ratified it; and the House of Representatives, with a Democratic majority of nearly seventy, would certainly have passed an act for carrying its provisions into effect.

But there was one article of the "draught of a treaty" which made it impossible. Mr. Brown proposed that vessels built either in Canada or in the United States should be admitted to registry in the other country. That meant an abandonment of two lines of policy on which the country had been immovable from the beginning of the government under the Constitution. In appearance the clause meant only that there should be free ships. But the admission of a Canadian built and Canadian owned vessel to American registry would open to it the coasting trade of the United States. We need only refer to the tenacity with which it has recently maintained its right to the Atlantic-Pacific coasting trade through the Panama Canal, to see how all parties are agreed to protect the coasting trade. It is almost incredible that so wise a man, and so well-trained a statesman as Mr. Brown could have expected his treaty to be successful.

There is no doubt that during the long ascendancy of Sir John Macdonald in the Canadian government, which lasted from 1879 until his death in 1891, and during the following years until 1896 while the Conservative party continued in power, the Liberals carried on an active campaign in favor of comparatively unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. As they were in opposition they could effect nothing. The

policy was popular, and it was no doubt in view of the demonstration of that fact in the elections of 1891, which still resulted favorably for the Conservatives, that the government sent a delegation to Washington to sound the government on the subject. It was probably anticipated that nothing would come of it, but the mission, whether successful or unsuccessful, would deprive the Liberals of their popular issue. It is asserted that the reply of Mr. Blaine, the Secretary of State, to the overtures was that no arrangement would be considered that did not give the United States rates of duties lower than those to the rest of the world. That would mean a discrimination in favor of this country as against Great Britain, which of course would be inadmissible. This statement of Mr. Blaine's position is not on its face improbable, but no authority is given for it, and as the conferences were no doubt without witnesses, the exact truth cannot be known. Whatever may have been the fact, the Liberal party no longer made reciprocity the chief plank in its platform, though it did still advocate that policy. In 1893 there was a convention of the party which adopted the following resolution on the subject:

> That the Liberal party is prepared to enter into negotiations with the view of obtaining such a treaty, including a well-considered list of manufactured articles, and we are satisfied that any treaty so arranged will receive the assent of Her Majesty's government, without whose approval no treaty can be made.

The Liberal party came into power in 1896. It was not long before Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the prime minister, developed his fiscal policy. In 1897 he introduced the policy which the Dominion has ever since maintained and extended, of granting preferential rates of duty to the products of the United Kingdom and of British possessions — a policy which, taken by itself, certainly involves a discrimination against the United States, and, so far as the government can effect it, a limitation of imports from this country. A discussion of the preferential policy would be out of place in this connection, but it may be remarked in passing that it does not seem to have affected the trade of the United States unfavorably. In 1896, the year before the system was adopted, the value of imports into Canada from Great Britain was $32,979,742; from the United

States it was $58,574,024. In 1913 the value of British imports had increased to $138,761,568, and the value of merchandise from the United States had increased to $414,142,593. The greater increase of the United States is seen in practically all the classes of goods covered by the preferential tariff, and this country has an overwhelming preëminence in almost all those classes except in textiles, crockery and window glass.

Sir Wilfrid still adhered, as he has adhered ever since, to the policy of reciprocity with this country, modified, as we have seen, by his policy of favors to the mother country. In 1898 he opened negotiations again with Washington, with a view to reach an agreement on tariff concessions by the two countries. The proposition was not for a reciprocity agreement simply, but for a general discussion and settlement of all questions at issue between Canada and the United States. The national administration was favorable to such a conference, and accordingly on the 25th of May, 1898, a conference was begun at Washington between representatives of Great Britain and the United States, with a view to preparing the way for a settlement of all outstanding questions between the two countries with reference to Canada. Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British ambassador, and Sir Louis Davies, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Dominion government, represented Great Britain, and Hon. John W. Foster and Hon. John A. Kasson represented the United States. In the course of five meetings on successive days they formulated a series of eleven topics to be laid before a Joint High Commission. The Bering Sea seal question; the fisheries question; the Alaska boundary; transit of merchandise from one country to the other; and the subject of naval vessels on the great lakes; were among the subjects agreed upon. The eighth topic was as follows:

> Such readjustment and concessions as may be deemed mutually advantageous, of customs duties applicable in each country to the products of the soil or industry of the other, upon the basis of reciprocal equivalents.

Congress passed an act, July 7, 1898, creating the commission; the parliaments of Great Britain and Canada did likewise, and the Commission was appointed: Hon. Charles W. Fairbanks, Hon. George Gray, Hon. John W. Foster, Hon.

John A. Kasson, Hon. Nelson Dingley, and Hon. T. Jefferson Coolidge, representing the United States; Lord Herschel representing the imperial government; Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir Louis Davies, and Hon. John Charlton, representing Canada; and Sir Thomas Winter representing Newfoundland.

It is impossible to ascertain the details of what took place in the discussions before the Commission with reference to reciprocity. Nothing came of its deliberations on that or any other topic. The State Department refuses to make public the protocols of the Commission, on the ground that they are confidential. It is known that conferences were held both at Quebec and at Washington, and that the Commission finally adjourned without fixing a time for reassembling, irreconcilable differences having developed as to the proper method of arbitrating the Alaska boundary dispute. The British commissioners refused to consider other questions until an agreement should have been reached on that subject. The Commission never met again.

The following passage from a communication from one who was connected with the Commission is all that can be ascertained at present upon the subject of reciprocity:

> There was naturally a wide divergence of view with reference to commercial reciprocity, embraced in Section Eight of the Protocol. Our British friends leaned rather to the free trade view, while the American Commissioners approached the subject upon the basis of genuine reciprocity yielding equivalent for equivalent. The American Commissioners took a large amount of testimony; they granted hearings to those who wished to be heard; and much literature was submitted to them bearing upon the subject under consideration. The late Nelson Dingley was chairman of the committee on reciprocity. Upon his death he was succeeded by Hon. Sereno E. Payne. The Commission made an honest effort to effect a reciprocity treaty, but little advance was made along that line. . . . The discussions of the Commission were all conducted with earnestness and entire good nature, and, I think, with a desire to accommodate each other's views where reasonably possible.

No meeting of the reciprocity committee was held after Mr. Dingley's death. Indeed, none was necessary, as the Alaska problem had led the Commission into an *impasse*.

There are some facts to corroborate the foregoing assertion that the American commissioners wished to bring about reciprocity. Mr. Dingley's son has gone so far as to make publicly the prediction that if he had lived "the Anglo-American Commission would have reached a substantial and satisfactory arrangement on all disputed points, including reciprocity." In view of the wide differences of opinion of the two governments on other points, one may fairly doubt if the prediction is justified, without implying any doubt of Mr. Dingley's earnestness in promoting a trade agreement between the two countries.

When Sir Wilfrid left Washington in 1899, after the failure of the Commission, he declared that Canada would not again go to Washington asking for reciprocity. "We have been seeking for improved trade relations, we know how desirable it is to have an improvement, we know how much these trade relations could be improved, we have exhausted our patience and our resources in the effort to improve them, and if you reach the point where you understand this question and realize that a treaty is desirable, you can intimate that fact to us." Although the United States has not had reason to complain of the share of Canadian trade which it has enjoyed in the absence of a treaty, as a matter of fact the next and last proposition for a customs agreement did originate in the United States. Although it is almost contemporaneous history it may be well to add it to the record.

During the earliest years of the present century a campaign in favor of reciprocity was started in many of the northern states. It was essentially a political and an academic campaign. With few exceptions it had no active support from persons and interests that might be expected to profit from freer trade relations. Certain makers of agricultural implements hoped for larger sales in Canada if the Dominion tariff upon their wares were reduced, and millers in the northwest wished for access to the Canadian supplies of wheat. But in the main the movement in favor of a tariff agreement was simply a part of an agitation for a reduction of import duties generally. It was a part of the "insurgent" movement in the Republican party, and was, of course, supported by the Democrats, who are always in favor of reducing duties. It cannot, however, be

said that the sentiment of Republicans who were not affected by the insurgency movement was at the outset averse to a trade agreement with Canada, provided it would enlarge the market for American manufactures without endangering the principle of protection. In fact, it was a part of the Republican doctrine that reciprocity was the twin policy with protection.

President Taft seems to have conceived the idea that the conclusion of a reciprocity agreement with Canada would mitigate somewhat the hostility in insurgent circles toward the so-called Payne-Aldrich tariff act; and being himself in favor of such a measure, he took the initiative by approaching the government of Canada. In the spring of 1910 (March 20) he sent two representatives of the Treasury Department to Ottawa to sound the Canadian government on the subject. They found the premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, well disposed toward the arrangement proposed, but nothing further was done in the matter until November of the same year, when the two agents were again despatched to the Canadian capital to enter into formal preparations for a conference. It was agreed that the negotiations should take place in Washington in January, 1911. Soon after New Year's day the Canadian negotiators, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, and William A. Patterson, Minister of Customs, arrived in Washington, accompanied by several other members of the Dominion cabinet who came upon other business. Mr. Knox, the Secretary of State, acted for the United States. The first meeting for business was held on January 7, and so few were the obstacles encountered that the agreement was completed and signed by the negotiators for the two governments on the 21st of the same month.

The plan adopted was one of concurrent legislation. The conclusion of a formal treaty by Canada might raise some questions with the imperial government as to its power, although Canada has claimed, and in some cases has exercised the right to negotiate commercial treaties. But as it was determined to leave either party free to withdraw from the arrangement at its pleasure, the legislative plan was on all accounts preferable. The agreement was to become effective when both Congress and the Dominion parliament should have passed laws modifying their customs laws in accordance with its provisions, and

would come to an end whenever either legislature should so decide.

The agreement was by far the most comprehensive that was ever proposed, with authority, between the two governments. It provided for reciprocity in the free admission into either country from the other of a long list of products: all live animals and all meats except fresh meats; all grains, seeds, vegetables and fresh or dried fruits; dairy products; fish; salt; lumber; tin plates; barbed wire; wood pulp; and paper valued at not more than four cents a pound. Some minor items need not be mentioned. In addition to the goods made mutually free of duty there were hundreds of others on which the duty was to be reduced. The most important from the manufacturer's point of view were agricultural implements, but the list also included cutlery, clocks and watches, pocket books, printing ink, and automobiles. Although on all these and other articles not here mentioned, there was a reduction of the Canadian duty, the rate was in no case put lower than that of the Canadian "intermediate" tariff, which was also in every case higher than the British preferential tariff. Some of the Conservative statesmen of England, denouncing the action of Canada, asserted that the Dominion had proposed to give the United States privileges for its trade from which the mother country was excluded. The statement was not true of any single article in any one of the schedules of the reciprocity agreement. On the contrary Canada did not, in offering to lower its tariff, admit the United States to any of the privileges of the preferential tariff. The agreement did make free certain articles on which there would be a duty if the goods were imported from Great Britain; but they were articles with the exception of tin plates in which Great Britain has and could have no important trade, as will be seen from an inspection of the list already given. Moreover, the resolutions proposing to carry into effect the agreement, in which Mr. Fielding introduced the subject in the Canadian House of Commons, promised the same terms to Great Britain, "provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall be held to increase any rate of duty now provided for in the British preferential tariff."

The agreement was submitted to Congress by President Taft,

and to the Canadian parliament by Mr. Fielding, on the same day, January 27, 1911. On the 28th, Mr. McCall of Massachusetts introduced a bill to carry the agreement into effect, and it was passed by the House of Representatives on February 4, by a vote of 221 to 93. The majority was made up of 78 Republicans and 143 Democrats; the negative of 87 Republicans and 6 Democrats. The Senate took no action upon it at that session. An extraordinary session of Congress was held beginning April 4. On the 12th Mr. Underwood of Georgia, the majority leader of the House, presented a bill similar to that of the previous session, and it was passed on the 21st by a vote of 267 to 89. As before, a majority of Republicans opposed the bill. The majority consisted of 203 Democrats and 64 Republicans; the minority, of 78 Republicans and 11 Democrats. In the Senate the Finance Committee reported the bill without any recommendation on June 14; the debate began on the next day and continued intermittently until July 22, when it was passed by a vote of 43 to 27: in the affirmative 21 Republicans and 22 Democrats; in the negative 24 Republicans and 3 Democrats. The President signed the bill on July 26. The act passed by Congress departed in one respect from the agreement, for whereas that instrument provided that all the arrangements should take effect when both governments agreed to the whole, the act of Congress made effective the free admission of wood pulp — except that on which an export duty might have been levied — independently of any action by the government of Canada.

The votes in Congress reflected quite accurately the opinion of the people. It was abundantly clear that the strong Democratic support of the measure was due, in part at least, to the political desire to make a successful attack upon the Republican policy of a protective tariff. On the other hand, the Republican opposition arose in large part from a wish to defend the system against all assaults. This was particularly noticeable in the attitude taken by manufacturers whose goods were not included in any of the schedules of the agreements, of whom the textile men were most strenuous in the hostility to the measure. The farmers in the northern tier of states were practically unanimous in opposition, and when the opportunity came visited their vengeance upon the President for his activity

in promoting it; although in so doing, giving their support to the candidates of the new Progressive party, they helped to bring into power the Democrats, whose votes had saved the ratifying act from defeat in Congress. Save for such support as the act received as a political measure, and save for the opposition of the manufacturers and the farmers, the people as a whole were quite indifferent on the subject.

It will remain for some future Canadian historian to go at length into the story of the reception of the reciprocity agreement, the exciting political canvass which ensued, the rejection of the scheme, and the important influence upon Canada as a nationality of its decision. Only the outlines can be given here.[1]

Sir Wilfrid Laurier seems to have had no doubt of the acceptance of the agreement by the Canadian parliament, and he had every reason for his confidence. His government had a majority of 45 in the House of Commons, and he had no reason to anticipate any serious defection. Just before the meeting of the negotiators in Washington, there was a great convention of Canadian farmers, who went to Ottawa a thousand strong, from every province except Prince Edward Island on the east and British Columbia on the west, to urge the policy of reciprocity on the Canadian government. Their resolutions were radical. They asked for reciprocal free trade with the United States in all agricultural, horticultural and animal products, spraying materials, fertilizers, fuel, illuminating and lubricating oils, cement, fish, lumber, agricultural implements, machinery and vehicles and parts thereof. They also urged that the rate of the British preference be raised to fifty per cent., and that a policy be adopted which would insure the establishment of complete free trade with Great Britain within ten years. The resolutions were presented to Sir Wilfrid on December 16, 1910. The reply of the premier was diplomatic. So far as tariff arrangements were concerned, he told the farmers that they must await the completion of the negotiations already pending with the United States, but he added that the goal of the government was in the direction in which the farmers were moving.

[1] Those who may wish to read a very full but extremely partisan account of the Canadian campaign against reciprocity, will find it in the *Canadian Annual Review* for 1911.

Sir Wilfrid heard the other side in January, when there was a conference between himself and a deputation of nearly one hundred members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, representing the most of the industries fostered by the protective tariff of the Dominion. He was diplomatic with them also; assured them that they would have nothing to fear from any arrangement that he would recommend to Parliament; and they went away satisfied.

The contest in Canada over the reciprocity agreement was one of the most remarkable character. The boards of trade throughout the Dominion ranged themselves promptly in opposition by strong majorities everywhere. The measure was deemed by them destructive of the protection which Canadian industries received from the tariff. Their attitude is intelligible, and so also is that of the parliamentary opposition, the function of which is to oppose. But something more was needed to defeat the measure, and that something was supplied. Originally the opposition in parliament, led by Mr. Richard Borden, announced the purpose of himself and his party to prevent the passage of the necessary legislation to make the agreement effective until after Congress had acted. The debate was therefore dragged along until after the adjournment of Congress on the 4th of March, 1911, when Mr. Borden brought forward a motion that the matter should be deferred "until the electors shall have had an opportunity of passing upon its merits." The motion was defeated by a vote of 112 to 70. Only two Liberal members deserted the premier on the motion. But the opposition continued, and quickly assumed the form of persistent and interminable obstruction. There is no limitation of debate in the Canadian House of Commons. The spirit of the opposition is shown by a remark by one of the Conservative members: "We can talk for a year if we want to, and as long as we talk the bill stands still." And so late as July 24 a member of the same party said in the House that there were still fifty-five members on that side who had not yet spoken, and who had a right to speak without obstruction being charged. The opposition hampered the government financially by refusing to allow annual supplies to be granted. Against all this the administration was powerless. Inasmuch as a colonial conference was to be held in London that spring,

there was a recess of parliament and truce for some weeks to enable Sir Wilfrid Laurier to attend it.

The government had its troubles outside the Commons. The Unionist party in England, regarding the proposed agreement as an obstacle in the way of the policy of imperial preference, which was one of the measures advocated by the party, associated themselves with the Canadian opposition, and questions were asked in parliament designed to assist Mr. Borden in his campaign.

That was not all. It was necessary to arouse a spirit of national pride and loyalty. Several outgivings by irresponsible persons in the United States were seized upon as indicating that the purpose of the agreement so far as American public men were concerned was to pave the way for a movement for the annexation of Canada to the United States. What was said was definite enough, but it was said by a mere handful of men,[1] and not one of those who advocated annexation represented any one but himself. A member of Congress from New York introduced resolutions looking to annexation. They were referred in the ordinary course of business to the committee of which the author of the resolutions was a member. The committee voted the resolutions down, nine to one. Mr. Champ Clark, who was certainly a representative Democrat in Congress, declared himself in favor of annexation, but not a single supporter was found for his position, and he afterward declared that he spoke in joke. Much was made of these, which are believed to have been the only incidents justifying any apprehension on the part of Canadians. No one on that side of the boundary seems to have asked himself how annexation could be brought about save by the willing acquiescence of Canada itself, or as a result of war. Aside from the fact that war against Great Britain and against Canada was and is the most unlikely enterprise in which the United States could be induced to engage, no one but a madman would wish to acquire Canada for the Union as a result of an aggressive war;

[1] The *Canadian Annual Review* for 1911, nevertheless, gives a large number of quotations from public men of the United States and from American newspapers, as expressions looking to annexation, although nearly every one of the passages quoted is destitute of all reference to political relations between the two countries; and not one of them goes further than to suggest that ultimately union would be desirable.

and a fear on the part of Canada herself that she might consent to annexation after an experience of reciprocity implies a doubt of her own virtue and loyalty.

President Taft and a great many other men in responsible positions in public life declared emphatically, and with all sincerity, that they had no thought of a political union, or even an alliance, with Canada, and that they cherished the utmost good will toward the Dominion as an independent nation. All in vain. Those who were resolved to defeat the agreement treated all such protestations as lacking in good faith, and as intended to lull the Canadians into a sense of false security against the sinister designs of American politicians. At some time hereafter there may be a collection of the words written and spoken by editors and stump speakers, and of cartoons printed in the newspapers, expressive of the opinion of one section of the Canadian public concerning the neighboring republic and its public men. Undoubtedly those words and pictures did not represent any real opinions; they were as evidently merely a theatrical display of simulated wrath as have been many famous American "rooibacks." But they served the purpose.

The opposition in the Commons were successful in prolonging the debate until it was clear to Sir Wilfrid that the question could not be brought to an issue without consulting the people by means of a general election. Accordingly parliament was dissolved on July 29, and the elections were fixed for September 21. The interval was a period of almost unprecedented political activity in Canada. The Liberals urged the benefit of the reciprocity agreement on the voters in every province; the Conservatives were equally zealous in denouncing it and setting forth the dangers that might ensue if it were ratified. Much was made of a remark in one of Mr. Taft's speeches, that Canada was "at the parting of the ways," which many orators successfully persuaded their hearers really meant that the agreement paved the way for annexation.[1]

[1] It requires a great stretch of the imagination to read into Mr. Taft's most innocent remark any hint, near or remote, of annexation. The speech was delivered at Springfield, Illinois, on February 11, 1911. The passage which was so often quoted against him was, in full, as follows: "We have taken up those things that are involved in the Canadian Reciprocity Treaty, because opportunity offered. Now is the accepted time. Canada is at the parting of the

The government was soundly beaten. The opposition gains in the two provinces of Quebec and Ontario were sufficient to overcome the Liberal majority, and to substitute a Conservative majority of nearly fifty.

That the attacks made upon the sincerity and the intentions of American public men helped to swell the Conservative majority will not probably be disputed. That is equivalent to saying that the result of the election was not simply and purely a verdict of the Canadian people on the question of reciprocity. Yet the victory was so sweeping that there is good reason to believe that the imputation of sinister motives to American public men was needless. Mr. Borden himself did not indulge in any denunciations or insinuations. His view of the result, expressed after the returns had been received, was as follows:

> In rejecting reciprocity Canada has simply affirmed her adherence to a policy of national development which she has pursued for many years. The government, without mandate from the people, undertook to reverse that policy, and upon submitting their action to the people were defeated. The verdict was in no wise dictated by any spirit of unfriendliness to the great neighboring republic. No such spirit exists. It is my conception that friendly relations can best be maintained if each country preserves complete control over its own tariff and enters into no entangling agreements which might impair and affect that control.

Mr. Borden became prime minister in a new government; the agreement has not been ratified by Canada; and to the ordinary observer of politics, reciprocity is dead.

WINTHROP IN THE LONDON PORT BOOKS.

Mr. FORD stated that while examining the recently discovered "port books" in the Public Record office, London, some thousands in number, he discovered the entries of cargoes of ships sent from London to Governor Winthrop in 1634–35, on account of the settlement on Massachusetts Bay. As the merchandise was free of duty under license of the king, the customs required a statement of details; but like entries were

ways. Shall she be an isolated country, as much separated from us as if she was across the ocean, or shall her people and our people profit by the proximity that our geography furnishes, and stimulate the trade across the border that nothing but a useless, illogical and unnecessary tariff wall created?"

not found in any other of the London port books. While searching for further Winthrop items a number of American shipping ventures were noted, and they are now printed to show the nature of the entries. As the duties collected on imports and exports regulated the returns made by shippers at the custom houses, these port books are by no means complete as to the movement of shipping. The vessel reported only when it contained dutiable merchandise, merchandise made free of duty for a specific reason, or articles on which a drawback or bounty on export was allowed. A distinction was made between denizens of the kingdom and strangers, a heavier duty being imposed upon the latter. Before the publication of the *Book of Rates*, in 1553, the merchant swore to the value of the merchandise, and this valuation the customs officer accepted. After 1553 this method was superseded by a fixed valuation as found in the book. Such a procedure necessitated a new compilation, usually when the king required money; and editions of the *Book of Rates* were made in 1586, 1608 and 1635.

Vicesimo nono Jan. 1633[–34]

In the Elizabeth of Dovare Robart Sergeant mr versus [ ]
Marmaduke Jauden xxv*l* new england fishe called Poore John taken by Englishmen fre per statute.

xvij Februar 1633[–34]

In le Mary and John of London Robart Scoyer mr versus new england.

John Wenthorpe and comp iiij firkins of ij C wht castle soape j barr: iij firkins windowe glasse cost v *l*, j hhd vinegar of lvj gallons ij cases of vj gallons stronge waters iiij hhds pease v barrells of v C wht gunpowder ij chests of xxx muskets vj C wht fryinge pans j tonne yron j firkin of iij C wht birdinge shott Fother lead in barr iiij millstones and Certain things for a mill j chest bookes ij cases j Rundlett Juice of Leomans xx Chalders Sea coales London measure Free per lic Regis.

v Martij 1633[–34]

In le Jonas of London Jon Crowther mr versus New England.

John Wenthorpe Esquier gouernor etc. j chest Iron Bare value v*l* x*s* j chest apparell value l*s* j truncke with shirts and other made linen value xxx *s* j barr of xv stone beefe value xxx *s* j muskett, j foulinge peece powder and shott value l *s* j firkin butter cost xx *s* Free per lic Regis.

vij^mo Martij 1633[–34]

In le Recouerye of London Wm Wildye mr versus New England.

Jon Winthorpe Esquier gouernor and Comp. halfe a ton Iron ij barr pitche and tarr v smale Rundletts grocerye wares cost iiij *l* iiij C wht yron potts j C xij *l* brass kettles v trunks j packe of houshould stuffe and prouisions cost xxx *l* v chests j case glasse for windowes cost x *l*, x Iron backes for Chimneys j hhd ij Rundlette of xx dozen tallowe candles ij C wht of birding shott of lead viij Cases j Rondlett of ij hhds Aquavitae j Corslett j bag of j C wht Copperas iij hides Free per lic Regis.

viij^mo Martij 1633[–34]

In le Reformacon of London Thomas Graves mr for New England.

John Winthorpe Esquier gouernor etc vj truncks xx smale paq'tts v Chestes of xl yards perpetuannes xvj yards baies v C xliiij ells Canvas xiij doz knit woollen hose xxij dozen yrishe stockinge Apparell value xxvj *l* yron worke and Edge tooles value j *C* xiij *l* haberdashers wares value xiiij *l* iiij barrels and a halfe powder v C wht birdinge shott of lead absq subss etc per lic Regis

In the Reformacon prd.

Idem John etc. C hhdes xxx firkins of lix quarters wheat meale xlviij quarters mault xvj quarters oatmeale xiij quarters pease xxxvij firkins butter and suett xxxvij C wht Cheese iij hhdes vinegar xvj dozen Candles xxiiij muskets and fowlinge peece absq. subss etc per lic Regis

xij Martij 1633[–34]

In le Jonas of London Jon Crowder mr versus New England.

John Winthorpe Esquier etc prd j C iiij hhds xvj barrells of lx quarters wheate meale xvj quarters pease xxx quarters mault xx firkins butter v hhds glasse for windowes other necessaries value xl *l* ix hhds Iron workes value x *l* v hhds grocerye wares and other prouisions value lxiiij *l* x hhds and chests tooles for smithes and other necessaries value xl *l* xviij Chests xxiiij hhds Apparell houshold stuff bedding etc. per lic Regis.

xiij^to Martii 1633[–34]

In le Elizabeth bonaventure of London Tho: Coitmore mr for New England.

Jon: Winthorpe Esquier etc prd. xlij hhds ij killderkins of xliiij quarters wheat meale viij hhds of viij quarters mault iiij hhds of

iiij quarters oatmeale iiij hhds of iiij quarters pease xvj firkins butter x ferkins suet v C wht ij firkins tallowe Candles of xxx dozen xxx Chests divers killderkins x packs Apparell houshold stuff and Iron wares value xx/iiij *l* j hhd sweet oile j tonn Iron potts ij C sheepskyns tawed for the prouision of divers passengers per lic Regis.

xxvj^to^ Martii 1634

In le Elizabeth of London Wm Stagg mr for New England.

Mathew Cradocke j Hd of iiij C yd. goods Cotton vi dozen of Irishe stockings xxx paire shooes j barrell of ij bushells of hemp seed ij bushells of flaxe seed ij tons spem Iron per lic Regis.

xxviij^mo^ Martii 1634

In the Elizabeth of London prd.

Jon: Winthorpe Esquier gouernor etc j hhd yron tooles value ix *l* j barrell of vj bushells salte j barrell honny j hhd of grocerye and haberdash. wares value vj *l* x *s* ix *d* j barrell of iij C wht promes j quarter pease in Caske j barrell of iiij bushells wheat meale j hhd vinegar ij Chests Apparell and beddinge. j barrell of dd *C* pewter j hhd with trenchers dishes and other houshold stuff value l *s* j dryfatt of beddinge and old linnen value v *l* j case of ij dozen plaine felt hattes j Case windowe glasse ij hhds j fatt iiij barrells iiij Chestes j truncke of beddinge and wearing Apparell and Iron ware for theire private prouision all value xxx *l* d^l^ hhd vinegar j fatt of vj C wht kettles j fatt of vj wht fryinge pans j tte of v dozen Irishe stockinge lx paire knitt woollen stocking ij dozen whale-bone bodyes j C and d^l^ wht pewter absq subss. etc per lic Regis.

xxxj^mo^ Martij 1634

In le Elizabeth of London for New England.

John Winthorpe Esquier etc. prd. xxv hhds vij barrells v kill-derkins viij firkins iiij Chestes iij Hd. of viij quarters wheate meale iiij quarters mault iij quarters pease xij bushells oatmeale viij firkins butter and sewet vj C et d^l^ Cheese ij hhds vinegar Grocerye wares value l *s* Iron workes value l *l* houshold stuffe, apparell for prouision of passengers going thether absq. subss etc. per lic. Regis.

In le Jonas of London for New England.

Idem Jon: etc. lvj heifers viij mares lx quarters oates iiij quarters mault v barrells pease of iiij quarters per lic Regis.

In the Seaflower of London Henrie Morgan [mr] for New England.

Idem Jon: etc. prd. xviij Colts xv heifers lx quarters oates

xj quarters mault xj quarters barley for prouision of the men and Cattle by the waye. per lic Regis.

ij^do^ Aprilis 1634

In the Seaflower of London prd

Jon: Winthorp etc. prd xxvj hhds iiij barrells, v killderkins vij firkins iiij Chestes iiij trunckes of xv quarters wheat meale vj quarters mault iij quarters pease iij quarters oar meale ix firkins butter and sewet vj C wht Cheese xvj bushells salt ij hhds vinegar windowe glasse value xl *s* Iron wares value xxvj *l* fishing instrumentes value viij *l* with bedding etc for provision for the passengers absq subss etc. per lic Regis.

Eodem ij^do^ Aprilis 1634

In le Seaflower of London prd.

Jon: Winthorpe Esquier governor etc. ij hhds iiij tte of iij C l ells normandye canvas xj dozen loome worke quoifes value xxx *s* ij C paire knit woollen xiiij dozen Chilldrens woollen stockinges Cl Cotton and flannel wastcoates value x *l* lx Chilldrens wastcoates value xl *s* ij dozen shirts and smockes value l *s* vij dozen shooes xlv dozen Irish stockings j barrell pitche j barrell tarr ij C wht tard Cordage for the plantation per lic Regis.

Quinto Aprilis 1634

In the Planter of London Nico Tracey mr versus New England

John Winthorpe for prouision for the passengers iiij butts lxx hhds xxxiiij barrells xviij kilderkins lij firkins of xlvij quarters of wheate and meale xxiij quarters malt viij quarters oatmeale xvij quarters pease xlviij firkins butter xij firkins sewet xxiij C wht Cheese xxv gallons Civell oile viij hhds vinegar grocerye ware value liij *l* xlviij bushells salt xvj coarse blankets value iiij *l* Iron workes value xl *l* haberdashers wares value xxx *l* Crooked lane wares value iij *l* windowe glass value iij *l* xxviij dozen candles iiij C wht roughe lead Certain necessaries with houshould stuff and apparell per lic R.

In le Planter prd.

Jon: Winthorpe etc. for prouision for the planters there xj hhds xvij chestes xvij trunckes xij tte of v dozen plaine felt hattes xviiij lxxij ells Canvas xlv dozen shooes ij C xx paire knitt woollen stockings xxvj dozen Irishe stockings Iron workes value liiij *l* Cl muskettes v barrell powder xl gallons Aqua vita x ps. Jeane Fustians iij C ells lockromes iiij barr. pitch and tarr iij C wht tard Cordage per lic Regis.

In le Trewloue of London Jon: Gibbs [mr] for New England.

Idem Jon: etc. xxiij heifers xxxv quarters meale xij quarters pease xij chestes apparells vj firkins butter xij barr. oatmeale xxiij hhds mault iij tte xij troncks apparell ij hampers Iron wares and pewter xx quarters oates absq. subss. etc. per lic Regis.

In le Elizabeth and Dorcas Anto: Watts mr for New England.

Idem Jon: etc. j C hhds. of j C quarters meale lx hhds of xl quarters pease xx quarters oat meale in bag xij quarters pease in barr xxx firkins butter xiiij firkins nailes x firkins vinegar xxj chestes apparell beddinge and stone wares viij Rundletts vinegar v Rundletts oile iiij Rundletts of iiij C wht sugar x cases of lx gallons stronge waters iiij bundles sawes j butt sacke xij tronckes apparell and worne linnen vij quarters mault vj C wht lead wrought j bundle shouells spades and spittes ij mill stones xxxv C wht wrought Iron three grindlestones xxxij heifers xj mares and Colts x goates l quarters oates iiij quarters mault iiij bundles bedding j tte of j C paire knitt woollen hose ij packes made clothes and bookes vj trunckes apparell and bookes for prouision for the passengers absq subss per lic Regis.

x^mo^ Aprilis 1634

In le Neptune of London John Vamell mr versus New England

Jon: Winthorpe Esquier etc for the planters ij hhds sacke j halfe hhd muscadel j halfe hhd veeneager ij barr: of j quarter meale j firkin butter j firkin of iij dozen candells j barr: of ij bushells pease j Rundlet of vj gallons wormwood wine j Rundlet of viij gallons Aquavitae j Rundlet of j gallon sweet oile j barrell wooden dishes and platters ij beds ij trunckes iij boxes of linnen Clothe and wearinge apparrell j birdinge peece j mare absque subss per lic Regis.

xj^mo^ Aprilis 1634

In le Planter of London prd

John Winthorpe etc. for the planters j tte v chestes j barrell j killderkin of Iron worke value x *l* xxviiij paire knitt woollen stockinge xx/iiij *l* Rice v bushells wheat meale v chestes windowe glasse value v *l* goods welche Cottons CL yrds baies absque subss per lic Regis.

xix^mo^ Julij 1634

In le Phillip of London Rich: Hussy mr versus New England

John Winthorpe etc. of the Plantacon of matchechusatts baye xxvj Colts xj heifers fre per lic Regis.

xxj^mo Julij 1634

In le Griffen of London Thomas Babb mr versus New England

Jon: Winthorpe Esquier Gouernor etc for the passengers xvj butts ij Ciiij xx/iiij hhds xlj barrells xxx killderkins liij firkins lxix Chestes and troncks xxiiij tts and packes of C iij quarters wheat and wheat meale xx quarters Danske Rye lxvj quarters mault xv quarters pease xxij quarters oat meale xxxvj C wht Cheese j C xvij firkins butter and suet x hhds vinegar ij hhds sider xx|iiij j barr: salt and Grocerye wares value l *l* haberdashers wares value j C ij *l* vj C foote windowe glasse fishinge instruments value xv *l* xxxv ells canvas lxx ells lockromes xvij C wht birdinge shott of lead v barr et d[1] gunpowder Certen other necessaries value ij C x *l* absq. subss. etc. per lic Regis.

In le Griffen of London prd.

Idem Jon: etc. for the planters xx|iiij yrds sale clothe ix C ells norm. Canvas Cxl ells spruce Canvas v C ells lockromes bed tikes value iij *l* xxij paire coarse blankets xij dozen Yrishe stockinges xl dozen mens and xiij doz woemens shooes vj dozen Chilldrens shooes Cviij pares bootes Cert. ps. and remnants stuff cost lv *l* packt cum alijs absque subss: per lic Regis.

xxx mo Aprilis 1634

In the St. George of London Thomas Smith mr for Canada.

Sir David Kirke kt etc. vij pipes j barrell of xvj C wht forraigne batterye ix firkins of lxvj dozen hatchets iij C Chessells cost iiij *l* vij boxes j firkin of ij C dozen Coarse Sheffield knives iiij bales of lx great and smale coarse Coates Cost xxij *l* xiiij pares of blanketts cost x *l* xxx pares sheetes Cost viij *l* xxx shirts cost iiij *l* ij firkins yron worke cost v *l*[1]

Septimo Maij 1634

In le Concord of London Nico. Cranley mr for New foundland.

Thomas Marsham xv barrells of xlv C wht tynn

Eodem xxiiij^to Maij 1634

In le Confidence of London Edward Mabb mr versus terra nova

Sir Wm Courteen j C xx/iiij great ij C xxx smale pigs lead of xxxiiij fothers.

xxxj mo Maij 1634

In le Jon: of London Nathan: Case mr versus Newfoundland

Isa: Legaye iij C xxxvj smale lxviij great pigs lead of xxv fothers j quarter and j C wht.

[1] Evidently stock for trading with the Indians.

Secundo Julij 1634

In le Love of London Timothie Binge [mr] versus West India.
Vos [ ] Banthorpe[1]

xxij Julij 1634

In the Bonnybess of London Joseph Baker [mr] for West Indies
Thomas Marten

xiiij Julij 1634

In le Primrose of London Jon: Douglas [mr] for Virginia.
Hercules Cheney.

xxvj to Julij 1634

In le Defence of London Tobias Fellgate mr for Virginia.
Wm. Cloberry v bales xx barrells iij fatts Cont. xxx Duffells cost C iij *l* lxx dicker butchers knives xx smale gro. sheffield knives ix C wht forraigne batterye vj C wht wrought yron C xxvj dozen hatchettes and heves xx C Auleblades lxj C xx/iiij iiij fishhooks cost all l *l* ij groce Jews tromps xx/iiij dozen hawks bells xiiij *l* bone Combes ij groce j quarter Chilldrens pipes j gro iij quarters scissers x dozen launces blades cost xj *l* iiij *s* Cxx straps cost xl *s* lxxv paire blankets cost xxij *l* x *s*.

xxviij Julij 1634

In le Philip of London Robert Dennis mr for Somer Islands
Anto: Peniston.

vj to Augusti 1634

In le Thomas Bonaventure for Virginia.
Richard Roche

xx mo Augusti, 1634

In le John and Dorrethie of London, Tho: Barley [mr] for Virginia.
Randal Munwaringe

quinto Septr. 1634

In le Victorye of London Jon. Flowers mr versus Somer Islands
Anto. Peniston.

xix Januarii 1635[–36]

In le Falcon de London Thos. Frish mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brant xxx C wtt of Cotton Wooll.

[1] Only the name of the merchant was copied, as the merchandise was of no interest.

Primo Junii 1636

In le Thomas Harris mr a Virginia
Lucas Jacobs xx C l Virginia Tobacco.

xxviij° die Julii 1636

In le Safetie of London Ty^{m}ie Wynne mr a Virginia
Fra: Lowdewicke xxx C pound of Virginia Tobacco

xxix° August

In le John de London James Waymouth mr a West India
Robert Tenny: xviij tonnes speckled wood ij C pound cotton wooll.

xxv° Februarii 1636[–37]

In le [Safetie] Tymothy Wynn mr a Virginia
William Anthony et com. lvj C pound of Virginia tobacco

vj° Martii 1636[–37]

In le [Safetie] Tymothye winge mr a Virginia
Fraunces Ladowicke iij C L of Virginia tobacco

In le Trueloue Wm White mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brant xij C pounds of Barbadoes Cotton wooll

vij° Martii 1636[–37]

In le Thomas Frish mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brant x C pound of cotton wooll.

xv° Martii 1636[–37]

In le Expedition Tho. Clarke mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brant x^{m} pound of Cotton wooll xl C wt speckled wood.

xj° Augusti 1637

In le Loue de London Alexander Hoyer mr a Barbadoes
Lewis Lewcis xxxviij pound of Barbadoes Cotton wool.

xvj° Augusti 1637

In the Robert Shopton mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brant xx/iiij C x *l* barbadoes Cotton wooll.

xxij° Augusti 1637

In le Robert Shopton mr a barbadoes.
Idem Marcus xvj^{m} v C pound of Cotton wooll.

xxij° Augusti 1637

In le Robert Shopton mr a barbadoes
Marcus Brannt iiij^{m} ij^{c} ll of Cotton wooll.

xxx August [1637]

In le Cassandria de Colona
For a Merchant Stranger xx^{m} Newfoundland fish

vj° Septembris 1637

In le Robert Shopton mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brannt xiiij^{m} ij C pound Cotton wooll.

xxij° Septembris 1637

In le Robert Shopton mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brant vj^{m} ij^{c} pound of Barbadoes Cotton wooll.

vj° Octobris 1637

In le John Hayese mr a Barbadoes
Marcus Brannt x^{m} iiij^{c} lb of barbadoes Cotton wooll.

x° Octobris 1637

In le Alex Foyere mr a Barbadoes
Gills van Brugg viij C l lb Cotton wooll.

xj Octobris 1637

In le Robert Shopton mr a Barbadoes
Idem Lewis [Lewcey] xl C lb. Cotton wooll.

xxiij Octobris 1637

In le John Ayles mr a Barbadoes
John Bave cxxv C barbadoes tobacco.

iij Februarii 1636[–37]

In le Golden Lyon of Sheene Robt Shopton mr for Barbadoes
Jon Browne Esqre his Ma'ts founder of Iron Ordnance and Marcus Brant his Assigne, ij sakers cast yron of xlj C wht absque subss p lic Regis

The vth of October 1625

The May flower of Lowe burd xl tns Thomas Pooley mr from Newfoundland.
Wm May mt xxiiij m of drye and Corre fish

The vijth of October

The Successe of Lowe burd xl tonnes Wm Drewe mr from New-[found]land

Jno Eager mt ij ts and halfe Trayne vall xv *l* xxiiij m drye and Corre fish

Of the Garthered of [ ] burd xl tons. Nicholas Wymond mr from Newland

Dennis Fitzwilliams mt lxx m of drye and Cor fish and one tonne and halfe of Trayne vall ix *l* ix *s*

The viijth of October

Of the Phillip of Lowe burd l tonnes Michael Diggens mr from Newland

Daniel Chub et aliis md lx m of drye fish one tonne and halfe of Trayne vall ix *l*

xij° Julii 1622

In le Maudlyn de Rochelle a Canada

Henry Armen alj. lxxxviij bever skins i *l* ij *s*

The xth of August, 1627

Of the Consent of Plymouth, Burd C tonns. Jno Winter Mr from Virginia. The same Mr. mds. per warr. dat ut supra.

Jno. Hinckson md per warr. dat ut supra.

The xij of August

Of the Eagle of Plymouth Burd Clx Tons. Arthur Ley mr from Virginia.

Nathaniel Hall mds etc.

The same daye

Of the Unicorne of Stourhouse Burd xl^{tie} tons Wm. Pondye mr from Virginia.

Wm. Rowe mdse etc.

The xiiijth of August

Of the Consent of Plymouth burd C tons Jno. Winter Mr from Virginia

Thomas Cramppowrie and Comp. mdse etc.

The xxvth of August

Of the Providence of Plymouth burd C ts James Randle mr from New England

Edouard Pondye mds etc.

The xxvij of August

Of the Returne of Milbrook Burd C ts. Nathaniell Watters Mr from New England.

Wm Rowe [ ] per warr, etc.

The xth of September 1627

Of the Peter of Milbrooke burd xl tons Humfrey Luke mr from Newfoundland.

Wm Rowe Mds, etc.

The same daye

Of the Concord of Milbrooke Burd C tns Ellis Blackaller mr from Newfoundland

Wm. Rowe, etc.

The same daye

Of the Tryall of Milbrooke burd C Tons Christopher Clampit mr from Newfoundland.

Wm. Rowe, etc.

The same daye

Of the Portion of Milbrooke burd C ts. Jno. Blackstone mr from Newfoundland

Richard Rowe, etc.

Moses Goodyeare

The same daye

Of the Wm and Margarett of Stonehouse [Stourhouse?] burd xxx ts. Jno Somers mr from Newfoundland

Nicholas Bennett, etc.

The xijth of September

Of the Speedewell of Milbrooke burd l ts Thomas Andrews mr from Newfoundland

Ferdinando Triggs, etc.

The xviijth of September

Of the Speedwell of [ ] ton bur. xxx tns Charles Pattley mr from Newfoundland

Jno Cope mdse, etc.

The xxijth of September

Of the Return of Plymouth burd lx ts Jno Tute mr from Newfoundland.

Abraham Colmer, etc.

The vth of October

Of the Prosperous of Plymouth Burd. C ts. Abraham Haddimer mr from Newfoundland.

Abraham Jennens, etc.

The xxiijith of October

The Charles of St Mallowes burden xvj ts. Capt Long Capt. from the Edas.

The Right Hon'ble Earle of Warwick etc.

August–Sept 1623			N. Newfndland
Lyons Claw of	Plymouth	lx ts	Robert Goodridge mr
John	"	xl ts	John Vitterie mr
Globe	"	lx ts	Nicho Webber mr
Margaret	"	xxiiij ts	Henry Andrews mr
Elizabeth	Saltash	xl ts	Elias Bourne
Providence	"	xxiiij	Abra. Lattymer
Speedwell	Milbrooke	xl	Humfrey Lucks
Hector	Plymouth	l	Thos. Williams
Adam & Eve	"	lxx	Jas. Randell
Anne	"	xlv	Jno Vitterie
Speedwell	"	lx	Andrew Prause
. . . . .	. . . .	xxiij	Jno. Torbowe
Elizabeth	Salcom	lx	Christopher Cliffe
Jonathan	Plymouth	Cxx	Jno. Carkit

JOHN WILKES AND BOSTON.

Mr. FORD also contributed a series of letters from the papers of John Wilkes, now in the British Museum, (Add. Mss. 30870 and 30871), being addresses and communications sent to him from Boston, 1768–1770. One letter from the Sons of Liberty, November 4, 1769, has been printed in Palfrey, *Life of William Palfrey*, as well as extracts from or summaries of other of these communications. Palfrey there prints a later letter to Wilkes from William Palfrey, October 30, 1770, the original of which is not among the Wilkes Papers. It was probably sent to the printer, as evidence of such disposition is noted on one of the letters in this series. Still another of Palfrey's letters to Wilkes, dated March 13, 1770, is printed in *Proceedings*, VI. 480.

FROM THE SONS OF LIBERTY.

ILLUSTRIOUS PATRIOT, —

The friends of Liberty, Wilkes, Peace and good order to the number of Forty five, assembled at the Whig Tavern, Boston, New England, take this first opportunity to congratulate your Country, the British Colonies and yourself, on your happy return to the land alone worthy such an Inhabitant: worthy! as they have lately manifested an incontestible proof of virtue, in the honorable and most important trust reposed in you by the County of Middlesex.

May you convince Great Britain and Ireland in Europe, the British Colonies, Islands and Plantations in America, that you are *one* of those incorruptibly *honest men* reserved by heaven to bless, and perhaps save a tottering Empire. That majesty can never be secure but in the Arms of a brave, a virtuous, and united people. That nothing but a common interest, and absolute confidence in an impartial and general protection can combine so many Millions of Men, born to make laws for themselves: conscious and invincibly tenacious of their Rights.

That the British Constitution still exists is our Glory; feeble and infirm as it is, we cannot, we will not despond of it. To a Wilkes much is already due for his strenuous efforts to preserve it. Those generous and inflexible principles which have rendered you so greatly eminent, support our claim to your esteem and assistance. To vindicate Americans is not to desert yourself.

Permit us, therefore, much respected Sir, to express our confidence in your approved abilities and steady Patriotism. Your Country, the British Empire, and unborn millions plead an exertion, at this alarming Crisis. Your perseverance in the *good old cause* may still prevent the great System from dashing to pieces. 'Tis from your endeavors we hope for a Royal "Pascite, ut ante, boves," and from our attachment to "peace and good order" we wait for a constitutional redress: being determined that the King of Great Britain shall have subjects but not Slaves in these remote parts of his Dominions.

We humbly present you the Farmer,[1] his sentiments are ours.

If we dare lisp a wish to be indulged with a line from you, a direction to John Marston,[2] Esq. at the Whig Tavern, Boston,

[1] Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* had recently been printed in Boston by Edes and Gill.

[2] 2 *Proceedings*, XII. 141.

The will of John Marston, dated August 22, proved September 12, 1786, mentions wife, Elizabeth, and seven children. In the inventory presented Janu-

would assuredly reach the hands of, Worthy Sir, your most faithful and obed't humble servants

BENJAMIN KENT
THO. YOUNG
BENJAMIN CHURCH, JUNR
JOHN ADAMS
JOSEPH WARREN
} *Committee of the Sons of Liberty in the Town of Boston.*

BOSTON, 6 June, 1768.

FROM JOHN WILKES.

GENTLEMEN:

I am extremely honoured by your letter, and the valuable present which accompanied it. Nothing cou'd give me more satisfaction than to find the true spirit of Liberty so generally diffus'd thro' the most remote parts of the British Monarchy. I thank you very heartily for the generous and rational entertainment of the Farmer's Letters, in which the cause of freedom is perfectly understood, and ably defended.

As a member of the Legislature, I shall always give a particular attention to whatever respects the interests of America, which I believe to be immediately connected with, and of essential moment to, our parent country, and the common welfare of this great political system. After the first claims of duty to England, and of gratitude to the County of Middlesex, none shall engage me more than the affairs of our Colonies, which I consider as the *propugnacula imperii*, and I know how much of our strength and weight we owe to, and derive from, them.

I will ever, Gentlemen, avow myself a friend to universal liberty. I hope freedom will ever flourish under your hemisphere as well as ours, and I doubt not from your spirit and firmness that you will be careful to transmit to your posterity the invaluable rights and franchises, which you receiv'd from your ancestors. Liberty I consider as the birth-right of every subject of the British empire, and I hold Magna Charter to be in as full force in America as in Europe. I hope that these truths will become generally known and

ary 2, 1786, are mentioned a dwelling house and land on Copps Hill [Sheafe and Snow Hill Streets], a dwelling house and land on Fore [now North] Street and a dwelling house corner of Black Horse Lane. Among his debts he owed money to the estate of John Rowe, John Ruggles and other "patriots." The location of his tavern at the date of this letter is in doubt, Mr. Pierce placing it on King Street or on Merchant's Row. 2 *Proceedings*, x. 38. In 1752 he kept the Golden Ball, in Merchants Row, near the Dock, opposite the Town's Warehouse. *Memorial History of Boston*, II. 466 *n*; *Boston Town Records*, 1758–1769.

acknowledg'd thro' the wide-extended dominions of our Sovereign, and that a real union of the whole will prevail to save the whole, and to guard the public liberty, if invaded by despotic ministers in the most remote equally as in the central parts of this vast empire.

It shall be the study of my life, Gentlemen, to give you and all my fellow subjects the clearest proofs that I have at heart the wellfare and prosperity of every part of this great Monarchy. The only ambition I feel is to distinguish myself as a friend of the rights of mankind, both religious and civil; as a man zealous for the preservation of this constitution and our Sovereign, *with all our laws and native liberties that ask not his leave*, if I may use the expression of Milton. My conduct shall be steady and uniform, directed in every point by an obedience to the laws, and a reverence to the Constitution.

The favourable opinion, which you are pleased to express of me, is a great encouragement and a noble reward of my efforts in the service of this Kingdom. I hope to shew myself not quite unworthy of an honour, which I feel as I ought. I am, with great regard, Gentleman, your oblig'd and faithfull humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

KING'S BENCH PRISON, July 19, 1768.

To the Gentlemen of the Committee of the
Sons of Liberty in the Town of Boston.

FROM THE SONS OF LIBERTY.[1]

SIR:

Your very obliging favor we received by Capt. Bruce[2] the 18 ultimo. The members were immediately assembled, and inexpressible was the satisfaction of our regale on the genuine sentiments of a worthy Briton.

Your health, your friends and cause were the toasts of the evening. We congratulated ourselves on our well plac'd confidence, and presumed much on the exertions of such a Martyr to universal Liberty.

We feel with fraternal concern that Europe in a ferment, America on the point of bursting into flames, more pressingly require the Patriot-senator, the wise and honest Counsellor, than the desolating conqueror. Your noble disdain of inadequate ministers and contemptible salary hunters has by no means impair'd our sense of the dignity of a Freeman, or the importance of defending his minutest privilege against the determined invasion of the most formi-

[1] By Captain Scott: received Nov. 7, 1768, in the King's Bench Prison. — *Note by Wilkes.*

[2] James Bruce, who in 1773 brought over one of the cargoes of tea.

dable power on earth. And did not a British affection, and hopes of a speedy reform in British councils sooth and restrain a too well founded resentment; no one can divine what long e'er now had been the condition of the creatures of that administration which has fill'd Great Britain and the Colonies with high and universal discontent. Has almost unhinged their commercial and political connections. Has annihilated the constitutional legislature of this Province. Has turn'd our Parliament-house into a mainguard. Issued orders to evacuate our Province Factory of its inhabitants to convert it into a Barrack for soldiers, after sufficient provision had been made elsewhere. And endeavor'd by pitiful art and emissaries to effect what usurp'd and stretch'd authority dared not to pursue.

Can Britons wish to see us abandon our lives and properties to such rapine and plunder? To become traitors to that Constitution which for ages has been the citadel of their own safety. To acknowledge fellow subjects for absolute sovereigns, that by our example they may be the more readily reduced to absolute slaves.

Is our reluctance to oppose Brother to Brother deemed a prospect of our submission? Or *e contra* is a mere presumption that indignation and despair must hurry us on to violent measures, ground sufficient to treat us with all the parade of a triumph over vanquish'd Rebels? Humiliating as this may seem, it is, Sir, the case of a territory containing near four hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, which has never hitherto produced a single Jacobite.

With ardent wishes for your speedy enlargement; elated expectations of sharing in your impartial concern for your Country, the spreading empire of your Sovereign whereon extended, we remain, unshaken Hero, your steady friends and much obliged humble Servants,

BENJA. KENT
THOS. YOUNG
BENJ. CHURCH, JR.
JOHN ADAMS
JOSEPH WARREN

Numerous friends in the Colonies discovering a great desire to see your letter to us, we presume to prefer their request for your leave to its publication.

BOSTON, October 5, 1768.

FROM BENJAMIN KENT.

DEAR SIR, BOSTON, October 5, 1768.

Having been so happy as to have read some of your writings, and fancying my self somewhat acquainted with Mental Physi-

ognomy, I was very desirous of being better acquainted with a man whose mental Features seemed as strongly mark't as those of his Face. This occasioned a Letter from the Committee of the Sons of Liberty to Mr. Wilks.

And to my own inexpressible pleasure and satisfaction, and greatly to your deserved Honor and Esteem, we received yours by Capt. Bruce.

I remember my Lord Shaftsbury somewhere has this thought: "The more nearly you approach to the greatest and best personages, the more easy, delighted, and happy you are."

I was a dissenting minister about thirty years since; but I was so happily industrious as to finish my GREAT WORK of the Gospel Ministry in about three years, and then was cashiered for Heresy. Of late I have attended the Church of England, but, thank God, I can distinguish between the Religion of the State, and the Religion of the Man, to which distinction I know you are no stranger. And this I suppose was the Occasion of your having privately laugh't at the Athenasian creed, as it is absurdly call'd: for it is impossible out of mere Words or Sounds, without Ideas (which even the Orthodox confess is the case) to make any creed at all.

Having thus made myself thus free with you, and being encouraged by Lord Shaftsbury, I must tell you, that when in one of the *North Britons*[1] (which I suppose was wrote by you) I read the description of God's coming *down* from Heaven in all the pomp of Dress and Equipage, and this Expression, "snuffling up Incense like a gratious God," at first it was somewhat shocking, but upon Reflection, I concluded you had in your mind the common popular Deity, or Jewish God only. For, to alter an old verse, 'Tis not the Parson or the pretious WORD, But 'Tis the Worshiper who makes the GOD. Yet I assure myself that you are, and always will be, a sound Theist, and I believe a good man too: and this I presume is religion enough for the MAN, and let the state take care for itself.

I am the more desirous to know if I am right in my conclusion concerning you, because I have often heard you charg'd by our rascally Tories in Boston, with being an abominable blasphemer, and uncommonly wicked. But I know the last charge is false.

For my own part I have the most profound veneration of the surpreme Being, and yet I really think the Caracter of the God of the Vulgar, or of the God of Ab—m, Is—c, and Ja—b, if you please, in many respects is as bad as that of the D—l, and in

[1] In 1769 an American issue of the Works of John Wilkes, in three volumes, was advertised. See Evans, *American Bibliography*, IV. 159. Two numbers of the *North Briton* were printed at New York in 1769. *Ib.*, 211.

one respect much worse, for I think the Devil is never allow'd to be really omnipotent.

Pray excuse me (for if I am troublesome, you may thank yourself for it). I tell my acquaintance that you are the Author of the Eligy on Mr. Pit, tho' I confess I never heard any one say so.

I never expect to see what you wrote on Women, but if I should find anything which is called too Luscious, I assure you I am well fortified by the revolution of sixty cold North American winters, which have hoar'd my head; but I retain, thank God, a liberal and honest mind; which occasions a sincere concern for Great Britain and the Colonies. I remember the Fable of the Cock in the stable among the Horses: "Pray Gentlemen, don't let us tread on one another."

It's plain to me the ministry at Home despise our concern for GREAT Briton, but let 'em remember the Supreme Being himself governs and draws us to himself by the Cords of love and by the Bands of a man, and not of a Brute.

Extreem Right was it with them (which by the way is utterly denied) yet to treat us as they have done, must be extreem wrong. But I can have but little hope of relief from these men, who are so extreemly offended at what they call blaspheemous Words, but whose whole lives are one continued course of blaspheemous conduct and behaviour.

If any thing short of a miracle can save Great Britain and the Colonies (for it seems to me they must stand or fall together) my hopes are placed on you, and a few more brave, Just and TENACIOUS men, under God, whose caracter is so finely describ'd by Horace, which must have been often in your mind.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
——— quatit mente solida

Dear Sir, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that you stand very high in the Estimation of a great many, the most worthy among us, as well as of your Friend,

BENJA. KENT.

FROM WILLIAM PALFREY.

SIR:

I scarcely know what apology to make for troubling you with a letter, especially as I have not the honour of being known to you even by name.

My chief intention is to send you the inclos'd Newspapers, in which are begun a series of letters said to contain a "full answer to

the Farmer's."[1] How far the author has made good his vain glorious boast I leave you to judge. Whenever the remainder are publish'd I shall take the Liberty to send them to you.

Permit me, Sir, to add, that I shall esteem myself happy in receiving a Line from you, acknowledging the receipt of this, if you can find leisure from the great and important concerns in which you are engaged. Great indeed! when *the fate of Wilkes and America must stand or fall together.*

Your numerous friends here are waiting with great anxiety to hear of your being reinstated in the service of your Country. Your Enemies (for you have a few even in America) dread that Event. We feel, even in these remotes[t] parts of the Earth, the effects of ministerial despotism: but are not yet reduc'd tamely to kiss the rod. We promise ourselves much from your endeavors to stem that torrent of corruption which "like a general flood, has delug'd all" to the eternal disgrace of the British Nation. I could add more, but the Vessell being just ready to sail obliges me to subscribe myself, your most obed't, tho' unknown humble servt.

WM. PALFREY.

BOSTON, N. E., 21 Feby., 1769.

FROM JOHN WILKES.

KING'S BENCH PRISON, March 30, 1769.

GENTLEMEN:

I should sooner have acknowledged the very great honour of the letter Captain Bruce delivered to me, but from a real tenderness for you, and the other friends of liberty in America, still more than from my own important concerns, I did hope, that the spirit of persecution, which had gone forth against you, would have abated, and that I should have had it in my power to congratulate you on the recovery of your rights. If I had been permitted to take my seat in the House of Commons, I should have been eager to move the repeal of the late Act, which lays the new duties on paper, paint, and other articles. I would have done this from the full persuasion not only of its being highly impolitic and inexpedient in my idea, but likewise absolutely unjust and unconstitutional, a direct violation of the great fundamental principles of British liberty. The present Session has been in many instances most unfavorable to public liberty, but I hope that the next, and a more upright Administration, will restore all the subjects of the British Empire

[1] Begun in *The Boston Evening Post*, February 6, 1769. Ten letters were printed, the last appearing June 5. They were communicated to the paper by "L. P." and are signed "N. P." No separate issue appears to have been made.

to the possession of their rights, and I wish to enjoy the satisfaction of contributing to so noble a work.

I have read with grief and indignation the proceedings of the Ministry with regard to the Troops order'd to Boston, as if it were the capital of a province belonging to our enemies, or in the possession of rebels. Asiatic despotism does not present a picture more odious in the eye of humanity, than the sanctuary of justice and law turned into a main-guard. I admire exceeding your prudence and temper on so intricate an occasion, maintaining at the same time your own dignity and the true spirit of liberty. By this wise and excellent conduct you have disappointed your enemies, and convinced your friends that an entire reliance is to be had on the supporters of freedom at Boston in every occurrence, however delicate or dangerous. Your moderation prevented the effusion of blood, which we have seen by the military in St. George's Fields on the most frivolous pretext, and in the most inhuman way.

I submit to you, Gentlemen, the propriety of a publication of any letters which may pass between us. You are the true judges for what may respect the new world. Perhaps while I am doom'd to this prison, unfair advantages might be taken against me, which I should find it difficult to overcome. I leave, however, the whole to your mature consideration, with the truest assurance that in whatever way I can serve the generous cause of liberty, I will be active and zealous. You will always oblige me by pointing out the particulars respecting yourselves. I am, Gentlemen, with truth and regard, your affectionate, and faithfull, humble Servant,

JOHN WILKES.

To the Gentlemen of the Committee of the Sons of Liberty in the Town of Boston.

FROM WILLIAM PALFREY.

WORTHY SIR:

My last to you inclos'd the three first Letters intended as an answer to the celebrated Farmer, at which time I promis'd to send you the remainder as they were published: agreeable to which you will receive the inclos'd from my good friend Mr. Hayley.[1] Perhaps at a leisure hour (if any such you have) you may entertain yourself with reading the Journal of the transactions in this Town,[2] and from thence form some judgment of our present distress'd situation.

It is said, "Ambition knows no bounds." Arbitrary and despotic

[1] George Hayley. [2] Printed in *The Boston Evening Post.*

Ministers think the three Kingdoms too small a field for the exercise of their capacity, and in order to gratify the incessant cravings of Luxury, extravagance and dissipation have extended their ravages to America, whose tender infancy must be crush'd to atoms under their oppression, unless some speedy relief is found; but alas! such is the prevalence of corruption that we remain almost without hope.

Your friends in America find with the utmost grief and concern, that Ministerial malice still follows you and baffles all your projections for the good of Great Britain and its dependencies, but I hope the time is not far off, when a weak and wicked Administration, and all their corrupt tools, shall be made to tremble at the name of Wilkes.

It gives me great pleasure to see from under your hand that "your courage is not appall'd nor your spirits the least abated by the violent persecution you have undergone." Go on, Sir, to maintain that steady fortitude and unshaken perseverance you have hitherto possessed, and you may bid defiance to the utmost malice of your powerfull enemies.

I find myself under a necessity once more to apologize for the unsolicited freedom I have taken in addressing you, but hope my Zeal for the cause in which you are so nobly engag'd will plead a sufficient excuse.

I am, with the greatest respect, your most obed't h'ble Serv't.

WM. PALFREY.

BOSTON, April 12, 1769.

FROM JOSEPH WARREN.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, April 13, 1769.

MUCH RESPECTED SIR:

Whilst with English Fortitude you bear the repeated shocks of Ministerial Oppression, and with an Equanimity peculiar to yourself persevere in defending the true Honor of the King, the vigour of the Constitution, and the Rights of the Subjects, every uncorrupted Briton must consider you as the Man in whose Fortunes He and his Posterity are deeply interested. A weak Administration has reduced the State to such Exigencies as threaten destruction to the Empire. There is an absolute Necessity for pointing out and remedying past Errors. But they who have caused the Public Calamities, far from compassionating their distress'd Country, have employed their whole Power to crush every Man who has Ability to discover, and Firmness to pursue the na-

tional Welfare against the Influence of a misguided Court. Your expulsion from the seat in the House of Commons to which you was so Honorably elected and for which you are so eminently qualified, has filled America with Grief. Your inflexible Patriotism has brought upon you the Resentment of the Enemies of Freedom, But has secured to you the Confidence of your Fellow-subjects in every Part of his Majesty's Dominions.

Judges and Senators have been bought for Gold,
Esteem and Love were never to be sold.

I am fully persuaded that our most gracious King, ever attentive to the Happiness of his People, will soon chastise the Audacity of those who have ventured to attempt to deceive Him. And I have a strong Faith that the Voice of Truth, even from distant America, will reach the royal ear, and that the false and cruel Representations which have brought upon this slandered Country the displeasure of our Sovereign, whose faithful and loyal Subjects it is our Glory to be, will soon appear in their true Garb. May the happy Time come when the Iron Rod of Oppression shall be broken. When our benevolent Sovereign, aided by wise and Patriotic Counsellors, and faithful Servants abroad shall diffuse the inestimable Blessings of Liberty through every Part of the Empire. But you feel more than I can express; I therefore take my Leave, begging you would excuse my Freedom in writing to you, and believe me to be, with that sincere Regard which distinguished Merit demands, your most obedient humble Servant,

JOS. WARREN.

P. S. I had the Honor (by the Desire of a number of Gentlemen) of writing to you some time past in conjunction with four other Persons; but most of them being now out of Town, I have taken the Liberty of writing singly. The next Vessell will carry a Letter from the Persons above referred to, acquainting you with some particulars relative to America. If I may, without too great Presumption, expect the Favour of a Letter from you, it will come to me by being directed to Joseph Warren, Boston, Physician.

FROM WILLIAM PALFREY.

BOSTON, June 13, 1769.

SIR,

I have just received the letter you did me the honour to write by Capt. Hall.[1] I shall be very happy if I can contribute

[1] James Hall, also concerned in bringing a tea cargo to Boston. He arrived on June 2, six weeks from London.

to your entertainment, and am much pleas'd to find that my sending the answer to the Farmer's letters was agreeable to you.

From my situation in business I am well acquainted with most of the Ship-masters in the London trade, and shall with the greatest pleasure continue to send you the newspapers, and any political pamphletts that may be publish'd here.

Your Letter to the Committee of the sons of liberty I immediately communicated; they will do themselves the honour to answer it by the next opportunity.

The inclosed is a copy of a deposition communicated to me by a Gentleman of distinction in this Province,[1] which I caused to be published, with a short introduction, in the *Boston Gazette* of Monday the 12th of June, in order to let the world know what was to be expected from a man, who after making the most solemn protestations of fidelity to the town, and attachment to the interest and welfare of the nation, could be guilty of the scandalous crime of robbing the revenue. I send it to you, Sir, to make what use you may think proper, but can't help expressing my wish, that it may be republish'd with some remarks, that our brethren in Great Britain may know the man.[2]

We have just receiv'd the agreeable news that our Governor is order'd home, and that the troops are to be remov'd: this seems to be a favorable omen, and I hope e'er long we shall be made happy in the possession of all our just rights and privileges, and that they may be continued to the latest posterity.

I have no reason to doubt your zeal in the cause of liberty: Your enemies as well as your friends are well convinced of it: but I consider it as a peculiar hardship, that the man who so generously has exerted himself to secure the freedom of others, should be depriv'd of his own; however, I hope the time is at hand, when Justice will take the place of ministerial vengeance, and restore you to that honorable office, to which you have been repeatedly called by your fellow-citizens, that you may thereby be the better enabled to improve your abilities for the public advantage.

I refer you to the public prints which I herewith send you, for an account of the proceedings of our Assembly now sitting. You will see they are very far from being bullied into a slavish submission to ministerial measures.

I sincerely wish you a speedy deliverance from your present

[1] John Temple.

[2] Sampson Toovey, clerk to James Cockle, collector of customs at Salem, deposed that Cockle received gratuities from the captains of vessels entering Salem, and shared them with Governor Bernard. See Palfrey, *Life of William Palfrey*, (2 Sparks' Am. Biog. VII.) 365.

confinement, a continuation of health, and an accession of every enjoyment that may tend to render life agreeable. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your obliged, and very humble servant,

WM. PALFREY.

FROM THOMAS YOUNG.

BOSTON, July 6, 1769.

SIR:

On reception of your last for Capt. Hall in the *Paoli*, we assembled, and after spending the evening very agreeably four gentlemen were added to the committee. Waiting for the resolutions of the General Court with some degree of expectation, it was judged proper to defer a formal answer to you till these were finished: and Doctr. Church was ordered to present you with the compliments of the committee and this notice per Capt. Robson.

Having once before presumed to write you a private letter, and still flattering myself that little articles of intelligence will be received at least without disgust, I proceed to say, that my large acquaintance with the present disposition of this and the two neighboring Colonies of Connecticut and New York, enables me to assure you that the great power of a true spirit of freedom to preserve, not only its friends but most ill-deserving enemies was never more conspicuous than at this promising juncture. The unanimity of all the Colonies, the exhilarating advice of the increase of your party, seem to us sufficient to deter the most adventrous desperado from risquing further experiments on a people who need but a spark to set them all in flames.

We see by the prints that some petit maitre has been pleased to write his friend in London, that the Americans were very cautious of exposing their own dear persons to the injuries of bullets and bayonets. You have seen that young Corbett was not altogether so delicate with Lt. Panton. The tryal of that cause by a bunch of crown officers gave much umbrage to the people. Our learned and patriotic lawyers, Jas. Otis and Jno. Adams, Esqrs., exerted all their powers to avoid it and obtain a tryal by jury, which tho' countenanced by the very statutes by which this new mode is establish'd was overruled.[1]

There is much uneasiness with the conduct of our Justices since they begin to feel the influence of the reforming plan. If the tran-

[1] *Proceedings*, XLIV. 423, 429.

quillity of the people be the proper object of the law, this has certainly been greatly mistaken by the late administration.

By this ship you will have the substance of the resolves of our House. They were hurried through lest a dissolution might have prevented them seeing light under their present sanction in any form. They are supposed to have strung our Governor most sensibly. How General Gage will relish his share of them you will imagine at leisure.

The mands and countermands of the regiments with us give us a contemptible estimation of their moving powers. Sir F[ranci]s,[1] it seems, can retain them with a nod, at the wag of a com[missione]r's finger, but cannot for a moment remove them from the door of the senate house in compliance to the very soul and spirit of the constitution relative to the freedom of elections. Such powers to protect the plunderers and assassins of the people, and them only, have doubtless an indisputable right to expect the most zealous support from the people.

Our eyes are at present fixed on the county of Middlesex: we wait with impatience their *modus operandi*, disposed to follow them as far as they appear to us to follow the restorer of Britain's empire. But should crucifixions or apostasies defeat our every hope from them or you, non-obedience and most obstinate resistance to every effort of despotism shall mark our age and country to all succeeding generations.

I hope, dear Sir, you will not feel too much fatigued with the number of persons which court your attention from this side the water: it would be indiscreet even to wish you to trouble yourself with particular answers to each. You will judge this took rise from your last paragraph. I shall think myself well employed in conveying such articles as seem worth your notice and not likely to reach you otherwise.

One thing I must suggest as a real friend to the land of my ancestor's nativity, and head of the empire to which I glory in my connexion, that unless matters are a little hastened towards an accommodation, a distaste of the manufactures of Britain will rise to a settled aversion, the consequence of which must be fatal to that Island, whose situation among potent enemies renders it indispensable that it be always full of men; and these sound policy would wish manufacturers.

With ardent wishes for the prosperity of your person, interest, and cause, I am, Sir, your most devoted humble servt.

THO. YOUNG.

[1] Bernard.

FROM BENJAMIN CHURCH, JR.

BOSTON, 11th July, 1769.

MUCH RESPECTED SIR:

The Committee of the Sons of Liberty resident in Boston, having commission'd me to plead their Excuse for not duly acknowledging your favour of March 30th, I embrace the Opportunity agreeable to their Appointment, to address you with the reasons of their delay.

The Coincidence as to time, of the session of the General Assembly, and the annual Business of the Circuit Courts, has occasion'd the Absence of a considerable number of the Brethren of this Society.

The General Court on their obstinate Refusal to transact the business of the Province in this Town, while in the Possession of the Soldiery, has been adjourned to Cambridge by Gov. Bernard; rather than comply with their Request to remove the military during their Session.

The Friends of the Constitution on this Continent are still in Effort, the liberal Principles of *ancient Britons* are alive and active in us their Descendants; and I doubt not we shall ever exhibit incontestible Proofs of inflexible Firmness and intrepidity when that first, best, dearest Object, *our Freedom*, is in Jeopardy.

We shall esteem it our principal Duty, when We can avail Ourselves of the Assistance of the Members now absent, more expressly to acknowledge your last singular favour: Interim permit me to present you with the most unfeigned regards of each Individual of this Society; and particularly to improve this Occasion to assure you of the great Veneration and Esteem of, Hon'd Sir! your devoted Friend and faithful humble Serv't.

BENJA CHURCH, JUN'R.

FROM WILLIAM PALFREY.

SIR:

By this opportunity I send you the newspapers publish'd since my last. You will perceive the answerer of the Farmer's letters has very wisely drop'd the Controversy; sensible, no doubt, of the futility of his own arguments, and the manifest superiority of his learned and patriotic antagonist.

I also send you the answer of the Council to Governor Bernard's libellous letters to the Ministry; they are wrote, as I humbly conceive, with that honest freedom, and intrepid firmness which has ever distinguish'd the Council of the Massachusetts-Bay, and cannot fail of carrying conviction home to the minds of every person unbiass'd by ministerial influence and corruption: and if Justice

takes place they must operate to the destruction of the execrable wretch, who has been the chief cause of all our misery.

By the last packett from London we are inform'd by the Ministry, that the revenue Acts will be repeal'd at the opening of the next session of Parliament. This possibly may be an artifice to induce the Colonists to a Fall importation, and thereby employ the British Manufacturers and take off their attention to public measures; but I trust they will ever be upon their guard, and not suffer themselves to be dup'd with specious promises; more especially as the Ministry still reserve a claim to a supreme legislation in all cases whatever, which I am fully persuaded the Colonies never can, nor ever will submit to: so that the controversy does not appear to me to be so near its end, as some people fondly imagine.

Among the many disadvantages we have experienced from the residence of a military force in the body of this Metropolis, the obstruction of Justice has been none of the least. A Soldier may insult and abuse a Citizen, and if a civil process should be issued against him for the offence, he will be sure to meet with the countenance and protection of the Crown Officers: either the Attorney General will enter "nolle prosequi," or the venal and dependent Judges will inflict a slight punishment, by no means adequate to the crime: We have had two notable instances of this kind of management lately, one in an Officer of a Man of War,[1] who with force and firearms loaded with Ball and Swan shot (which he actually discharg'd at a number of people), rescued a prisoner for debt then in the custody of the Sheriff of the County: This high-handed offender was tried at the superior Court, and fin'd in the moderate sum of ten pounds only. The manifest partiality of the Judges gave great offence, and the rather as at the same Court, three men were tried and found guilty of an assault upon an infamous fellow, an understrapper in the Customs, whom they tarr'd, feather'd and carted, without doing him any other personal injury, those men were fin'd severally, from £50 to £70, were oblig'd to find security for their good behaviour, and stand committed until sentence should be perform'd. Is this Justice? do the Americans complain without reason?

The other instance was in a Soldier of the 14th Regt. who was carried before a magistrate for knocking down a Man in the Market: while he was under examination he made a forcible escape to the door, where he was receiv'd by a number of soldiers station'd there for the purpose. The Constable attending was very much wounded with Bayonets in endeavoring to recover his prisoner; but in spite of all opposition, the soldiers carried him off in triumph. A Lieut. of the same Regiment was present, but tho' he was repeatedly

[1] Samuel Fellows. The name of the sheriff's prisoner was Josiah Merrill.

desir'd to hinder the soldiers from effecting their purpose, he absolutely refus'd to interfere.

I should not have troubled you with these anecdotes, but only to let you know in what manner "peace and good order" are preserv'd, and the "dignity of Government" maintain'd among us. Such behaviour may perhaps be sport with some people, but it is certain death to our constitution, if such daring outrages are suffer'd to continue for any length of time. My blood boils when I reflect that "a regard for peace and good order, the honor of the nation, and the dignity of Government" are made a pretence to rob us of all those inestimable blessings.

The Merchants meet this afternoon, to take into consideration the alluring bait thrown out by the Ministry. I am confident they will be as firm against promises as threats. I shall have the honor to transmit you their resolutions, as this Vessell will not sail 'till tomorrow.[1]

The society of the friends of Liberty have directed me to forward you two Turtles, of which they beg your acceptance as a small testimony of the great esteem and respect they have for your magnanimity and perseverance in the cause of constitutional freedom: They are now in fine order, one weighs 45 lb., the other 47, making in the whole 92 lb. which is the Massachusetts patriotic number. I have engaged Capt. Hood's particular attention to them, and hope they will arrive safe, and afford you and your friends an agreeable repast.

The Gentlemen of our Committee have been hinder'd by many important avocations from answering your last letter, but intend to do themselves the honor by a Vessell which will sail in ten days.

If it would not be giving you too much trouble I should be oblig'd to you for the *North Britons*, with the continuation: That justly celebrated performance has never appear'd here, but in detach'd pieces. Mr. Hayley will do me the favour to forward them.

Mr. Adams, the Clerk to our house of Assembly, has promis'd me a copy of the Letter wrote by them to the house of Burgesses in Virginia. If I can procure it in season, shall send it by this opportunity, otherwise by the next Vessell.

Governor Bernard embarks on Sunday next on board the *Rippon*. You may therefore expect him soon. I hope he will meet with a reception suitable to his merit.

I beg leave to subscribe myself, Sir, your most obed't humble Serv't.

WM. PALFREY.

BOSTON, 26 July, [1769.]

[1] Printed in the *Boston Gazette*, July 31, 1769.

FROM THOMAS YOUNG.

BOSTON, 3d August, 1769.

SIR:

Tho' the members added to our committee were gentlemen of the first character, and spirit, in the cause of their country; yet I blush to say, that all the efforts used to get the finishing hand put to our public letter to you have proved ineffectual. The truth is there is such a rapid succession of interesting events that every day opens a new scene and renders what might be very proper yesterday, today quite impertinent.

My soul feels the obligation under which we lye to transmit you every article of importance that happens on our side.

The late ministerial finesse has had full effect, but very different from what was intended. Our merchants here, and indeed all over the continent, seem more and more in good earnest determined to come to the last extremity, and then die by sword or famine, rather than drag an ignominious and precarious life in subjection to the caprice of any.

No step is neglected by us that can ever so remotely contribute to the honor or interest of the common cause. Our late worthy Governor embarked on board the *Rippon* Man of War, the 1st. inst. 10 o' A. M. He was saluted by a discharge of 15 of the Castle guns. As soon as the ship was perceived under sail, a large St. George's Flag was displayed on Liberty tree, another on Mr. Hancock's wharf, the bells were set to ringing, which with the firing of small cannon, continued till sunset. A bon-fire was at dark lighted on fort hill in plain sight of the ship, whence Sir Francis had the satisfaction to witness the festivity of the people at his departure.

You may rest assured that a bare report of resolutions to recommend a redress of our grievances will scarce produce such precipitate complacencies in us as your ministerial gentry wou'd feign to believe.

Nothing less than an entire change of men and measures will ever regain the confidence of the Americans. They know their strength, they see the necessity of continuing their quiet admonitions, till our common rights are not only acknowledged, but more firmly established, than the troubles of the state have hitherto admitted.

The conduct of our Gillams and MacCloughans has been so fully handed you by my good friend, Mr. Palfrey, that I excuse myself on that head; and advise you that at writing this I am informed the merchants are now in consultation of further measures for the general good, in which none more heartily wish their success, or

yours, than, worthy Sir, your unfeigned friend and most obedient humble serv't,

THOS. YOUNG.

4th. 8 o' A. M. The zeal and assiduity of the merchants have gained over some of the principal non-conformists to their agreement; and there is no doubt but the whole will accede, as there will be no omission or relaxation in pushing this dernier of mild measures with vigor. Stand fast, my dear Sir! Be of good courage. I hope you will have the satisfaction to see Britain saved as well as France conquered in America; and shou'd the rising flame utterly consume every enemy to our happy constitution, our children's children shall be informed the quondam Colonel of the Buckinghamshire regiment kindled (and thro' all the dangers that cou'd threaten his existence) supported it.

Tho' we find some flatterers have presumed to sneer at the Middlesex petition, I can advise those deep gentlemen that the independent electors spoke the sense of ten-elevenths of the whole Empire; and much does it please a loyal people to hear their Sovereign declare that the united voice of his subjects 'required more mature consideration than they were aware of.'

You may rest satisfied that the ministerial puffs in the London papers of your friends deserting you, produce no effect on this side of the water, except that of heightening our resentment against themselves and all their machinations.

FROM WILLIAM PALFREY.

SIR:

I wrote you lately by Capt. Hood, and nothing has since occurred worthy your observation; for which reasons I should not have troubled you at this time, but at the instance of my good friend and intimate acquaintance, Mr. Samuel Eliot the bearer of this, who being desirous of seeing Mr. Wilkes, I have taken the liberty to give him a line by way of introduction.

This Gentleman's merit will speak for itself, and I beg leave to recommend him to you as a firm friend to that cause in which you are now suffering, and at the same [time] to pray you would excuse the freedom I have taken.

Capt. Freeman in the *Pratt* will sail in a few days; by him I shall send the Newspapers.

I have the honor to be, with great sincerity, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. PALFREY.

BOSTON, 10th August, 1769.

From Thomas Young.

Boston, Sept. 6, 1769.

Sir:

Were Apollo with all the muses engaged to compose a letter to you that should pass our Committee in the present perpetually varying condition of public affairs, it would doubtless try their patience more than all their other powers put together. I have principally formed and presented not less than four or five draughts as well suited to our circumstances when made, as cou'd be done by me, and my assistants; but neither had the good fortune to obtain the finishing hand till a new face of affairs determined on alteration. How long this will be the case I will not even indulge a conjecture. At present our chairman, the Hon. James Otis, Esq., lyes wounded and much bruised in a rencounter with the infamous, base and cowardly John Robinson, Comr., etc., who insulted and fell upon him last evening in the British Coffee house, and with the assistance of half a dozen or more such scoundrels as himself, nearly murdered him before he escaped their hands. Mr. John Gridley, a nephew to the famous attorney of that name, was the only person present to interpose in his favor, and had the ulna of his right arm fractured in the fray. On hearing the tumult the people ran in, but the matter was settled, and the perpetrators dispersed before any number got in. Mr. Otis has received a pretty considerable cut in the forehead, supposed by a hanger; and many contusions: but thanks to God, is in no danger; and has by his intrepid behavior forced the applause of his enemies. One of the ruffians [1] is taken up and bound over. Robinson once more absconded, and a good riddance, should such a disgrace to the species never again shew his face in our hemisphere.

The cause of freedom has gained much ground since my last to you from the late cargo of curious letters now published here, we have obtained such a thorough sense of the designs of your superlative ministry and their tools here, that we are fully ripe for the execution of any plan that promises an effectual redress of our no longer supportable grievances. It amazes me that even Spaniards can drive a Squilaca [2] from the throne, and Britons for years endure the more ruinous measures of a more wretched ministry.

Capt. Nicols in a short passage from Cadiz informs us of an alliance concluded between France, Spain and Prussia; the design to overrun Hanover, subject Holland to an absolute sovereign, and

[1] William Brown, formerly of Salem.

[2] Marquis of Squillaci, a Sicilian, Minister of War and Finance, dismissed in 1766. *Cambridge Modern History*, VI. 370.

in the end give law to Britain. Is not this the doing of the Thane, and horrible in our eyes?

Paschal Paoli in Leghorn, no doubt on his way to Frederick; where the Hero, neglected by Britain, will be received with open arms. *Heus patriae, nuper terror, nunc gentium fastidium!*

We long to hear of some thorough paroxisms among you that may forward a crisis of the lingering disease; such corrupt humors hanging so long on the vitals, threaten the utter extinction of the animal heat.

The great indifference shewed to such weighty complaints from such respectable bodies as the freemen of the first county and metropolitan city of the empire, gives much concern to every true friend of the Hanover succession. This alas! is the happy effect of the boasted undistinguished favor of the sovereigns, to all his loving subjects. Lamentable is it that the great end and ultimate design of all government, is so often lost in the mist of ambition, and brutal gratification.

The news of your health, inflexible perseverance, and possession of the deserved applause of all your fellow subjects, will ever give pleasure to the friends of liberty on this Continent generally, in Boston particular, but to none more sensibly than, Sir, your most stable friend and assiduous humble servant,

THO. YOUNG.[1]

FROM WILLIAM PALFREY.

SIR:

I have engaged Capt. Freeman's care of the Newspapers which accompany this Letter, I shall continue to send them by every convenient opportunity.

The infamous assassination of Mr. Otis has occasion'd so much speculation among, and given such disturbance to the sons of Liberty, as to prevent their answering your last letter by this opportunity. The particulars of this base and cowardly transaction, you will see in the *Massachusetts Gazette* of Thursday last: The sons of Liberty desire me to assure you in their name of their unremitted ardor in that best of causes, and their sympathy with you in the distresses brought by arbitrary Ministers upon Great Britain and her dependencies.

I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that I shall esteem myself happy in rendering you any services in my power in this part of the World, and shall be glad to embrace every opportunity to convince you how much I am your obedient humble servant.

WM. PALFREY.

BOSTON, Sept. 9, 1769.

[1] This letter bears evidence of having been printed.

FROM WILLIAM PALFREY.

SIR: BOSTON, October 21, 1769.

I have just receiv'd your obliging letter of the 24th of July last, with the pamphlets which accompanied it; the perusal of which gave me the highest degree of pleasure, and I am greatly oblig'd to you for the valuable present.

It is with heartfelt satisfaction I can inform you, the Americans still remain firm in their intentions to maintain their just rights and privileges: I consider it as a happy circumstance, and very favorable omen for the British constitution, that the same spirit is so universally diffus'd through every part of his Majesty's dominions.

We wait with great anxiety to hear what effect the united petitions of the several Counties in England will have upon the next meeting of Parliament; and we sincerely hope the incendiaries who have abused his Majesty by misrepresenting his loyal subjects, will be brought to a speedy and *adequate* punishment.

The intended assassination of Mr. Otis, by Commissioner Robinson and others, has occasioned much speculation here: you will see in the inclos'd papers sundry depositions relating to that dark transaction. Mr. Robinson now stands doubly indicted by the Grand Jury of the County, for a riot and breach of the peace. He has lately left the province, with an intention, it is suppos'd, to avoid appearing at the present sessions.

The town of Boston have lately had a meeting on the subject of the letters wrote to the Ministry by Governor Bernard, General Gage, the Commissioners, etc. The town have voted an answer, and pass'd some resolves which I herewith send you. In justice to Mr. Samuel Adams, Clerk of the house of representatives, I would acquaint you the answer was draughted by him.[1] It is much to be wish'd that Gentleman's fortune was equal to his abilities. He would certainly be *one* of the richest men in America.

It will always give me great pleasure to furnish you with the publications which originate here. I now send you two setts of Lt. Governor Hutchinson's collection of original papers relating to this Colony,[2] some of which may be of use to Mrs. Macauley in compleating her history of England. I have not the honor of being in the least known to that patriotic lady, but have read the Volumes she presented to Mr. Otis with the greatest satisfaction. I beg the favor, Sir, you would present her with one sett, and my most respectful compliments.

[1] Printed in the *Boston Gazette*, October 9, 1769. Adams' authorship of the Resolutions appears not to have been known to Wells, his biographer.

[2] Published in 1769.

Mr. Hancock is now on a tour to Philadelphia, chiefly with a design to visit the FARMER of Pennsylvania; when he returns I shall communicate your kind and obliging message. I have lately receiv'd a letter from him, wherein he acquaints me the Farmer receiv'd him with the greatest politeness, and expresses himself as highly pleas'd with the company and conversation of that famous patriot.

The Sons of Freedom will love and honor you, while you persevere in that best of causes, and none more than your oblig'd and obedient Servant,

WM. PALFREY.

I am oblig'd to make up this pacquet without the Town's answer to the Gov's letters. It is not yet out of the Press. I shall send it in a vessell which will sail in 2 or 3 days.

SEWALL TO GOLDTHWAIT.

[Copy]

CAMBRIDGE, 31st October, 1769.

SIR:

I understand Bills were found at the present Court of Sessions in Boston against John Robinson Esq. et al: for a Riot, and also another for an assault; against the inhabitants of the County of Suffolk for not repairing a bridge; and against one for an assault with an intent to commit a rape. I desire to conduct these Tryals on behalf of the Crown myself. The Superior Court by Law sits here this week, and it is my duty to attend these Courts.

I beg the favour of you to communicate this to the Hon'ble Justices of the Sessions, and in my name to move their Honors that a distant day may be appointed for the trial of the abovementioned causes after next week, or that they may be continued to the next Term, which latter I should rather chuse.

I am with due respect to the Hon'ble Court, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

JONATHAN SEWALL.

To Ezekiel Goldthwait, Esq., Clerk, etc.

TOWN RESOLVES.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston duely qualified and legally warned in public Town

Meeting, assembled at Faneuil Hall on Thursday, the 22d day of March, A. D. 1770.

Voted, that the Hon'ble James Bowdoin, Esq., Dr. Joseph Warren and Samuel Pemberton, Esq., a Committee appointed on the 13th instant to make Representation of the late horrid Massacre in Boston, be desired to transmit by the Packet to John Wilks Esq. a printed Copy of such Representation.

Att. WILLIAM COOPER,
Town Clerk.

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF BOSTON.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, March 23d, 1770.

SIR:

It is in Consequence of an Appointment of the Town of Boston that we have the honor of writing to you, and of communicating the enclosed Narrative, relative to the Massacre in this Town on the 5th Instant.

After that execrable deed, perpetrated by Soldiers of the 29th Regiment, the Town thought it highly expedient, that a full and just representation of it should be made to Persons of Character as soon as may be, in order to frustrate the designs of certain Men who, as they have heretofore been plotting the ruin of our Constitution and Liberties, by their Letters, Memorials and Representations, are now said to have procured depositions in a private manner, relative to the said Massacre, to bring an Odium upon the Town as the Aggressors in that Affair. But we humbly apprehend that after examining the said Narrative, and the Depositions annexed to it, you will be fully satisfied of the Falsehood of such a Suggestion: and we take upon ourselves to declare upon our honor and Consciences, that having examined critically into the matter, there does not appear the least ground for it.

The Depositions referred to (if any such there be) were taken without notifying the Selectmen of the Town, or any other Persons whatever, to be present at the Caption in behalf of the Town: which, as it has been a thing justly complained of heretofore in some other Cases, so the Town now renew their Complaints on the same head; and humbly presume such depositions will have no weight till the Town has been served with copies of them, and an Opportunity given them to be heard in their defence in this matter, and in any others wherein their Character is drawn into Question with a view of passing a Censure upon it.

A different Conduct was observed on the Part of the Town: The Justices with a Committee to assist them, made their exami-

nations publicly: most of them at Faneuil Hall, and the rest where any persons might attend. Notifications were sent to the Custom house, where the Commissioners of the Customs sit, that they, or any persons in their behalf, might be present at the Captions: and accordingly Mr. Sheaffe,[1] the Deputy Collector, and Mr. Green, Tenant of the Custom House under the Commissioners and employed by them, were present at many of them.

One of the said Commissioners, Mr. Robinson, in a secret manner has embarked on board Capt. Robson, and sailed for London, the 16th Instant, which with three of the other Commissioners retiring from the Town and not having held a Board for some time since the 5th Instant, gives reason to apprehend they have planned and are executing a Scheme of misrepresentation to induce Administration to think that their persons are not in Safety in this town in the absence of troops. But their Safety is no way dependent on troops: for you are sensible, Sir, that if any evil had ever been intended them, troops could not have prevented it.

It was so apparently incompatible with the safety of the Town for the Troops to continue any longer in it, that His Majesty's Council were unanimous in their Advice to the Lieutenant Governor, that they should be removed to the Barracks at Castle Island. And it is the humble and fervent Prayer of the Town, and the Province in General, that his Majesty will graciously be pleased, in his great Wisdom and Goodness, to order the said Troops out of the Province; and that his dutiful and loyal Subjects of this Town and Province — dutiful and loyal, notwithstanding any representations to the Contrary, may not again be distressed and destroyed by Troops: for preventing which we beg leave in behalf of the Town to request most earnestly the favor of your interposition and influence. We have the honor to be with the most perfect regard, Sir, your most obedient and very humble Servants.

JAMES BOWDOIN
SAM'L PEMBERTON
JOSEPH WARREN

FROM NATHANIEL BARBER.[2]

BOSTON, July 11, 1770.

SIR:

The noble Exertions you have made in support of the sacred Cause of Liberty, while you have suffered the most unparallel'd

[1] William Sheaffe.

[2] Nathaniel Barber was married May 3, 1750, to Elizabeth Maxwell, by Rev. William Welsteed.

Hardships from the unrelenting hand of despotic power, has long entitled you to the just Esteem of every Friend to Mankind. The Sons of Freedom have been testifying that Esteem for you in various Ways. I have done it in a manner perhaps somewhat singular, by giving the respectable name *Wilkes* to my Son, born the 16 and Christened the 19th of October, 1766; a Time when the Flood of Tyranny had driven you into a State of Exile. In this I have honor'd my own Family, by fixing an indelible mark, at least so long as it shall please God to spare the Life of my Son, of the perfect Regard I have for you. If it may be in my power to implant early in his mind the true Sentiments of Liberty and Virtue, he shall never disgrace the name. I send you by this Conveyance the Picture of the Boy,[1] which I beg you would accept, with the strongest Assurances that I am in strict Truth, Sir, your affectionate and very humble Servant,

NAT. BARBER.[2]

FRANKLIN BACHE TO DR. JOHN C. WARREN.[3]

PHILADELPHIA, April 2, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR:

I received, some time since, a letter from my brother, Captain Bache, in which he alludes to your public-spirited project of erecting a granite monument over the remains of Dr. Franklin's parents. Some of his views appear to me so just, and at the same time, so well expressed, that I take the liberty of communicating them in his own words. He says, "For myself, as one of the family, I cannot feel but grateful to the gentlemen of Boston, for this evidence of their respect for the memory of our illustrious ancestor, (for to his memory, and not to that of his parents, is this expression of their feeling evidently directed, in thus perpetuating one of the most simple yet beautiful traits in his character), and also for the delicate course, pursued by them, with reference to his descendants. I most heartily give all the voice in approval of the undertaking, which may be supposed to belong to me. I would suggest, however, that the slab, upon which the inscription is now written be placed within the monument proposed, and, indeed, if possible, I would prefer that the whole and entire of the original structure be thus preserved. There is a feeling which belongs to the

[1] Wilkes Barber married November 18, 1800, Nancy Newell, Rev. Peter Thatcher officiating.

[2] A letter from Samuel Adams to Wilkes, December 28, 1770, is in Wells, *Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, I. 377.

[3] See p. 128, *supra*.

original of any work of art, and to its antiquity, which is peculiarly impressive, when connected with monuments. Much of the sublimity, no doubt, belonging to the pyramids of Egypt is produced by a knowledge of their great antiquity. The awe-struck beholder, while gazing on them for the first time, dwells, I suspect, upon this fact alone."

In communicating the above extract from my brother's letter, I assure you nothing is further from my thoughts than any improper interference with the enterprize which the good citizens of Boston have undertaken with such laudable zeal. No doubt, every thing, which good taste, and respect for antiquity would suggest, will be attended to. And yet, under these circumstances, it may not be amiss to collect the scattered opinions of different persons.

I am, dear sir, with much respect, your obed't. serv't.

FRANKLIN BACHE.

The following papers are taken from the collection of Mr. CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

BREEDEN'S CONTEMPT OF COURT, 1662.[1]

The Testimony of Edwarde Mitchellsonne marshell.

Testifieth and saith he heard Captt. Breeden[2] when he was Commited in the (Court say[3] he knew no power they had to committ him nor he would obey no marshell) and this deponant following the said Breeden out of the Court being so commanded coming belowe in the towne houss he told him he must go to prissonn And he answered and said he would not go to prisson and the deponentt told him he should go The said Bredeen said he would see who darst Lay hands on him and did seeme to heaue up his hand but I do not say he did strick but the deponantt Laying hold on him he Lett goe his Coott and slipt away and I Laying hold of him againe he did fling away and Leap out of the town housse into the streett and the deponantt following him did Lay hands on him againe and he did both at that tyme and befor charg [m^{r}. Dauys and m^{r}. Vsher in his maiestys name to assist him and][4] I did also desir the same in his maiestys name and son after william Sallter the keeper coming took him by the other hand and so wee did carry

[1] Although endorsed 1690 this paper probably refers to the incident described in the *Mass. Col. Rec.*, IV. pt. ii, 69, 75.

[2] Thomas Breeden.

[3] mr Danforth, Hathorn Rufler witness this.— *Note in margin.*

[4] (mr Vsher and mr Davis will witness this when called.) — *Note in margin.*

him away to prisson so hee did tell vse he should haue a tyme to deell with vs some other passages it may be past which I do not rem'ber

EDWARD MITCHELLSONNE.

A BARBADOES VENTURE, 1667.

Will: Garde aged: 25: yeares or thereabouts Testifieth and saith that I being spoken to about the second weeke in Nouember 1666: to goe master of the Ketch *hope*, for a voyage to Berbadoes an from berbadoes to mary Land and for New England according as is exprest in Charter party It was by Richard Way: And further this deponant saith that for that voyage he onely agreed with the aforesaid Way and Edward Hunt and with no other man and they onely shipped me for that voyage and farther saith that I was neuer agree with or hired by the owners or any of them for any voyage whatsoever: But when the former master Left the vessell I was onely desired by the owners to take care of her while she was in the Harbor at boston and while she was a fitting for a voyage when the owners should dispose of her. And farther saith that for any intrest in the vessell I haue none there was a verball agreement between my selfe and the owners which was the cause my name was entred in the Charter party: yet wee proceeded no farther for I never had any bill of sale for her nor paid not a penny for her to them: Therefore no Gaine nor lost to this deponant: who ever gaine or lost by this action either merchant or owners: And farther saith that the said ketch was fitted with sailes and Rigging and all other appurtenances for the performance of the said voyage: And farth[er] saith that when the ketch was Condemned by the Court at Mary Land: the Governor then said It was by John Pitts his owne Letters that he knew he had broken bulke.

Taken vpon Oath October 21th, 1667, befoore mee)

EDWARD TYNG,
Comissionr.

CONDUIT IN BOSTON.

BOSTON, April 7: 1675.

Wee the Neighbourhood and proprietors about the Conduit haveing upon the request of the Selectmen mett and Consulted with Mr. Thomas Brattle and Mr. John Lake, about makeing a Channell or water Cours thorough the Conduit street and understanding from the s'd Mr. Brattle and Mr. Lake, the Select mens willingness to Incourage such a necessary and Comodious worke by Contribut-

ing a quarter part of the Charge, and Mr. Wm. Taylor and Richd. Wharton haveing alsoe offerd and promised to pay another quarter part of the Charge, Wee Doe for our selvs respectively promise To Rayse Lower and pave the Ground before our possessions and proportionable thereunto to pay and Defray the Charge of the work haveing the allowance afors'd, provided that the Selectmen will inact and order That the s'd work being finished each person shall mayntayne and keep Clean and Cleare, the Chanell and pavem't before their ground. The Selectmen being desired To nominate a fitt person toe Joyne with such as wee may nominate as a Comittee to Carry on the worke. The persons by us nominated for our Interest being Mr. Wm. Parsons, Mr. Sam'll Sendall and Mr. Jn. Hall:

JOHN HALL
ROBERT X WINSOR his Marke
JOHN JOHNSON
WM. TAILER } for a quarter part of the whole
RICH'D WHARTON } and noe more.
JOHN DYAR
JOHN BALLINTINE for SAMUELL SENDELL and myself
GILLES DYER } for
ISAACK WOODDE } BENIAMAN BEALL
WILLIAM PARSON
OBADIAH EMORY
JOHN NASH

ABATING A NUISANCE.

JULY 31th, 1691.

Mr. Addington complained to the Select. that Mr. Michaell Shaller did annoy his neighb'rs wells of water, by his still house.

At a Meetinge of the Selectmen of Bostone, Aug: 31th, 1691, Ordered, that Michaell Shaller doe convey away his water, and Muggins [1] from his still-house soe as may be noe annoyance to his neighb'rs, within one month, vnder penaltie of twentie shillings per month for neglect of it.

Coppie taken out of the Towne booke of Memora[ndum].
per JOHN JOYLIFFE, Recordr.

[1] A word not found in Murray's *Dictionary* in a sense applicable to this use. In the *Boston Town Records*, 1660–1701, p. 215, is found an agreement that stillers should remove to "such places where there feces may be carried into some Common Shoar or Drein not exceeding 4 rod from highwater mark or so as may be carried into the sea."

A Letter to a Friend at New-York, 1722.

Sir,

Though I have been ever averse to writing, or medling, with any thing which relates to the Publick; yet y'r Importunity has so far prevail'd with me, as to give you a brief, and true account, what Effect the late Abdication had on the minds of our People: in answer to which I shall observe to y'e, that the sudden and unexpected alteration, in our Publick affaires; did for a little time, occation much Speculation, by reason of the rareness of the Transaction; but you may be assuer'd it left no meloncholy impressions on our minds, for our People are Generally perswaded, what was then transacted will in the end turn for the good of this Country. Indeed what came to pass, has put many in minde, of a Famous and remarkable letter, some time since, wrote by a Rev'd American, and Publish'd in England at the Authors desire; and reprinted here to his no little confusion; by which letter it may be perceiv'd, that the writer thereof, the better to beget a belief in Strangers abroad, of the truth of what he there Dogmattically afferm's: tel's them, It com's From one who is capable to know The disposition of these Provinces. but it is not the first time; that a deceiving Spirit, has been in the mouth of that Prophet, which Propheci'd, if such a thing should happen; Whole Provinces would be Put into Mourning, and Produce Lamentations like those of Hadadrimmon. now we find the very Same is come to pass, and yet that lamentable Prophecie, not in the least Fullfell'd but Exactly the reverse. though I can't compare our presant rejoycing, to that of the City Shusan, and those many Provinces after their great deliverance; by reason our Hamons are yet unhang'd, and the Agagites are still among us, and have great hopes and dependance, the word is Earlie next Fall, yet the City and whole Provinces have their hopes likewise; that things may be defer'd till Latter Lammas. but it may be some will aske and say, what has this sudden change occationed no mourner's among us? no Hanging down of the Head? but a Universall joy? I answer, we have such among us that do mourn, But if the Carecter of the Men and the Temptations wh[i]ch misleads them, should be thoroughly Enquiered into all their mourning will at once Loose it's Efficacy and never be able to make the least Impression. Ile give you a brief and true account of their Carecter.

These Mourner's some of them are State Pensioners, Splitters and Sharers in offices: some few also, that pretend to Saint-making and Reprobating at Pleasure: We have likewise Traders in Warr, Man-Seller's, Rum-Sutler's, and the like: and Lastly we have a Juncto, such as Whisperers, Tale-bearers, Back-biters, Detracters,

Petty-foggers, Gamsters, Midnight Revellers, Baudy-Songsters, and such like Pritty Fellow's: such as these have had the guidance and management of our Helm; and finding their Craft in some danger are our present Mourners. O ye God's on Earth! purge this our Region of the Air as much as in you lies of these most Pestilent Exhalations.

Sir I hope I have in some measure answer'd, what you have desir'd of me; I have endeavor'd to be as brief and concise as may be in my relation of these matters; knowing that long Epistles are tiresome to most. I shall be expecting to be favour'd with yours by the next Post, so wishing you all health and happiness I remaine

Your Real Freind and Humb. Servant,

PHILOPATRIS.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. WENDELL, SANBORN, and KELLEN.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the Vice-President, JAMES FORD RHODES, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting; calling attention to an orderly book kept at Newburgh from April 28 to August 7, 1783, the end of the War, from Mrs. Herbert Cumming French, a granddaughter of the late John Plummer Healy, of Boston; and to a pamphlet entitled *Sacred Dirges, Hymns, and Anthems*, by Oliver Holden, 1800, in memory of Washington, from Robert Marion Pratt.

From Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck, of Boston, the Society has received a file of the *Literary Recreations*, vol. I. Nos. 1–27, prepared and printed by the students at the Round Hill School, Northampton, Mass. The file is complete, extending from January 24 to August 29, 1829, and comprises one hundred and eight pages, with an index on the last page. No name of editor or printer is given. This particular set belonged to George Cheyne Shattuck, of Boston, a student at Round Hill at the time, and he has noted on one of the fly leaves the names of some of the writers with the signatures used:

Delby was	Robert Watts, of Fordham, N. Y., later professor of anatomy in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York.
Norville	J. H. Manning, of Ipswich, Mass.
Venator	E. Livingston, Clermont, N. Y.
Beauton	J. H. Prioleau, of Charleston, S. C.
Incog.	H. Ward, of New York.
Positive	F. W. or J. C. Brune, of Baltimore, Md.
Grafton	George C. Shattuck.

The most voluminous contributor, "Kratilkraney," is not identified. In the issue of May 9, 1829, is a full list of the stu-

dents at the school — 101 in number. The pupils from the Southern States were numerous: Charleston, 18; Savannah, 9; Natchez, 4; North Carolina, 3; Baltimore, 21; New York State, 16; and Massachusetts, 17. Two came from Rio de Janeiro, and two from Quebec.

On the same issue of the paper — May 9, 1829 — is a crude cut of a master of the school, George Bancroft. It is printed not in the columns of the paper, but in the space between pages one and four, where the fold comes. The original "block," a block of lead, has come to the Society from Dr. George B. Shattuck. Tradition points to Livingston, of New York, as the designer and engraver. As an early American "caricature," it is not without interest; and as an early representation of a member of this Society, it is given a place in this volume.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts of medals, of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904, from Dr. Horatio R. Storer; of the St. Nicholas Society of New York, 1903, to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the government of New Amsterdam, from Dr. Malcolm Storer; of the International Otological Congress, held in Boston, August, 1913, from Dr. Clarence J. Blake; of the town of Oxford, Mass., struck to commemorate the 200th anniversary, from Mr. Woods; a banner of William Lloyd Garrison, bearing the words, "The Liberator commenced January 1st, 1831. W. L. G.," from Francis J. Garrison; a photograph of the painting of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes by Wilton Lockwood for the Massachusetts Bar Association, 1913, from Mr. Lord; and two photographic copies of silhouettes of Col. David Lane, and of Col. Isaac Lane, of Buxton, Maine, from Mr. Ellis B. Usher, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Frederick L. Gay accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported gifts: (1) from Mrs. James G. Freeman,

of Boston, of a series of sixty-one Fleet's *Register*, *Massachusetts Register* and Thomas *Almanac*, 1782 to 1839, interleaved, with MS. notes by Joseph May; also the original subscription list for the relief of the poor of Boston in the winter of 1808 — embargo year — containing one hundred and thirty-eight signatures of prominent citizens; and a series of Boston Directories, thirteen in number, from 1810 to 1838; with other material, the whole unusual in interest and condition; (2) from the descendants of Rev. John Miller, originally of Boston but later of Dover, Delaware, six letters written to his son, Samuel McLane, of Philadelphia,and two from Rev. Joseph Sewall,1754 and 1756; (3) further Baylies papers from Mr. Loring W. Puffer, of Brockton. The Society has obtained by purchase the claims of the State of Massachusetts against the United States for expenditures on continental account during the War of Independence, prepared by Nathan Dane, commissioner for the State, in twenty-five volumes. They contain, among other historical material, the charges incurred in the Penobscot expedition.

The Recording Secretary read the following assignments by the Council of memoirs of deceased members: Francis C. Gray, to Mr. Bolton; Frederic Tudor, to Mr. Pearson; Phillips Brooks, to Dean Hodges; George H. Monroe, to Mr. Sanborn; S. Lothrop Thorndike, to Mr. Stanwood; Gamaliel Bradford, to Mr. Clement; and William W. Goodwin, to Dr. Gordon.

Mr. LORD, from the Committee to nominate a candidate for a Vice-President of the Society, reported the name of John Davis Long; and, a ballot having been taken, he was unanimously elected.

Thomas Franklin Waters, of Ipswich, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Dr. DE NORMANDIE read a paper on

THE MANIFESTO CHURCH.

In 1697 there were three of the Puritan churches in Boston: the First, the Second, and the Third Church, afterwards known as the Old South. There were also three other religious societies: the First Baptist Church, which after various fortunes and bitter persecutions effected an organization in 1669, and in 1679 built a church by the side of the old mill pond; the King's

Chapel, representing the first attempt to introduce the Episcopacy of Old England among the Congregationalists of New England, marked by some things not very creditable to either side; and the Quaker Meeting House, the first brick house of worship in the town; but these three were so denounced by the Puritans and not regarded as at all Christian that it is likely they included a small number of the inhabitants. Boston had then about 7000 inhabitants and was increasing, so there was room for another church.

The movement for this new church came out of no quarrel, nor from any desire for the services of a more popular ministry, but from a growing sentiment in a number of the people for a larger freedom in church discipline and doctrine. Indeed the non-conformists in England had for some time shown some uneasiness because the non-conformists of New England had manifested very evident marks of departing from the severe restrictions brought over by the early settlers, and when asked to give an account of themselves answered that "the free air of the wilderness had wrought some changes for which they saw good reason; that churches should always be open to, and seeking after the truth, and had still need to grow from defects to purity, and from reformation to reformation, age after age." In about all the churches of that day Calvinism was preached in its primitive rigor and with its lurid glow.

It was in the spirit of milder and more liberal views that in 1697 a few gentlemen of the highest character and large influence in Boston associated themselves as "undertakers" in the plan of founding a religious society more in harmony with these views. As soon as the other churches heard of their purpose they were assailed with the most bitter denunciations; but they went resolutely on, for they were leading men in the plantation and of large means, and a building was finished in 1699.

Such was the opposition and such the violent epithets hurled at them by the other churches, that they thought it well to publish a manifesto of their aims, and to set forth the principles to which by the grace of God they meant to adhere; and this gave the only name by which for a long time the church was known — the Manifesto Church. It was a plain announcement to the other churches of the convictions of a number of very prominent inhabitants of Boston with whom they had to reckon.

This Manifesto contained sixteen articles, and while they declared their approval of the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and their desire sincerely to hold communion with the other churches here, yet they named four points of discipline or forms of worship they wished reformed.

The first point was that the minister should read at his discretion some portion of the Scriptures at the public worship in the church. This had been pretty generally neglected among the Puritan Congregationalists of England and entirely abandoned in New England. They would not read them because the Book of Common Prayer read so much of them in the course of the year; and because that Book provided for various chants and anthems and singing, they would have but one singing at a Sunday service; and because the Book of Prayer repeated the Lord's Prayer so frequently they would not repeat it at all. Indeed it is not improbable that some of them would have been unwilling to enter heaven by the same door.

A second point was settled by the Manifesto, a subject, which for more than half a century was constantly breaking out in the New England churches. The old rule was that baptism should be administered to only those infants whose parents had been baptized. Then some churches adopted what was called the Half-way Covenant, which provided that parents who were not church members could have their children baptized. The great cry against the Manifesto was that it did not adopt even the Half-way Covenant, but let the whole matter rest with any parents, if they wanted their children baptized, and the minister, if he was satisfied with their professions — and yet all this was exceedingly mild compared to Paul's severe exclamation against baptism.

The third point was the entire departure from requiring a personal relation of each one's experiences before the congregation when desiring to become a member of the church. That was a custom which must have been attended with every conceivable mischief, evil, and dread to a nervous or sensitive soul; to some, encouraging every kind of false and hypocritical profession, and to many a custom so abnormal that it kept them from the very ordinances which might give comfort, strength, and peace. It offered also a low and vulgar attrac-

tion to the prurient curiosity for the portrayal of sin, as in many a revival the greatest interest has centred upon some converted profligate who delighted the crowd with a recital of his dishonesty or sensuality. It was a praiseworthy step when the Manifesto Church swept all that away and put the matter upon the basis of personal liberty — one could or could not make the relation, just as he or she chose.

The fourth point was one of equal wisdom, and while the cause of great offence to the other churches, the most practical and beneficent in its effects of any movement up to that time in the New England churches — the right of voting was no longer to be confined to church members; they were to have no rights, privileges, or powers beyond the congregation, — the first instance in which it was announced as a rule of the church that the communicants were thereafter to have no rights above the congregation. The Puritans were determined that the church should be the state and the state the church.

These four distinguishing features of the Manifesto Church were so reasonable that they gradually made their way into all the churches; and so the heretics of one day become the heroes and saints of the following.

In the midst of the violent denunciations of the Manifesto, the "Undertakers" went quietly on with their plans, secured a piece of land called Brattle's Close, and built a modest wooden structure, smaller but in its general plan resembling the Old South. The only thing that was striking was an hour-glass for the pulpit, a foot high, enclosed in a gilded frame — a reminder to the clergy of that day, who had a remarkable gift of continuance; as the minister of Newbury, seeing the sands running out, would turn it up again and say, "Come, brethren, let's have another glass."

Mr. Benjamin Colman, a native of Boston, then ministering to a large dissenting congregation in England, was invited to the Manifesto Church and accepted, because, as he said, "I was proud of my own humble education here in Cambridge, because of the catholic air I had there breathed in." But, as none of the Boston ministers would assist in his ordination, he was ordained in London and had the first public worship in the new church on the 24th of December, 1699; and we may be sure there was no reference to Christmas in it. At once he

took the first rank among the Boston clergy, and so many of the leading citizens of the other three churches came to him that soon it was necessary to enlarge his church, which did not lessen the enmity against him and the Manifesto Church; and when on account of his influence and power and popularity they could not openly show it, they secretly poisoned the public mind against him. Dr. Palfrey says: "His more moderate orthodoxy had a charm for those who had listened to the stern mysticism of Willard or the pedantic puerilities of Cotton Mather."

His influence throughout the town soon became acknowledged. The College owed to him the brilliant presidency of Leverett, the bounty of the Holdens and Hollises, and many large personal services. He was active in introducing the practice of inoculation for smallpox, not without some hazard of life from the rage of the people. A sermon preached in London in 1772 and reprinted in Boston held that Satan was the first inoculator — a place he still holds pre-eminently as the inoculator of many evils in those of public and private station.

Here are some of the sweet and brotherly and Christian terms used profusely in the tracts and tirades against the "Undertakers": "impudence," "gross immorality," "deep apostacy," "open impiety," "profaneness," "atheism." Dr. Colman was referred to as vilifying his superiors, unto whom he owed a special reverence. Increase Mather, President of the College, speaks of Colman as "a little thing," "a raw and unstudied youth, but also of a very unsanctified temper and spirit," and charges Mr. Brattle as being of the same spirit; while Brattle, then treasurer of the College, speaks of the President as a "reverend scribbler, a moral heathen would not have done as he had done."

The Salem ministers could not disguise their abhorrence of the Manifesto, and their tone of opposition was full of personal abuse. They insisted the "Undertakers" had undertaken their work without proper and sacred appeals for divine help; "put more confidence in their pastor than is meet to be put in any man living: you show a tendency to subvert the ministry of grace and order and liberty of all the churches; you may be the beginning of a schism that will dishonor God, grieve the

good, and be a matter of triumph to the bad," and refused to join them in a day of prayer.

Colman introduced a new style of preaching for the Massachusetts clergy, and came to be the healer in all ecclesiastical troubles.

Perhaps all persons earnestly engaged in works of philanthropy are apt to think that society is deteriorating; at least there seems room for a reasonable pessimism. Before the first century had passed, gloomy forebodings and pitiful portrayals of the wickedness in business and politics and the church abound. We have just had an attempt to increase church attendance; and over 400 years before Christ it was the same story, and the prophet Nehemiah cries, "Why is the house of God neglected?" Foxcroft, the minister of the First Church at its one hundredth anniversary, thinks Boston has so given up worship and righteousness that it should be called the "lost" town, and Colman in 1716 writes: "We are sadly on the decay as to serious piety and vital religion. We have lost our first love, life, and zeal. Our fathers, where are they—their spirit of devotion, their sobriety and temperance, their godliness and honesty? Sensuality, worldliness, and pride are grown up in the place of these; profaneness, lukewarmness, hypocrisy, selfishness, and unrighteousness."

During Colman's ministry Thomas Brattle left by legacy "a pair of organs which he dedicated and devoted to the praise and glory of God with us, if we would accept thereof and within a year after his decease procure a sober person skilful to play thereon." The church, with all possible respect to the memory of their deceased friend and benefactor, voted "that they did not think it proper to use the same in the public worship of God."

The matter of an organ came up again in 1790, but its introduction was not effected without serious opposition and difficulty, and for several years it was never played but as an accompaniment to the singing; no interludes were allowed, and no symphonies at the opening and close of worship. It was said that, when the vessel containing the organ arrived in the harbor, a wealthy gentleman of the parish, who had refused to subscribe for it, waited upon the minister and offered to pay into the treasury of the church, for the benefit of the

poor, the whole cost of the organ and freight, if he would have it thrown overboard below the lighthouse.

After Dr. Colman came the ministry of the two Coopers. No minister in Massachusetts was more universally esteemed than Samuel Cooper or called upon for more private or public services.

In 1772 a movement was made for a new church, and upon the spot endeared by many early struggles and by a wonderful prosperity the beautiful Brattle Square Church was built by Wren's most distinguished pupil.

Some of you must recall it, with its heavy pillars, and finely carved work; its stately mahogany pulpit, after the best results of London art in that day; the antique mouldings; the pews panelled in green; the brocatelle curtains on the brass rods around the galleries; the curiously shaped windows, and the wide sills, and the heavy green blinds, and the bell (the largest in Boston)—the wonderfully grand and imposing solemnity of its interior. I am confident that no church in Boston erected since can equal it in architectural beauty; and here gathered for many years one of the most distinguished congregations Boston has ever had. One marks with much interest the long list of old Boston families worshipping in this church, such as Governor Hancock, Governor Bowdoin, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Samuel Dexter, Harrison Gray Otis, Daniel Webster, Chief Justice Parker, Judge Peter O. Thacher, James T. Austin, Doctors John and J. C. Warren, the Brothers Sullivan, General Dearborn, Alexander Everett, Thomas Russell, Benjamin Crowninshield, Theodore Lyman, Henderson Inches, William, Amos, and Abbott Lawrence.

The incidents of the Revolution soon added much historical interest to the church.

Dr. Cooper was the minister when the war came on, and his intense and eloquent patriotism gave great offence to the royalists, who made him and his church a special mark for their hatred. All religious services there were suspended, and the English commander took the Old South for a riding school and the Brattle Square Church for barracks. The soldiers marred and defaced it with their bayonets; by the pulpit were grouped the flags of Great Britain; all around had been scattered the cots of the soldiers. General Gage had his head-

quarters opposite the church, and said he had no fears for his troops while they were within such massive walls; and, most interesting of all, the silent witness of those stirring times until the church was taken down, was the cannon ball over the front entrance, fired from the American line of fortifications against the British within the sacred enclosure — as it was written, the church

> Wore on its bosom, as a bride might do,
> The iron breastpin that the rebels threw.

It is a remarkable testimony to the gifts of the first three ministers of this church that each one was elected President of our neighboring University.

Then we have the ministry of Dr. Thacher, marked by no disturbing incidents, save that the spirit of independence and heresy which established the Manifesto Church began to show itself in his preaching, marked by a tendency toward Arianism and Arminianism, thus described by one of the clergy, "that his pulpit was five miles from Cambridge, and fifteen miles from Andover, and his theology bore about the same relation to the Divinity Schools of the two places."

Next, in 1803, William Ellery Channing was invited to preach as a candidate, but declined because he did not feel able to take charge of so large and distinguished a parish or preach in so large a church. Afterwards he became the minister of the Federal Street Church, where began that wonderful preaching which echoed throughout Christendom and brought on the liberal movement in New England.

In 1804 began the ministry of Joseph Stevens Buckminster, called "the seraph of the pulpit," and never has there been in New England such rapt enthusiasm over a young preacher. He thrilled his hearers by an eloquence unique and unknown at that time — fervent, eloquent, glowing; but he was an epileptic — a disease so often the witness to the finest and most gifted nature, and his early death left the whole community in deepest sorrow — as if the life of rarest promise was hushed as its work began.

Buckminster was the instructor of Webster at Exeter, but could not persuade him to speak before the school. When he returned from Europe, whither he had gone in quest of health,

he brought with him a manuscript copy of the hymn "While Thee I seek, protecting Power," given to him by its author, Helen Maria Williams. This was the first copy to reach America and had never been used in public worship. Buckminster's knowledge of music was thorough, as his love for it was ardent, and in association with two friends he altered a piece of Pleyel's instrumental music, adapting it to the hymn; it was sung for the first time in the church to the tune Bengal and then in honor of Buckminster was called Brattle Street.

Next came the brief ministry of Edward Everett, the fourth minister of this church to be called to the presidency of Harvard. Even while so young, Everett's delivery was so artistic, studied, and striking, and for effect that it was said of his prayers they were the most eloquent ever offered — not to the Deity — but to a Boston audience.

Then came the pastorate of the historian and scholar, John G. Palfrey, until, in 1834, Dr. Lothrop entered upon his long ministry, continuing until our own day.

By the middle of the 19th century the demands of business had seriously encroached upon Brattle Square, and its parishioners one by one had been driven to the Back Bay or farther off, and it became evident that the church must move. At a parish meeting it was said, "The question is whether we shall remain here and die, or remove and carry on our traditions and history and be a living power and not a lifeless memory to coming generations." They did both — they moved and died; and the Manifesto Church, the first witness in Boston to the spirit of inquiry, tolerance, and freedom triumphant over the most bitter persecution — the Brattle Square Church, long so distinguished in our religious life, with all its interesting traditions passed away forever.

Mr. SANBORN read a paper on

BOSTON AND NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

The letters of Noah Webster, which this Society published a few years ago, furnish dates and circumstances of the years immediately following our war which explain many things otherwise known chiefly by family tradition. In a letter of Webster from New York to Col. Timothy Pickering, one of the

early friends and critics of the young grammarian, occurs this passage, under date of April 25, 1786:[1] "A duel was fought last Friday evening between Mr. Curson and Mr. Burling; the former cannot recover of his wounds. The latter escaped, as Mr. Curson did not fire."

Who were these persons, and what was the occasion of the duel which led to the migration of a boy five years old, in the summer of the same year, from Baltimore to Boston, which was afterwards his home for many years, if a seaman can be said to have any fixed abode? "Mr. Curson" was a young Englishman, supposed to be named George, who had shortly before returned to New York, where he had resided six years before, during the British occupancy of the city. He was of the same English family which in our time has been ennobled in the person of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and was distinguished previously by the author of that book, often quoted but seldom read of late years, Curson's "Monasteries of the Levant." Whether George Curson was connected with the British army or navy, or was in America as a visitor or an inhabitant, is unknown to me. "Mr. Burling" was Walter, of an old New York family, still commemorated by that locality known as "Burling Slip," which implies a mercantile occupation. Presumably some of his family remained in New York under the military control of Sir Henry Clinton, and there young Curson had made the acquaintance of a sister of Walter, with whom he fell in love, and to whom he promised marriage. Whether a private marriage had actually occurred, is in dispute; but a child, Samuel Curson, taking always his father's name, was born in 1781, and at the time of the duel seems to have been with his mother in Baltimore. His uncle Walter did not believe in the alleged marriage, but considered Curson his sister's seducer, — challenged him upon that ground, and shot him; his antagonist, refusing to fire at his brother-in-law, was buried in one of the old churchyards of New York. I have seen and copied a letter of Samuel Curson, describing his journey at the age of five, from Baltimore to New York in the summer of 1786, his visit to an "Aunt Arden" there, and his further journey from New York to Norwich in Connecticut, under the care of James Perkins of Boston, a business partner of Burling. At Norwich,

[1] *Proceedings*, XLIII. 127.

Mr. Perkins, an older brother of Col. Thomas Handasyd Perkins, well remembered by our older members, diverged from his route to Boston to visit his *fiancée*, Miss Paine of Worcester, leaving little Sam to go forward in the stage-coach, under the care of a negro, who, not being permitted to associate with white folks in the coach, was mounted on Mr. Perkins's horse, and was to accompany the coach to Boston. An accident threw him from his horse, and he could not overtake the coach; so the boy went on alone under the care of the stage-driver, who delivered him, that evening or the next, at the home of the Widow Perkins in Merchants' Row, near State Street, and to the care of her daughters who were afterwards Mrs. Cushing, Mrs. Sturgis, Mrs. Bennet Forbes, and Mrs. Abbot of Exeter. By them and their mother he was most kindly received and wept over, put to bed and treated thereafter as one of the Perkins family. He lived sometimes with James Perkins, after his marriage, sometimes with Mr. Cravath, who had married a sister of Col. Joseph May, the grandfather of Louisa Alcott, and sometimes, I think, with Colonel May himself. He lived for the most part in that section of Boston which was *not* "the North End," but nearer the fine house of Governor Hancock; and when old enough to slide down hill, he used to coast down the north side of Beacon Hill, where now are the streets called Bowdoin, Temple, and Somerset, which seem then to have been mere lanes, if they existed at all. On one of the crests of the Hill the present Bulfinch State House was soon building, and on another crest stood the mansion of Gardiner Greene, whose wife was a daughter of Copley the painter. Copley himself was then the owner of large pastures on the southwest side of Beacon Hill, which Harrison Gray Otis obtained from Copley's agent. Sam Curson as a boy sported in those pastures, and had severe fights, which he describes, at the head of Hanover Street and down as far as the Boston Stone, with the rude boys of the North End. If defeated by them, as often happened, the fight was continued through Scollay Square, and as far, sometimes, as where William Elliot and his associates afterwards built the Tremont House. All this he describes with gusto in his reminiscences. He may even have been one of those naughty lads who snowballed the Duke of Kent, afterwards father of Queen Victoria, when he came driving into Boston from Groton over

the West Boston Bridge in a fine four-horse sleigh which had brought him down from Quebec in the year 1794. To this Duke a ball was given during his stay in Boston, at which, by family tradition, he would only dance with the daughter of Col. George Watson of Plymouth, then the wife of Thomas Russell, the richest merchant of Boston, who died before 1796, after which she married Sir Grenville Temple. It is not likely that Sam Curson was present at this ball, though his protector, James Perkins, may have been. I may turn aside here to introduce an autograph letter from this lady, when she was still Mrs. Russell, and in mourning for her first husband, — also preparing to become a church member, as is intimated in this letter to her cousin Priscilla Watson (Mrs. Cotton of Plymouth), which follows:

Boston, July 1st. '96.

My dear Priscilla, — I last evening received your charming letter with the valuable contents. I have once read them; shall often reperuse them, and return them to you when I have the pleasure of a visit from you, which I shall depend upon. I think I can be of service to you and your plan, which we will consult upon when we meet. Remember you treat me with total unreserve. My Middleborough plan is at a stand for the present, but I hope some time or other to renew it.

I miss you very much. I have talked with so much freedom to you of my different sensations and sentiments that I wish still to confide in you. They are at times tranquil and happy; at times my heart and soul ascend to the being who claims my unbounded love and gratitude; at other times I descend to earth, and feel all the frailties and imperfections attendant on human nature. My ideas become chained to earth, and I for a time consider my happiness dependent upon it; but, thank God, I do not always feel the same weight upon my spirits.

The important Sunday has not arrived; the next is the one I wish for and still dread. I sometimes doubt my own sincerity, — am fearful I am deceiving myself; but these doubts must attend every person in so important an undertaking. I hope for divine assistance to support me through this world, and to conduct me to a far better.

I have had a miniature picture taken of my dear, dear Husband, — the very exact image of him, taken from the picture in the other room, but a thousand times more like him. I have been sick this two days from the possession; it was so unexpected. Indeed it is

very extraordinary it should be so exactly like, as Mr. Malbone never saw the dear original.

The ring you sent for is sold, — none remain but painted devices, which I am sure Mrs. Bowen would not like. I return you the money (15 dollars) inclosed in this.

You recollect the friend I told you I received a letter from, mentioning their visiting Boston this summer. I have received an answer to the one I wrote. They still persist in the intention; plead want of health as the cause, which I dare say is the true and only one. I cease to be anxious about the circumstance; my fears originated and were built upon the idle fancies of others. Why should they make me uneasy when I know the purity of my own intentions?

There are many strangers now in Boston, Mr. and Mrs. Bingham and suite. They have done me the honor to call upon me without my visiting them, which I could not bring myself to do. They merely called to pay their compliment.

Dr. Borland goes in a few moments.

Yours with affection,

E. Russell.

This is a very delicate and explicative letter. She was in mourning for a lost husband to whose memory she was attached, and whose miniature by the exquisite brush of Malbone she had just procured as a souvenir. But she had the admiration of many younger men, and the person whose visit she was dreading was probably Mr. Temple, not yet knighted, whom she did marry within a year or two, and who, at her death in Rome before 1820, erected to her memory in the same cemetery where Keats, Shelley, and Trelawny are buried, a monument designed by the son of Goethe, with a good Latin inscription, but so quaintly worded that it long escaped the recognition of her American kindred, visiting the spot, among them the late Professor Goodwin, whose grandfather Watson was a cousin of Lady Temple. Landor once wrote:

> "I *will* not love!" This voice hath often
> Broke from a troubled breast;
> Seldom from one no sighs can soften, —
> Seldom from one at rest.

This letter seems to exemplify the poet's meaning. Along with it, ten years ago, Mrs. Watson of Hillside, Plymouth,

put into my hands another letter by Lady Temple (with many old Watson papers) written two years later from New York, and describing in much detail the robbery of Sir Grenville's house near Corlear's Hook, New York, by a band of armed brigands in 1798, the leader of whom, evidently a gentleman externally, is said to have been a son of Thomas Russell by his first wife. These Watson papers in the mass I may submit some day for preservation in the cabinet of this Society. They relate chiefly to events before and soon after our Revolution. My supposed discretion, and my known aversion to family and personal quarrels, have made me the depository of the private papers of several families, which have so accumulated that I must soon provide for their publication, destruction, or other disposal of them.

James Perkins was the grandson of Edmund Perkins and Esther Frothingham of Charlestown; his own mother was a Miss Peck, and was at the head of her family of daughters when Sammy Curson arrived in Merchants' Row, as above shown. Soon after, Walter Burling went to Santo Domingo as the partner of James Perkins, and, after a time, desired to have the boy sent out to him there, and he went. But he so much resembled his deceased father that it was too much for the conscience of Burling, and Sammy was soon sent back to Boston, to remain there, under the care of the Perkins family, in whose employ he afterward sailed as supercargo to various ports in Europe and America. When S. G. Perkins went to the French colony to replace his brother James, the lad did not accompany him; and when S. G. Perkins returned to Boston, bringing with him, or subsequently writing, a history of the French Revolution in that island (which was published by our Society,[1] he found James still in charge of his young client. Burling, before 1800, established himself as a planter in Mississippi, and may have given a home there to his sister; but of that the manuscript in my hands makes no mention, nor of the connection that Burling had with the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. Whether he was on Burr's side, or for the Spaniards who hated Burr, nobody seems to know; the fact is that he went from Natchez to the city of Mexico on a mission for one side or the other, before the plot

[1] 2 *Proceedings*, II. 307.

culminated in the arrest of Burr. How long he remained associated in business with Perkins is also unknown; but this story remains in the family annals:

Burling was sitting by the Perkins fireside, long after the Burr fiasco, and Mrs. Perkins said to him, — she who was Miss Paine of Worcester, — "Walter, you ought to get married." "I know it," said he, "but who would marry an old fellow like me?" "Eliza would," said she, naming her own sister. "Do you think so?" He proposed and was accepted, — so runs the tale.

Long before this, a new firm had been established which soon became famous among the merchant princes of Boston. I now quote from the end of this early manuscript, written for his children by Samuel Curson, long after his marriage to Miss Searle of Brookline, and preserved at his old house by the Merrimac at Curson's Mill, where his daughter, Mary Curson, showed it to me and allowed me to copy it, many years ago. Mr. Curson wrote:

In 1792–3 Thomas H. Perkins returned to Boston from China as supercargo for Mr. Derby of Salem; he brought home an adventure, [a small stock of goods on his own account] and opened store in the chamber of the lowest storehouse in Butler's Row. He had there some teas and sugar-candy, as well as sweetmeats. I made him several visits, and we became sociable. [Sam was now a boy of twelve.] In 1793, I believe, he married Sarah Elliott, the daughter of Simon who sold snuff by wholesale in State Street, opposite Broad. About this time Cap François in Hayti was burned, and Perkins, Burling & Co. had to retreat to Boston. Mr. James Perkins and his brother Thomas soon after went into partnership, and located themselves at 37 Long Wharf. Mr. Sam. G. Perkins joined Mr. Stephen Higginson, and married his daughter Barbara. James Perkins went to live at No. 3 Franklin Place, and T. H. Perkins moved from a small house in Summer St. then called Seven Star Lane, to one on Fort Hill, back of Foster's Wharf. S. G. Perkins was in front of where the Boylston Market stands; [corner of Washington and Boylston Streets], Russell Sturgis was in Atkinson Street, corner of Berry, and his land ran back to the Berry Street Meeting-House. Old Mrs. Perkins now went into a house at the head of Sears' Wharf; her daughter, Mrs. Doubleday, a widow, had married again Josiah Sturgis, brother of Russell, and gone out to Charleston. Her sister, Margaret, afterwards Mrs. Forbes, went

out to accompany Mrs. Sturgis. Mrs. Cushing, mother of John P. Cushing and Nancy Maynard Cushing, had gone out to North Carolina with her two children to seek her husband. In the summer of 1794 the Messrs. Perkins took me as youngest apprentice at Long Wharf.

He was then in his fourteenth year, and he remained in their service for twenty or thirty years, sailing, when older, as supercargo, and having various adventures in England, Lisbon, and South America, — possibly also in Mexico, where he had some mercantile connection, I think. Returning from South America after a long detention there in a port of Peru, he married, and bought of a Mr. Hooper the mill-site, garden, and woodland known as Curson's Mill, — a tidemill of great antiquity on the Artichoke River, now given up by his descendants, who still own the place.

There I first called on Mary Curson, his daughter, about forty-five years ago, while I was visiting Ben Perley Poore at his Indian Hill house in West Newbury. I had become intimate then with Mary's friend, Ellery Channing, who, when he withdrew from Harvard College in 1834–5, retired to Curson's Mill, and became intimate with Mrs. Curson and the family. He was the grandson of S. G. Perkins and Barbara Higginson, and the great-grandson of Stephen Higginson; and he used to meet at Curson's Mill Miss Caroline Sturgis, the daughter of Captain William Sturgis, who was a friend of the Cursons and Searles. The Artichoke river was the theme of several of Channing's early poems, into which he occasionally introduced the figure of Caroline Sturgis; and in a brief romance of the Wilhelm Meister sort, "The Youth of the Poet and Painter," he not only described the charming scenery of that region, but introduced Emerson, the late S. G. Ward, and Channing himself. This he printed in the *Dial* in 1844, and afterwards revised for republication in a little volume, which he bequeathed to me along with all his manuscripts. Channing was also a friend of Samuel Curson's son George, who was near his own age.

During his many voyages Mr. Curson kept up a correspondence with Miss Searle, whom he afterwards married, and who was a descendant of the two Dudleys, early Colonial Governors of Massachusetts. An aunt of hers having married

Chambers Russell — an older brother, I think, of Thomas Russell above mentioned — the family portraits came some of them into Mary Curson's possession, while others are owned by her kinsmen, the Codmans, — Judge Russell's own portrait by Copley being still in possession, I believe, of our associate Col. C. R. Codman. Many other portraits and paintings of various kinds, with other objects of art brought home by Mr. Curson from his voyages, used to adorn the old mansion by the Merrimac, where I have spent many agreeable hours. Miss Curson was a close friend of the Whittiers, who lived across the Merrimac from her, and she told me one anecdote of a visit to Whittier, and its result, which is worth relating for its quaintness. Channing, her friend and mine, had become vexed with her for some fancied lack of hospitality, occasioned by her care of her invalid mother, and had written one of his severe letters, declaring he should never set foot in her garden again. Suffering under the pain of this undeserved censure, she rowed across the intervening Merrimac and called on the Quaker poet, the same day or the next. She said to Whittier, "I have just received a very disagreeable letter from a friend, and I am so worried about it that I have come over to ask your advice what to do." "Well, Mary Curson," said Whittier, "I have just got such another letter; now I will give my letter to thee and thee must give thine to me, and we will throw 'em both into the fire, and think no more about them." So said, so done. Mary took Whittier's letter and dropped it into the river as she was returning to the Mill, and Whittier, taking from her the Channing letter, threw it into his study fire.

The kindred of Miss Curson still occupy this romantic retreat on the Merrimac, and still row on the two rivers where Channing and Caroline Sturgis, Wentworth Higginson with Mary Channing, and many young lovers since, have rowed and sung; and many more will sail and chant, no doubt, as years go by. None will describe the little lonely stream better than Channing did seventy-five years ago:

> The stream is well alive;
> Another passive world you see,
> Where downward grows the form of every tree,
> Like soft light clouds they thrive;
> Like them, let us in our pure loves reflected be.
> . . . . . .

We smoothly glide below
The faintly glimmering worlds of light:
Day has a charm, and this deceptive night
Brings a mysterious show;
He shadows our dear earth, but his cool stars are white.

Mr. FORD offers the following note on the

MATHER-CALEF PAPER ON WITCHCRAFT.

While editing Cotton Mather's *Diary* I found in the Society a manuscript in his writing, of thirty-two quarto pages, without heading or endorsement to indicate its purpose or occasion. It was a treatise on witchcraft, prepared in reply to criticisms and agreement raised upon his views and conduct during the Salem trials, but without date or address to show if Mather intended it as a general reply to his critics, as a formal statement of his belief, or as an answer to an individual critic. On the margins of the sheets, and in another hand, were replies and running comments on the text, but without the slightest indication who the writer was. This question of identifying a man who evidently had little awe, much less fear, of Mather, gave me some occupation; and after eliminating many conjectures I concluded that the critic could be no other than Robert Calef. In this conclusion I was confirmed by Calef's letter to B[rattle], March 1, 1694–95, printed in Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (1700), 30. He there says:

The utmost compliance I have mett with, is (by your Hands) the sight of four Sheets [i. e. thirty-two pages] of recinded Papers, but I must first be obliged to return them in a Fortnight, and not Copied, which I have now complied with: And having read them am not at all Surprized at the Authors Caution in it, not to admit of such crude matter and impertinent absurdities, as are to be found in it to spread. He seems concern'd that I take no notice of his several Books, wherein, as he saith, he has unanswerably proved things to which I might reply, that I have sent him Letters of quotations out of those Books,[1] to know how much of them he will abide by, for I thought it hard to affix their Natural consequences till he had opportunity to explain them. And saith that he had sent me (Mr. Baxter's *Worlds of Spirits*) an ungainsayable Book, *&c.* (tho I know no ungainsayable Book, but the Bible, which Book I think no Man that

[1] Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 27.

has read it will give such a Title to but the Author, he speaks of my reproaching his publick Sermons, of which I am not conscious to my self, unless it be about his interpretation of a *Thunder Storm* (that broke into his House) which savoured so much of Enthusiasm.

As to those papers, I have (as I read them) noted in the Margin where, in a hasty reading, I thought it needful, of which it were unreasonable for him to complain; seeing I might not take a Copy, thereby to have been inabled, more at leasure to digest what were needfull to be said on so many Heads; and as I have not flatter'd him, so for telling what was so needful, with the hazard of making so many Enemies by it, I have approved my self one of his best Friends: And besides his own sense of the weakness of his Answer, testified by the prohibition above, he has wholly declined answering to most of those things that I had his promise for, and what he pretends to speak to, after mentioning, without the needful Answer or Proof drops it.

Calef then proceeds to give the heads of Mather's paper, and by referring to particular pages, establishes that these are the very "four Sheets of recinded Papers" sent to Calef for his confusion, rather than conversion.[1] He concludes with this appeal for a serious reply to his doubts:

That 't is more Honour to own an Error in time, than tenaciously after full Conviction to retain it. But if our Author will again Vindicate such matters, please to acquaint him, that I shall not any more receive his Papers, if I may not Copy and use them; and that when he does, instead of such abstruse matters, I still pray his determination in those things I have his promise for.

The occasion for this letter arose from the fact that Calef's notes of his visits to the afflicted Margaret Rule, taken September 13 and 19, 1693, had been so far shown as to become known and "misrepresented."

These notes were a matter of fact record of what passed in the room of Margaret Rule on the two occasions, and under any interpretation contained sentences reflecting on the attitude of the Mathers, father and son. Cotton Mather indignantly sent a message to Calef, threatening him with arrest, and appears to have called him the "worst of Lyars, making it [the notes] Pul-

[1] He gave a fuller summary in his letter to the Ministers, March 18, 1694–95, in *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 33.

pit-news with the Name of *Pernicious Libels*, etc."[1] Calef offered to meet him and read to him these notes, but could not bring Mather to the point, and January 11, 1693–94, sent him copies of notes, "the first coppy that ever was taken," and letters, "to the end that what shall be found defective or not fairly represented, if any such shall appear, they may be set right." Probably between September and December, 1693, Mather made his first entry on the matter in his *Diary:* "A wicked Man, wrote a most lying *Libel* to revile my Conduct in these matters; which drove mee to the Blessed God, with my Supplications that Hee would wonderfully protect mee, as well from *unreasonable Men* acted by the Divels, as from the Divels themselves."[2] Mather acknowledged receiving the "pretended narrative of a visit by my Father and self to an Afflicted Young woman," and swept it aside as containing scarcely one thing in it, whether respecting his father or himself, "either fairly or truly represented." He indicates the leading misstatements and strongly objects to the general tone of the account, so well calculated to place the two clergymen in an unenviable light. This reply opened a discussion on witches and witchcraft, lasting for some years, and causing great annoyance to Mather.[3] The paper now printed formed a part of the exchange of notes and printed pieces. Into the details of this discussion we need not now go; it is enough to have identified these "notes" and explained their occasion.

Three years after this paper was written, Mather published his *Life of Phips* in London, and in § 16 used phrases and sentences from it when describing the witchcraft episode in New England.

The question which Robert Calef, father or son, was the author of *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, will receive full discussion in the volume of *Narratives of Witchcraft* in the series "Original Narratives of Early American History," preparing by Mr. George L. Burr, of Cornell University.

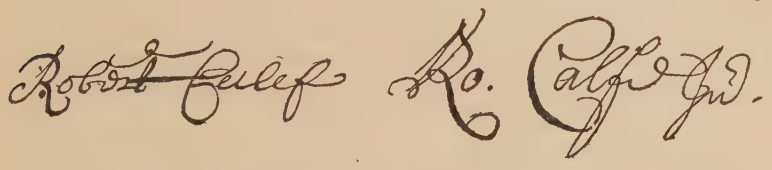
The two signatures are taken from documents recently found in the Chamberlain Collection in the Boston Public Library, as is the document in the case of John Stevens,[4] clearly

[1] *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 16.
[2] *Diary*, I. 172.
[3] See Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, 105.
[4] Page 268, *infra*.

x To what is all to y^e self-killing Hee generally Restraines from (12
this Many Nations a Disposition to kill any Besides Themselves. Now
as wee Know transfer This unto y^e Case Before us. As men are
Such naturall Hopes in Safety, from y^e powr of
powrs as God by madness By Gods Restraining of their Dispo-
sitions Know not Sinners, they are Hopes in Safety from y^e power
Therefore can of Devils, By his Restraining of, not their
Safely apprehr Dispositions, But their Operations. And o^r Safety
from Her power, Encourages no Little Occasion
to Give who is often y^e true powrs of y^e Devils; for Him to
by Craft & fraud. y^e Almighty God of His Glory, wch His
Divine Absolutly so notably Displayes, in Keeping us from y^e hurt-
ful Impressions Hereof; and y^e Devils are Sound
to y^e God Most much Glorified, When they See us Casting
whom we Cast Feare that God may not Be Glorified, for o^r Daily
Knowledge of
Deliverances from Him.
in the God Hope
for Ever/

and now Revd Sr. meeting with Him in Largement in this
11. Page have a little Leysure to look back & in yor Discription.
I find You make y^e Covenant Essentiall to compleat a witch,
Commissioning Devills to be their Privelodges. or y^e Effect of y^e
Covenant, being Void of y^e power of either I am Enterfaced for 7
Lines pages w^ch a magnifying the Devills natural powers, their Inven
Design from y^e Text & may Look Strange that a minister of y^e Gospell
of Jesus Christ Should Stoop such Low Principles as might Lay him under
any Necessity of Exalting y^e power Not of his own. But of his most
Immortall the Conquered Enemy. And Inasmuch as Said Gods Holy, y^e
Great Glory by him of preservation. I answer we find out that the Holy
Ghost did Ever Fix upon this medium to Exhibit & Declare many miracles
in Casting out Devills. By magnifying the power of him that was cast
out... in Stead of this Sr I did hope that according to yor promise I Should
have had yor Sentiments Communicated whether that Hand guided by you
out of one Paul ought to be owned as a truth Viz. that witch exercises
in Hurting & opposing y^e word work & wst of God. & nothing by a Sign
to Seduce. Or also whether it be Safe to Believe that y^e Devills Bounds
are Set with Him can not pass That the Devills are so full of malice that
they cannot be Ledd to by mankind That whatever he hath power to
do either can or will omit executing it That he only Hath the Keys
that Sets bounds to his rage & that only can commissionate him
& Setting these are my Reasons to Distinguish y^e from y^e Devils of
witchcraft Being both alike performed by y^e Devill. with other
Sentiments to you for this Time.

in the same writing as the notes on Mather's paper. It is the only example of the elder Calef's writing, signed, which has come to my notice sufficient to confirm beyond question my conjecture on the identity of the writer of the notes.[1]



In the volume of Mather MSS. in which this letter to Calef was found, is Mather's "Another Brand pluck'd out of the Burning," which Calef printed in his book. It has the prefatory note and shows that it was written to J. P. — probably John Phillips, his father-in-law.

§ 1. The *Storms* of Trouble from the *Invisible World* which lately annoy'd the Countrey, being so far over, that those persons whose *public Station* hath obliged them unto *public Action*, in opposition thereunto, have some *Leisure* to *examine* their own Conduct under such unusual *Storms*, I have in this *Leisure* brought myself under the severest *Examination*. And as the *Result* thereof, there are some Things which I must now lay before *you*, relating both to my *Beleef*, and my Practice, in those Thorny Difficulties, which have Distracted us, in the *Day of our Temptation*.

In this Undertaking, I have Resolved, that I will not consult the many *Books* of other men, from whence 't were easy for mee to adorn my Discourses with a great variety of entertainment, but I shall give you my plain and free *Thoughts*, as they *Naturally* shape themselves, while a *swift pen* is here preserving of them.

§ 2. As it *was* at first, so after as much *Observation* as I have made it still *is*, my *Beleef That there are Witches*. If you would know what I mean by *A Witch*, you shall have it, in this Brief Description;[2] *A Witch is a Wicked Child of Man, who upon covenanting with and Commissioning of* EVIL SPIRITS, *is attended by their Ministry, to accomplish the Things desired from them.* The Terms of this description are so plain, that they need no explication. To Demand That there bee also proved, a *corporeal* or *visible* existence unto all the

[1] The reproductions are made by courtesy of the Public Library.

[2] I suppose none will thinke this as scripturall a deffinition as that by the hend of Mr. Gaul. — *Calef.*

Matters, which by common Report occurr in some Actions of *Witchcraft*, is altogether unreasonable.[1] One may prove the Existence of a *Divel*, without any Demonstration, of an Odd Creature with a *Horned Head* and a *cloven Foot*, and I know not what other *Imaginary* circumstances. Even so, If it can bee proved, That there are *men*, who mentain a *Confederacy* with *Evil Spirits*, and who, as an Effect of that *Confoederacy*, are Attended and Gratify'd, by those *Daemons*, in the accomplishment of Things, wickedly expected from their Assistences, *This* will bee as much as will bee Required by any Sensible Man.

If any man will ask mee to Grant, That the *Divels* are in all the Efforts of their *Power* and *Malice*, Limited to the God of Heaven,[2] I do most Readily grant it, and give Thanks to Heaven for it. If any one would have me further to grant [3] That the *shapes* of some, who are not *Witches*, may appear Tormenting of those who in the vulgar Opinion are *Bewitched*, I grant *This* also. If, they would have it further granted, That the *Credulitie* of mankind has been very much abused, with untrue Stories and Notions of *Witches*, I grant *This* likewise. If it should bee further granted, That many Things ascribed unto *Witches* may be but *Aerial Businesses*, or Transactions managed but upon the *Scaene* of a *Vitiated Phantasy*,[4] I'l grant *This* too. Yea, I'l grant one Thing more, which is a Concession, that was never yett asked of mee, and which I never saw Intimated, as I remember, any where so pertinently, as in a most Gracious Letter of the Glorious *Queen*, that is now sitting on the *British* Throne, written on the Occasion of our New England [*torn*][5] I'l grant not only That they who are usually look'd upon as *inchanted* Persons, are generally, properly Really *possessed* Persons, and that their Minds ordinarily are so Impos'd upon, as to make very much against any [6] Credible Validitie in their *Testimonies* or their *Informations;* But also [7] That some of them, against whom the fairest and fullest *Præsumptions* of *Witchcraft* have been Introduced have been in like manner *possessed*, and under a Satanical

[1] Precarious. — *Calef.*

[2] Then none but he who is the God of heven can comisionate them. — *Calef.*

[3] If any Shape apered at Salem it was such as could be seen as well with the eyes shut as open, and so appears to them that will believe their sences, to be onely in the brain of the accusers. — *Calef.*

[4] Then it seems som in the world may have unjustly suffered and that by taking up with such evidens and notions. — *Calef.*

[5] See Mather, *Life of Phips*, 81.

[6] If posest than they are so far from being valid testimonyes that 't is not so much as a presumtion and to inquire of them who are witches were to be guilty of the Sinn of Saul and Manasses. — *Calef.*

[7] This might be the case of Glover and perhaps of many more. — *Calef.*

Energy, have *Ignorantly* used the *Speeches* and *Actions*, which according to the common [1] *Rules of Judging*, have brought them under the [1] *Praesumptions* of criminal *Familiarities*. I know that by these Concessions, I have at once made a fearful Havock [2] of almost all the *Voluminous Harangues* that have been written against the *Doctrine of Witches*. And yett, after all these *Concessions*, I still find it necessary to Beleeve, *That there are such Witches as I have described*, and they are those Three *Great Convincers*, plain *Scripture*, undoubted *History*, and personal *Experience*, that have necessarily compelled mee to Beleeve.

§ 3. It is but *Reason*, that I should Begin with *Scripture*, and lay before you the brief Heads of *Evidence* which I there find, that there are such Wretches as *Witches*, to bee found among the Fallen children of Men. Indeed I have sometimes been entertained with an extreme Instance of *Unreasonableness*,[3] refusing to acknowledge the *proof* of a *Witch* from *Scripture*, except wee'l show all the many *Ceremonies* of *Witchcraft* therein expressly exemplified; which is altogether as *Irrational* as if a man should Resolve to Question [4] *Whether there bee such a Thing as a Robber on the Road!* Until you show him in *Scripture* all the particular Methods of *Padding* at large Delineated. And yett, I do affirm that there is hardly any *Way of Sinning*, more largely, more fully, and with more copious Variety, handled in *Scripture* then that of *Witchcraft*. Lett a man but seriously penetrate into the *Original Signification* of the many *Names*, whereby *Witches* are deciphered, and compare therewithal the Quality and multitude of the *Things* done by the *Witches* there mentioned, and hee will subscribe to my Affirmation.

§ 4. There is one preliminary *Position* from the *Scripture*, to bee Asserted and maintained. That is,

That the Divels have not wholly lost their Natural Powers *by their Fall from God; but are when they have the Leave of God, still able to do Things of a mighty Influence upon the affayrs of mankind.*[5]

This is a Thing so plain that it must bee from some singular *Influence* of *Theirs* if any man that Reads the *Scripture* shall Deny it.[6]

[1] The figures inserted here may refer to the previous note. Ed.

[2] Such an one as Glanvill has made long since. — *Calef.*

[3] Against these opening sentences Calef wrote: But it seems very reasonable that seeing you put a covenanting witch into your diffinition to shew not only that their covenanting is a scripturall diffinition, but also whether it must be implied or explicit.

[4] Precarious. — *Calef.*

[5] What those naturall powers are, to define them is beyond the conception of all mortalls, but from Scripture it is plain that he has power as a temter and as an accuser. — *Calef.*

[6] Naturally. — *Calef.*

The Scripture does indeed say *That Idolatrous Images made by the Carpenter and the Goldsmith can do neither good nor evil* (Isa. 41.7, 23): And *That the Trees cutt out of the Forest for Idolatrous Worship, cannot do evil, neither also is it in them to do good* (Jer. 10.3, 5). But it no where sais, That the *Divels* can *do no Evil;* for it sais, That the *Divels* do *this Evil*, they *lead* men to *serve those Dumb Idols* (1 Cor. 12. 2).

'T is true, The *Divels* can do *no Evil*, without a special permission from our Great God whose *Kingdome Ruleth over all;* but from one end of the *Scripture* to the other wee here are entertained with Terrible Examples of the *Evil*, which the just Vengeance of Heaven has permitted the *Divels*, to do unto men that have hearkened unto the Suggestions of those *Wicked ones.*

What *Evil* the *Divels* are capable of doing to the *minds* of men, I am sure you will not consent that I should specify, as largely as I think the *Scripture* doth Intimate; for it would bee to transcribe almost all that part of the Bible, that relates the *Violent Impieties* of the world.

What Wayes of conveying *Evil* to our *Spirits*, those *Evil Spirits* have, and with what fine *Poisons*, they *darken*, or *distort* the Operations of our Internal Faculties, perhaps wee do not so particularly comprehend. But this wee are sure of, That when the *Light of the glorious Gospel* has not a free passage into the *minds* of men, 't is because the *Divels* have *Blinded* their *minds* (2 Cor. 4. 4).

Wee are sure That when *Good Men* and *Great Men* have rushed upon gross Errors in *Deed*, or *Word*, the *Divels* have *provoked* them thereunto (1 Chron. 21.1; Math. 16.23).

Wee are sure, That when *ungodly* Men have been very exorbitant in the Discoveries of their *Ungodliness*, the *Divels* have *entred* into their *Hearts*, yea, *Filled* their *Hearts* (John 13.27; Act. 5.3).

What *Evil* cannot those *Divels* do unto men, that can Hurry men on unto the *worst Evil* in the World, when a just God shall for their Sins *give them up;* yea, that can *lead men captive at their Will?* (2 Tim. 2. 26).

But you'l have my Discourse confined unto the *Abilities* of the *Divels* to do *Evil* unto men in their *saecular* and *exteriour* Intrests; and hereof I will bee a little more particular, in giving you some *Scripturall Demonstrations.*

You are not so Absurd, as to Imagine any other but that in the *Scripture*, when wee read of *the Divel*, 't is usually *A Name of Multitude;* it means not one Individual *Divel*, so potent and scient as a *Manichee* would fancy, but it means a *Kind*, whereto a *Multitude* belongs.

Now attend unto the *Scripture*. Is not *The Power of Death*, assigned unto the [1] Divels there? (Heb. 2.14).

Now what sense can you possibly putt upon that *Scripture*, if the *Divels* are not *Able* to bring *Death* upon men, when God shall permitt [2] them so to do? The *Divels* are there considered. as the *Executioners*,[3] by whose Hands, *Death* is inflicted upon men, who have thus exposed themselves by Beleeving that *Lye* of these *Divels*, when they said, *Yee shall not surely Dy*. How can the *Divels* have *The Power of Death*, if they have no *Power* to *kill* a Man? Thanks bee to God, that the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ has *Destroy'd* the *Destroying Power* of the *Divels*, as to those that are His *own Children*, those Inflicters of *Death*, cannot now *Hurt* those that are *Born again*, even in that very *Death* which they may Inflict: the Blood of our Lord being *sprinkled* on the Faithful, they do not by so far open as they did before unto the *Power* of those *Destroyers*. However, I suppose no man will *Dream*, that the *Divels* have lost their *Natural Abilities*, by the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ. The undoubted Histories of that one thing alone, *Bodily Possession*, in the succeeding Ages, were enough to confute such a *Dream*, if our *Ascended Lord* had not spoken a thousand Things, especially in the Book of *Revelation*, to confute it; particularly when Hee foretels the *Imprisonment* and Persecution of His own people to bee procured by the *Divels:* but you must peremptorily Trample upon the *Scripture*, if you don't grant mee, That the *Divels* at some Time or other have had *Natural Abilities* to smite miserable men with *Death*, *when God* should *empower* them so to do. And now make a pause: Think with yourself, *What evil cannot they do*, *that are the Angels of Death?* Had I not Resolved wholly to Forbear so much as looking into any Book of any other Author, from the Beginning to the Conclusion of this Dissertation, I could have here laid before you the ungainsayable Judgment of the most learned men in the world, about the *Powers* of *these Angels of Death*, asserted in this famous Text.

But wee'l proceed. You'l own that the *Egyptians* once underwent much *Evil*, in all their *secular* and *exteriour* Intrests. But will you lett the *Scripture* tell you, who were the *Destroyers* which the Lord lett loose, in those *Plagues* upon them? You are Told, *Hee cast upon them the Fierceness of his Anger*, *Wrath and Indignation*, *and*

[1] Due. 32.39. se now that I, even I, am he, and there is no God with me. I kill and I make a live; I wond and I heale. 1 Sam. 2.6. The Lord killeth, and maketh a live, etc. The power or sting of death is sin. — *Calef.*

[2] Or rather impower them. — *Calef.*

[3] When it shall pleas God so to impower them. — *Calef.*

Troubles by sending[1] *evil Angels among them* (Psal. 78. 49). In spite of all the Harsh expositions which I have seen attempting another sense for these words, these *evil Angels* must and will bee *Divels*. But I pray what *Fierceness of Anger* could there bee in sending these *Divels*, if the *Divels* were Able to *do Nothing* where they came?

Again, you will own that Job suffered more than a little *Evil* in all *saeculär* and *exteriour* Interests whatsoever. Yea, but you abandon the conduct of positive *Scripture*, if you don't confess, *That the Divels had power*, when God a little withdrew[2] His peculiar protection over that excellent man, to Ruine first *all that hee had;* and then, to *smite him with sore Boyls, from the sole of his Foot unto his crown* (Job. 1. 12 and 2. 7). You see, 't is nothing but the *Hedge* of Gods watchful providence about us, that hinders the *Divels* from confounding our *Estates*, yea, from consuming our *Bodies:* And are such *Divels* Able to do *Nothing* where God shall say, *You may*.

I beseech you, to consider the *possessions* which the *Scripture* mentions, as abounding in the Dayes of our Saviour's Humiliation. The *Divels* which made such lamentable Impressions upon the poor *Energumens*, and broke and scorn'd the strongest *Chains* that were clap't upon them. What? Could they *do Nothing?*[3] Yea, I affirm that *Hee* either did never *compare*, or does not *Beleave*, the Evangelists, who grants not, That *Natural Diseases* on the *Bodies* of men, are sometimes caused by *Divels*.

I am confident the *Gadarens* were convinced that the *Divels* were able to Destroy their *cattel*, as well as to molest their *persons*, whenever the Lord should allow them to do it.

It would bee very strange[4] if those whom the *Scripture* does call *the Power of the Air* (Eph. 2. 2), and an *Army* that have a *strong one* (Jac. 11. 21) for the Prince over them, should have no *Power* there! But I do not propound unto myself a perfect Collection of all that the *Scripture* does contain about this matter. What I have already Recited would have been enough to have convinced mee, That the Divels are not such *unactive* or *unable* Things, as many who seem willing to have it beleeved that the *Divels* are indeed

[1] And why not called evill Angells as being evill to them in smiting their first born with death, seing Exod. 11.4. and 12.12. for I will pas thro the land this night and will smite the first born in the land of Aegypt. 29. v. the lord smot all the first born, etc. — *Calef.*

[2] Or rather impower'd Satan to aflict him. Job is Justifyed in say[ing]: the lord hath taken away, and tis God that order'd all the circumstances of his affliction. — *Calef.*

[3] Yes they can do all that God sends them for. — *Calef.*

[4] Not so strange as true till God enable them for till then they can not rais winds or tempests. — *Calef.*

Nothings, do mentain. I say *Here* would have been enough to have convinced mee, altho' I should have never had such *ocular Demonstrations*, as have been given among ourselves, that the *Natural Abilities* of the *Divels*, or their Abilities in themselves, when unrestrained, by a *superiour Power* to operate upon the *Natural World*, and apply the Lawes of *Matter* and *Motion*, are, unto amazement, *great*.

§ 5. *Ocular Demonstrations!* You'l say that I croud in some *unexpected*, and perhaps *undesired* Things into this Discourse, by going to make an offer of *such* Things. Wherefore, if your *Patience* will hold out but for one short *Paragraph*, I'l forbear [1] the Thousands of *experimental Proofs* which have been seen by myself, as well as many scores of other People among ourselves, to make it evident, that wee don't misunderstand the *Scripture*, when wee gather all this *Power* of the *Divels* from it. I'l forbear mentioning the prodigious *Convulsions* that I have seen racking the *Bodies*, and *obstructions* that I have seen tying the *Senses*, of wretched People,[2] possessed by *Spirits*, which discovered themselves to bee no *Natural Distempers*, by their discovering of many things wholly *secret* unto the Distempered. I'l forbear mentioning the *pinches* that I have seen given to them, the *Blisters* that I have seen Rais'd on them, and the *Pins* that I have seen stuck upon these People, by *Spirits* at the very Instant when those mischiefs were done.[3] I'l forbear mentioning the marvellous Abstinence enforced, and by *Spirits*, upon these People, for *Nine*, yea, for *Fifteen* Dayes together, and their eating but one meal in about Three Weeks, except perhaps now and then a bitt of *Raw and Sharp Fruit*, which would but render them the more uneasy. The only thing that I shall instance is, The *Power* which the *Divels* have had unaccountably to *Invisibilize*[4] the Grossest Objects whatsover. It is most certain that a Person assaulted by a *Spectre* with an Iron tool, altogether *Invisible* unto every one else in the Room, did snatch the *Iron Tool* from the *Spectre*, upon which it was immediately Beheld and Handled by all the People there. It is most certain [5] That a Person abused by a *Spectre* in a *Sheet*, altogether *Invisible* unto every one else in the

[1] In declaring a belef it might have been expected that all hyperbollicall expressions would have bin omited. — *Calef.*

[2] Convulsions I supos you will grant are not allwayes by possesion, and their telling some things suppos'd to be secret is no full proof of it. — *Calef.*

[3] Pinches, blisters and pins, as they are all esely imposed on the credulus, so no dout they can and shall be done by devills when God not the witch shall impower them. — *Calef.* See *Life of Phips*, 69.

[4] As good proofs I have met with in the legends of the lady of Loretta, etc., and at most might be but a trick of the [*torn*]. — *Calef.* See *Life of Phips*, 69.

[5] An easy trick for any Salem hocus to perform. — *Calef.*

Room, did by snatching tear off a Corner of the *Sheet* worn by the *Spectre*, which was also Immediately then Beheld and Handled, by the People that were present.[1] These things have been attested by the *Words*, yea, by the *Oaths*, of such credible *ey-Witnesses* among us, that whatever may bee done by any *Flashy People* to burlesque them, and buffoon them, I must entertain them with more of *Reason* than so.[2] And this the rather, because the miserable *Energumens* whom I have myself often visited in their Distresses, have had *Poisons*, to us wholly *Invisible*, forced upon them; which when they have, after much Reluctancy swallowed, they have *swoln* immediately, so that the common Medicines for *Poisons* have been found Necessary to Releeve them. Yea, sometimes the *Spectres* in the *Struggles*[3] have so drop't the *Poisons*, that wee have seen them, and smelt them, and beheld the Pillowes of the miserable stained with them. Here were *ocular Demonstrations;* and they will not loose the force of *Demonstrations*, for being Rediculed by some Wonderful Wits, who think that they have engrossed all the Learning in the World, and that every thing is to bee[4] flouted out of the World but what comes within the ken of their Philosophy. But now I say, That after such *Demonstrations* I must conclude, that I have not misinterpreted the *Scriptures*, which do so mention *The Power of the Enemy*. Briefly, I have not yett altered my Opinion, That there is a *Plastic Spirit*[5] permeating of the World, which very powerfully operates upon the more corporeal parts of it: and that the *Angels*, both good and bad, are on the account of their *Natures*, the most Able of all creatures, to Apply that *Spirit* unto very many and mighty purposes.

§ 6. The *Cavil* against all that has been hitherto affirmed, will bee, *That both the Glory of God, and the Safety of Men, is made void, by the Concession of so much Power unto the Divels.* And I did well to call it a *Cavil*, for there is not so much as a shadow of *Reason* in it. I say, That the *glory* of God, in the *Safety* of men, is rendred

[1] Thes are som of those signes and lying wonders that should go verry near to deceive even the elect. — *Calef.* See *Life of Phips*, 70.

[2] See *Life of Phips*, 71.

[3] What mean thes spectres which none can se but those that have not the use of their reasons and senses. if they are devills why not so called. — *Calef.*

[4] 'T is easy for them that pride themselves in their learning to make such reflections. — *Calef.*

[5] A plastic spirit. What foreign word is that. — *Calef.* "To amuse the Ignorant, and to confound the Learned, he hooks in a cramp word, if not a nonentity, (viz.) *Plastick* Spirit of the World, for who is it either knows that there is a *Plastcik Spirit*, or what it is, or how this can any way serve his purpose." *Calef to B*[*rattle?*], in *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 32.

most of all Illustrious by our Beleeving what the[1] *Scripture* saies about the Powers of our *Invisible Adversaries*. It is one of the most convincing Arguments to prove, as well the *Being* of a *God*, as His *Greatness*, and his *Goodness*, and oblige our *Thankfulness* unto Him, That altho' there bee so many millions of *Divels* which are both *Able* and *Willing* to inflict all sorts of *Plagues* upon the sinful children of men, yett these Divels are chained up; there is a *superiour Power* which controuls the *Divels*, and will not lett them *Do* what they both *Would* and *Could*, if they were not thus controled: *This* is that which very signally bespeaks our Acknowledgments of a GOD, *whose Throne is in the Heavens, and whose* Kingdome Ruleth over all. I humbly conceive that God has allowed the Divels ever now and then to show their *Powers* in tremendous Instances, partly for this very cause. To bespeak and quicken our *praises* of Him, as our *preserver*. And these Men do *sacrilegiously* Rob the Blessed God of His just *Praises*, who go to perswade us, That wee are not Beholden unto the constant, and Active Providence of God, Restraining the *Powers* of the Divels, for our preservation from as many Damages as the *Destroying Angels* have ever yett brought upon any part of the World.[2] I would a little Illustrate this matter, with a *Comparison*. 'T is no Derogation from the *Glory* of God for us to say, That the man who has no value for his *own Life*, may ordinarily bee a master of *another*, and almost of *any other* man's; and accordingly, wee have known Examples of Gods permitting a man in such a *Fury* to committ horrible *Murders*, in the Neighbourhood; yea, 't is a very frequent Thing in some Countreyes, for some Wretches there to *Run a Muck*, as they call it, and make Wretched *Slaughters* of such as they meet. There is this *Power* in a *Desperate man* to Ruine other men. But now, say I, Here does the *Glory* of our God appear with a mighty lustre: first, that Hee Restrains men generally from a Disposition to *self-killing*, tho' such a Disposition have been sometimes in some Towns after a sort *Epidemical;* and secondly, what is yett more amazing, that such as have a Disposition to[3]

[1] So much must be believed; but 't is an old trick to tell a ly for God's sake, first to asert the exorbitant if not omnipotent power of the Devill and then to say this makes most for the glory of God, tho God so fully takes to himself the atributes of power. 62 Ps. 11.

[2] And it were a most sacriligious thing to rob God of this honour who hath said mine honour I will not give to another. for when we are aflicted to say 't is the hand of God either for tryall or punishment, etc. this is our duty, and in so saying we are safe. but if we say 't is the devill not having a surer ground than they can hitherto pretend to, what is it but a sacriligious robing of God who is not tyd to means or instruments. — *Calef.*

[3] And what is all this: Man's naturall powers are known, but the devill has such naturall powers as God has given him, which we know not, and therefore cannot

self-killing Hee generally Restrains from a Disposition to *kill* any besides Themselves. Now Transfer *This* into the Case before us. As men are kept in *Safety*, from the power of *madmen*, by Gods Restraining of their *Dispositions*, they are kept in *safety* from the *Power* of *Divels*, by His Restraining of, not their *Dispositions*, but their *Operations*. And our *Safety* from this *Power*, administers no little Occasion of *Glory to God in the Highest*. For a man to *Deny* the true *Powers* of the *Divels*, is for him to *Defraud* the Almighty God of his *Glory*, which Hee so notably Displayes, in *keeping* us from the hurtful Impressions thereof; and the *Divels* are doubtless much *Gratified*, when they see us taking Pains that God may not be *glorified*, for our Daily Deliverances from them.

§ 7. Having by this *Position* thus cleared my Way, I now come to prove by *Scripture*, That there have been Wicked Children of Men, who by[1] *Covenanting* with and *Commissioning* of the *Divels*, have contributed unto their Actual Exerting of their *Natural Powers*, to accomplish the Things which have been desired of them. And yett, I foresee, that I shall not peaceably go on to my Remaining Task, until I have answered you one Question; which is,

If[2] *the malicious Divels have such Powers, and yett cannot without*

safely ascribe this atribute of power to him, but to ascribe all power to him who is Almighty can be no derogation to his divine atributes, but must rationaly draw forth our prais as to that God in whom we live and moue and have our being, who is all in all, God blesed for ever.

And now, Rev'd Sir, meeting with some inlargement in this 11 Page have a little leisure to look back and in your description I find you make the covenant esentiall to compleat a witch and commisioning devills to be their priviledge, or the effect of that covenant, and instead of the proofe of either I am entertained for 7 or 8 pages with a magnifying the devills naturall powers in externalls. Tho' it seems foreign from the text, and may look strange that a minister of the gospell of Jesus Christ should espous such an interest as might lay him under any nescessity of extolling the power not of his m[aster] But of his most mortall tho conquered enemy. And whereas tis said God is herby the more gloryfy'd in our preservation, I answer we find not that the Apostles did ever hit upon this medium to extoll our Saviours miracles in casting out Devills, By magnifying the power in externalls of him that was cast out. Instead of this, Sir, I did hope that according to your promis I shold have had your sentiments communicated whether that head quoted by you out of Mr. Gaul ought to be owned as a truth, viz. that witchcr[aft] consist in having and oposing the word work and w[orshi]p of God, and seeking by a sign to seduce. As also whether it be safe to believe that the devills bounds are set which he cannot pas. That the devills are so full of malice that it can't be added to by mankind. That where he hath power he neither can or will omit executing it. That tis onely the Almighty that sets bounds to his rage and that onely can commissionate him and seing there are posessions how to distinguish them from the efects of witchcraft seing both are performd by the Devill, with other things sent to you for their solution. — *Calef.*

[1] Ay, thes are the two that need it. — *Calef.*

[2] This Q[uestion] I freely acknoledge to be fairly stated and when as well answered will much contribute to a right understanding thes things. — *Calef.*

the Permission of God exert these Powers, how can any Confaederating Witch contribute thereunto?

Now my Answer is:

First,[1] The *Divels* do ordinarily exert their *Powers*, unprovoked, unassisted, by any *Formal Witchcraft* thereunto: Yea, It seems possible that the *Divels* having a sufficient and antecedent Permission to do mischiefs may yet Hook in cursed *Witches* to [2] consent with them, for the doing of those mischiefs only to Increase the [3] Guiltiness and the Damnation, of those ungodly Creatures.

Next,[4] If *Witchcraft* bee, as many suppose it is, The *Skill of Applying the* [5] *plastic Spirit of the World unto unlawful Purposes, by means of a Confaederacy with Divels*, then the Consent of the *Witches* do's as Naturally contribute unto the *Effects* wrought by the *Divels*, as the [6] *Scratching* of the Longing Mother, do's unto the *Marks* therewith made on the *Infant* in the *Womb*.

Thirdly. Is it not a thing settled by the Ordination and Constitution of God, that Where the Divels can obtain the [7] *Consent* of *Men*, in such or such Wayes expressed, for their *Hurting* of *other Men*, the *Hurt* shall for the most part bee as effectually accomplished as an House is Blown up, with a Match putt unto *Train* a great Way off? Ever since that *Man* was in the Order of things established by God, made his *Brother's keeper*, there seems a *Train* so laid, that one man may convey *Mischiefs* to another from the Agencie of the *Invisible World*, by certain Acts of *Consent* in *Wickedness*, as on the other side, our *Prayers* and *Wishes* in certain Acts of *Devotion* for the *Prosperitie* of each other do very powerfully contribute unto that Prosperitie. The Great God who does not lett the *Divels* descend unto some certain *Destructive Purposes*, uncalled for, seems to have made a *Grant* unto those Destroying Spirits, that when they are with such and such wicked *Caeremonies* called for, they *shall* make a mischievous Descent; and thus [8] one man may expose an-

[1] As I suppose he dos in the case of possessions. — *Calef.*

[2] Then they have no power to commisionate. — *Calef.*

[3] Then it seems the devill cheats them or else they that say she can commisionate — *Calef.*

[4] Truly here I thinke the quakers answer suffitient. — *Calef.* See p. 258, *infra*.

[5] Plastick Spirit, whats that. Sure som inkhorn term. — *Calef.*

[6] I suppose you will not asert this to be constantly thus. A tryall you may easily make when, etc. — *Calef.*

[7] Here you deny what you conceded P. 2. for now you make the consent of the witch esentiall to impower them, and the want of [it] to be their limit.

Now it seems that the efects of witchcrafts are aserted to be An Ordinance of heaven, and that the witch by vertu of compact, etc., can commisionate devills, and do it as efectually as if she lodged poyson in her neighbours bowells, so hardy and daring are som men tho without one word of scripture proof for it. — *Calef.*

[8] Contradiction to yourself. P. 2. — *Calef.*

other unto Mischief as much as if hee had lodg'd a *Poison* in his Bowels, or sett on *mastiff-Dogs* upon him. It must bee as Notable a Providence of God that in this Case must preserve a person from *Harm*, as were necessary to preserve a man from Death, when hee has *Rattle-Snakes* coyling about him.

Now, to vindicate the *Justice* of Heaven in this Concession, there are Two Considerations that must accompany it.

First. Wee are all of us worthy to be made the Prey of *Divels*, and our Sins in Hearkening to the *Divels* have been such, that if as often as a malicious Neighbour shall caeremoniously Invoke those Fiends to prey upon us, the Almighty God should not *withold* the *Roaring Lions* from Devouring of us, there would bee no *Unrighteousness* in His Dispensations.

But, secondly. The Good God, who *witheld* an *Abimelek*, and a *Laban*, and an *Esau*, from annoying of His faithful Servants, *Hee* does also keep such a [1] *Check* upon the minds of those who would otherwise make more use of the Divels than they do, that where Hee will have no Injury to bee done, Hee often does *withold* our Neighbours from going unto the *Divels* to bee Injurious unto us; even as Hee Restrains Impious men from secret *Murders* and *Robberies*, and *House-burnings*, and a thousand Villanies, wherewith Men were both Able and Willing to make an Hell upon Earth, if a wonderful *Restraint* from God were not upon them.

§ 8. But are you now at Length, praepared for the Direct *Advice* of the sacred *Scripture* in this matter? *Unto the Scripture you have Appealed, and unto the Scripture you shall go!*

First then; Is not the *Scripture* plain for this, that there are *Persons that have their Familiar Spirits?* who are therefore called *Wizzards*. Isa. 29. 4. Lev. 20. 6.

Yea, Tis particularly recorded of *Menasseh*, *Hee used Enchantments, and dealt with Familiar Spirits*. 2 King. 21. 6.

What were these [2] *Familiar Spirits?* When you have turned every Stone, and considered *Lexikons* and *Arguments*, and every thing that may help you to understand the meaning of those Words, you'l bee constrained after all, to confess, that no other than *Daemons* are hereby to be understood. Yea, I have been justly amazed, at the Gross Ignorance of all *Antiquitie*, and Unacquaintedness with the Reported and Undoubted Rites of the old *Paganism*, discovered by those men, who have sett their little Wits awork, to make other *Tools* of these *Familiar Spirits*, if they could! But I think I prom-

[1] Now it seems our author will asert that the witch can commisionate, etc., but that God restrains the witch from doing it. — *Calef.*

[2] They were such as acted the aflicted at Salem for ought I can se, who could, as we are told, tell things done at a distance, etc. — *Calef.*

ised you, I would not afflict you with many *Quotations*, but what are *Scriptural*.

I say then, Here is a *Scriptural Assertion* that the Children of men may[1] criminally have Daemons attending of them; and criminally mentain a *Confaederacy* with them; and this, not in the general way of Sinning, as all Sinners are acted by *Satan*, but in a particular and peculiar Way of wickedness. And what is this but Witchcraft? If a man criminally Have *Daemons*, hee must employ them for some use or other, and the *Employing of Daemons by Dealing*, or[2] Treating with them, for[3] any use, is *Witchcraft* all over.

If this bee not yett plain enough, Turn to that *Scripture* where the *Abominations* of *Witchcraft* are together enumerated:[4] *An User of Divination, an Observer of Times, an Inchanter, a Witch, a charmer, a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, a Wizzard, and a Necromancer.* Deut. 18. 10, 11. Can you not, in all this *Black Roll* find one such Wretch as a person that employs *divels* to unlawful Purposes? You are worse than *stark Blind*, if you cannot. What? Are all these Terms but so many Descriptions of a silly *Jugler* at play with his *Hocus Pocus*, using a few frolicksome Tricks of *Legerdemain*, as the *Witch-advocates* will tell you? I abhor to see the *Scripture* so ridiculously trifled with as 't is by the *Leger-demain* of those Non-sensical *Commentators*.

Besides what think you of that *Law* in the *Scripture*,[5] Thou *shalt not suffer a Witch to Live:* Exod. 22. 18. which *Law* you find afterwards more than once executed in *Israel?* If you would not bee soon tired with *Greek* and *Hebrew*, I would here actually *perform* what I now only *profer;* That is *This:* To prove out of the oldest Jewish Rabbins that the *Hebrew*[6] Word here used in the *Original*, and out of the oldest Poets, Orators, Historians, that the *Greek* Word here used by the *Septuagint*, signifies one who does preternat-

[1] The posest person that arives at a complacence in telling to others their oracles and all such as inquir of them either have or deales with a familiar and is certainly criminall. — *Calef.*

[2] Tell them this that acted it at Salem. — *Calef.*

[3] What may we not ask them whose spectres they se, and what coffins are come up, etc., and who 't is aflicts others without so great a blot. — *Calef.*

[4] The latine translation by Junius and Tremelius as I understand from the learned renders it "A user of divinations, a planetarian, or a conjecturer, or a juggler; also a user of charms, or one that seeketh an oracle, or a south sayer, or one that asketh counsel of the Dead. — *Calef.*

[5] I thinke such as Mr. Gaul describes in that cited head to be under that penalty. — *Calef.*

[6] I have an author that intreats you to shew him in all the scrip[ture] such a word as striges or lamiae, or any word of that signification importing such doctrines as have a long time defil'd the nations. — *Calef.*

urall *mischiefs* by the Aid of *Divels*. As for the pretence that the Word signifies, *A Juggler*, lett the Patrons of that absurd Exposition then advance a Law for the *Hanging* of *Jugglers:* but lett them defend it, if they can, from as hard Imputations as they themselves use to cast upon some other *Hanging-Lawes*, in the world.

§ 9. But I wonder, what sensible Defence or Excuse, the fond men you wot of, can make for their [1] Friend, *The Witch of Endor*. Of *her*, 't is also said, *Shee had a Familiar Spirit*. 1 Sam. 28. 7. Shee was, as you read it, *Baqualath-Obh*,[2] or, *The Mistress of a Spirit*. So then there was a *Contract* between *Her*, and that *Spirit*, and that *Spirit* must bee in some sort subject unto her *Command*. Accordingly, you'l Deny all things, if you *Deny* [3] that a Spirit belonging unto the *Invisible World* appeared upon her Evocations. To Retreat now unto such abominable Shifts as are used by the Non-plust *Witch-advocates*, that they may evade the Force of the Notable *Scripture*, is inconsistent with either Pietie or Modestie. I have elsewhere had occasion to say "That the instance of the Witch of *Endor*, is so plain and full, that Witchcraft itself is not a more amazing thing than any *Dispute* now about the Being of it. The Advocates of *Witches* must use more Tricks, to make Non-sense of the Bible, than ever the Witch of *Endor* used in her magical Incantations, if they would evade the Force of that famous History.

§ 10. Or, what shall wee say of *Balaam?* Num. 22. 5, 6. It is evident from *Scripture*, that hee was a *Wizzard*, who could by his *magical* Invocations ordinarily sett mischievous *Divels* upon his Enemies [4] to confound them with many sorts of Disasters. And

[1] What need of thes unjust reflections. — *Calef.*

[2] "The word OB signifies a *Bottel*, a *Runel*, a *Cask*, or very deep Vessel. The Latin word *obba*, which is the same with the Chaldean *ob* is a *Tuscan* obsolete word, signifying a vessel, wherewith of old they did use to perform their *Libations* upon the Sepulchres of the Deceased. And why should not the Jewish *ob* signify also a vessel of *Necromancy* used for the Evocation of the Dead?" Mather's MS. "Biblia Americana," *sub texto*.

[3] If you can find in the scripture that Saul saw any thing, you will find more than ever I could. And when you have reconcild Glanvill one of your Authors, and others with them that I have lately seen, to the generallity of divines and ajusted whether it was the soul of Good Sam[ue]ll or a devill that the witch produst, it will then be time enough to mak a farther reply. — *Calef.*

[4] 'T is a wonder the warring princes cannot lite of any such artists. 18. v. and balam answered and said to the servants of balak, if balack, etc. I cannot go beyond the word of *the Lord my God* to do les or more, and his sacrifices were to the tru God, whose mouth he also was in the giving divine oracles. But for his loving the wayes of unrighteousness and teaching balack to put a stumbling block before the children of israell, together with other wickedness, he is Justly stild a sorcerer. — *Calef.*

if his Notable and Successful Facultie, at so doing, had not been well-known, a mighty *Prince* in the Neighbourhood, had never sent for him to do it. For this Cause, when *Balaam's* Ass first spoke Articulately to him, wee have no Intimation at all, of his being Affrighted at it. Hee had been so *Familiar* with *Evil Angels*, that hee thought it was one of *Them* who now addressed him.[1] To confirm us in this Opinion of *Balaams* being such a kind of *Conjurer*, wee have seen and known (I say, *seen* and *known*) such *Wizzards*, among the *Heathen* in our own Land. Some Instances are lately published by a laudable and laborious Preacher to the *Indians*, which Instances are so circumstanced, that the *Histories* must bee credited by all men, but those who would have no body Believed but themselves.[2]

§ 11. But I'l stop at seven as a *sufficient Number*, and say nothing about the *Magicians* of *Egypt*, or the Efficacy of *Charms* mentioned in the Book of *Job*, and of the *Psalms;* nor meddle with *Simon Magus* and *Elymas* the sorcerer in the New Testament. I have without these given you *seven Scriptures*, to prove, that Men may come to a Criminal and Accursed *Confaederacy* with *Evil Spirits*. The Summ of the whole Proof lies thus:

If *Evil Spirits* are *Able* with the Permission of Heaven, to inflict various *Calamities* upon mankind, and if, by the Permission of Heaven, wicked men may arrive unto such a *Familiaritie* with these *Evil Spirits* as to *Have* them, and *Use* them, and by *them* to Hurt other men, then there is *A Witch*, even such a *Witch* as fully Answers the [3] Description that has been given thereof.

But [4] the *Scriptures* do so plainly Assert every Article of these Positions, that one may as easily elude every part of all those Blessed Oracles, as that part wherein those things are Asserted.

I therefore must Conclude, That hee who shall say, That there are [5] no Children of men *criminally* attended with the *Ministry* of *Confaederate Evil Spirits*, is an *Anti-Scripturist:* Hee is at least one that goes to pervert the evident Sense of the *Scriptures* with *Ridiculous*, little short of *Blasphemous*, *Flants*, and this to shelter the most Execrable *Enemies* of God and Man in the world.

There can bee [6] no *Answer* given to this *Argument*, except it bee

[1] An excellent proof. — *Calef.*

[2] Matthew Mayhew's *A Brief Narration of the Success which the Gospel hath had among the Indians*, 1694, 11–15, 41. Ed.

[3] Neither of your termes in your description are yet proved. — *Calef.*

[4] Much that you can't hit on, that which is so plain. — *Calef.*

[5] Salem accusers and the maid in the acts might convince them (yet without a covenant). — *Calef.*

[6] The scriptures are the best judge of that. — *Calef.*

such an one as I lately Received from a *Quaker*, when I had by *Scripture* and *Reason* driven him to confusion. *Dost thou think* (said hee) *that IF's will prove any thing?*

§ 12. What will it now signify to Object, That all the *Scriptures* thus produced, say nothing of a *Covenant written and signed with the Witches Blood*, and some other *Formalities* in *Witchcraft* often spoken of? Those *Formalities* are neither essential to an *Infernal Confaederacy*, nor have the Lawes of Nations which have made such *Confaederacy Capital*, ever mentioned them.

Even among ourselves, you know, that the *Forms* of *Covenant* and *Conveyances* have been infinitely Various, and one *Form*, when by *Common Custom* agreed upon, hath been as valid as another; a *Straw* has been heretofore as valid as a *Seal;* a *Pledge* has been as valid as a *Bond;* yea, a *Staff* putt into the Hand, is at this Hour as valid as an Instrument fairly drawn in *Velum*, with a *signed, sealed, and Delivered.* A *Confaederacy* with *Daemons* may be effected, managed, and mentained, by many other *Magical Caeremonies*, besides those that usually go to a compleat *Bargain* among *Men.* Yea, I believe,there may bee Dangerous, Damnable *Witches*,who never in their Lives had a Visible Apparition of a *Divel* made unto them. And for ought I know, the frequent and constant Practice of certain *Magical Caeremonies* may have Invested many Persons with all the Diabolical Ministry of *Witches*, who have not been well aware of what they [1] have been adoing. For which Cause, I conceive, there may bee *Real Witches*, who may bee more easily punished and Restrained than by a present *Extermination.*

But, as I have already intimated, methinks our Objectors are out of measure unreasonable to require from the Scriptures [2] a Distinct Enumeration of all the *Magical Ceremonies*, whereby *Witchcraft* is Accomplished. As in the case of *Murder.* It is enough that the Commandment of God hath said, *Thou shalt not murder;* there was no need of saying, Thou shalt not go take a Sort of a Tool, which they will call a *Pistol;* a tool consisting of an Hollow, Slender, Iron *Barrel*, fastned unto a *Woodden-stock*, having a certain Steel and a Flint, so placed with a Spring at the lower end of it, that by pulling another Bitt of Iron placed not far off, to that purpose, it shall strike *Fire;* and thou shalt not go take a black Dust made of *petre, Sulphur*, and *Charcoal*, and putt of it a fitt Quantitie, with round

[1] It seems as if this confaederacy might be transacted mentally without the concurrance of that explicit, etc. for 't is not suppos'd that Elimas or Simon did know themselves to be witch. — *Calef.*

[2] Yet if you cannot by scripture prove that a witch is one that is so in covenant with the devill as you have describ'd, then you will find your pistoll of small service to you, after so much labour in making. — *Calef.*

bitts of *Lead* into the Muzzle of that *Pistol*, and then by striking Fire, upon a little more of that Powder laid in the *Priming-Pan*, make the whole fly out with Noise and Flame, and carry the Bullets into the Heart of a Neighbour. What, must there bee all this Impertinent and Ridiculous *Particularitie?* And must all the other wayes of *killing* too bee particularly specified? before you'l beleeve that there is the Crime of Murder forbidden in the Bible? Thus, in the case of *Witchcraft* as excessively Impertinent and Ridiculous is that man who will not beleeve that there is any Venefic *Witchcraft*,[1] until, besides the general Commandment, *Thou shalt neither practise Witchcraft nor maintain it*, hee must also see all the Circumstances ever used in the Crime, distinctly Recited and Exposed. If there were no other Cause for the leaving of those *Curiosities* unmentioned, but only the Hazard of betraying the *corrupt Nature* of men, in the commission thereof by such a *Mention*, this had been an abundant cause, for that Silence. But after all, I say, the *Scripture* has been more particular in Describing the many *Kinds* of *Witchcraft* and *Acts* whereby 't is performed, than it has been in the Description of most Sins that are there prohibited. Lett the several *seven* or *eight* various names for a *Witch*, given in a Text, which I have newly brought you out of *Deuteronomy*, bee exactly considered, and, I suppose, you'l see therein specified the most of the Wayes, whereby *Witches* do gain and keep their *Confaederacy* with their *Familiar Spirits*.

§ 13. If you object, That the *New Testament* saies nothing of any such *Witchcrafts*, and that particularly when the *Divels* made so many Descents in the Dayes of our Saviour, there[2] were no *Witchcrafts* to procure them: I will wave many Answers that might bee given you, and only say,

First. You are mistaken, if you think proper *Witchcrafts*, not particularly Branded in the *New Testament*. Indeed, after what had been said of these *Witchcrafts* in the *Old Testament*, there was little Need of saying any thing about them in the *New;* for the *Old Testament* I hope was not become *Apocrypha*. But yett in the *New Testament* you find *Witchcraft* enumerated among those Works[3] that shutt men *out from the Kingdom of God*. Gal. 5. 20. Never tell me, that the word means *Poisoning;* for that would bee to make a

[1] In the paper prepared by the Dutch and French ministers of New York for the Chief Judge of that colony they used the words. *Life of Phips*, 79.

[2] Or rather we read of none. — *Calef*.

[3] This is a known truth as being a work of the flesh in the Apostles esteem, which if it were according to your diffinition a power (obtained by a covenant) to send devills to aflict, then it could not be recond among the manifest works of the flesh. — *Calef*.

Tautology in the Text, where *Murders* are also particularly Named. Nor dream that *Seducing* is meant by the Word; for that will bee to make a like *Tautologie* in the Text, when *Haeresies* are also Named as particularly. I cannot endure to see the Scripture profaned with such Banter! But [1] are not *Sorcerers* likewise in the *New Testament*, expressly prescribed from the *New Jerusalem?* Rev. 21. 8. I affirm that the Name for *A Witch*, and a *Sorcerer* in the *New* Testament, may bee proved from all Antiquitie to refer unto the very same Diabolical *Confaederacies*, which were forbidden in the *Old*. As for all the other pretended significations you may as well, yea, Better pretend, that it signifies *An Apothecary*. But what would that be to *Talk* like, think you?

Secondly, That *Witchcrafts* did not help to bring in the *Divels* that were so rampant about the Time of our Lords Appearance,[2] is very Arbitrarily spoken. The Gospels were concerned only to relate the *Cure*, and nott the *Cause*, of the *Possessions* then abounding. Besides, 'T is most notorious that many People in those Dayes did Notable Things, by vertue of *Confederacies* with *Divels;* Math. 9. 34 and Math. 12. 24. the Pharisees objected *This*, to the Discredit of the *Wonderful Works* that were done upon the possessed by our Blessed Saviour; and our Blessed Saviour Himself does not go to vindicate Himself, by Denying that [3] *many Did so* (that is, hee Deny'd not that *Satan*, to deceive the people, might *seem* to be *cast out*, by the *Jewish Exorcisers*, whom our Lord Himself mentions, and who were in truth often Confaederates with *Satan*); but by offering some undeniable Arguments that *Himself did not*. And here, had not I tied my own Hands from searching and citing the Labours of other Men, what an Entertainment might I have given you! I'l only say, That I remember a very [5] learned *Physician*, (and so one as Incredulous in points of *Witchcraft* as most Reasonable Men, whatsoever) 't is the excellent *Bartholinus:* Hee tells us the Reason of the frequent *Possessions* in the Dayes of our Saviour was (if I don't forgett his words) *Quod Judaei praeter modum Artibus Magicis dediti Daemonem advocaverint;* because the Jewes, by the *Magical Arts* commonly practised among them, did call the *Divels* into rage at that

[1] What are they that are guilty according to that 4th head of Mr. Gall, what are they guilty of but of witchcraft and sorcery. — *Calef.*

[2] To say they did is more arbitrary. — *Calef.*

[3] What is it that some that are in high esteem may not be left to do, when a minister of the gospell shall in the heat of argum[en]t take part with the pharises agaynst the plain scope of our Saviours whole answer to them. — *Calef.*

Thes I suppose are the words of man not of God. — *Calef.*

[5] Sure not Dr. Kerby of New York. — *Calef.* Probably Dr. John Kerbyl, whose curious will is printed in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1892, 400.

prodigious rate. I should surprize you very much if I should proceed hereupon to Demonstrate unto you out of the *Talmuds* what horrible *sorceries* were epidemically known and used among the *Jews*, in those Dayes.[1] But I remember very well: they tell us of no less than *Four and Twenty Scholars* in one School, kill'd by *Witchcraft;* and of no less than Fourscore Women, executed for convicted *Witchcraft* in one Day.

§ 14.[2] The hardest *knott* that I have yett seen, to bee untyed, in this whole matter is, How to Distinguish a true MIRACLE from the *Praeternatural Things* which often occur in this proved *Witchcraft.* When the most uncontestable Proof that can bee is offered, That those things are done among *Men* which cannot bee done but by the Help of *Divels* in *Confaederacy* with them, there are many who will with a brazen Confidence deny the plain *matter of Fact*, and produce this as a sufficient Ground for their Confidence, That if they own those things, they must own Miracles: and where are wee then? Where? Even just where wee were Afore, say I![3] I find it granted in the *Scripture*, That a man in *Confaederacy* with *Divels* may come to us with *Signs* and[4] *Wonders;* Deut. 13. 12. and yett wee have enough to make us remain satisfied, *That the Lord our God is only proving us, whether wee will cleave to Him*, in His wayes, notwithstanding the Temptations of things that shall make a Show of *Miracles* to seduce us. Wherefore, I affirm That *a Work above the Power of Natural Causes* is no Definition of a *Miracle:* Or, at least, I am sure 't is an Insignificant one. For that man who pretends to know the Just *Power of Natural Causes* must bee himself a *Miracle*, either of Understanding or of Immodistie. A *Miracle* to a Mechanic is not so to a *Philosopher;* and a *Miracle* in the *last Age* is not so in *This.*

As I do *not* Reckon many *Extraordinary Things,* which perhaps

[1] I find nothing like this in Josephus or any thing I have met with, yet 't is like enuf they might be so corrupt by the object of the pharisees last mentioned. — *Calef.*

"The *Gloss* adds upon it, *That the Women of Israel had generally fallen to the practice of Witchcrafts;* and therefore it was required, that there should be still chosen into the Council one skilful in the *Arts of Sorcerers*, and able thereby to discover who might be guilty of those *Black Arts*, among such as were accused before them." *Life of Phips*, 67.

[2] Nay, you have past a much *harder* in Pag. 12 [252]. — *Calef.* Under this note is written in an unidentified hand. "*Vitulo Judice.*"

[3] Then it seems you not only own that miracles are not ceased but that the devill is able to perform them: and yet must not be call'd miracles. And what is this but a most dangerous door set open for turks and Jews to Blaspheme our saviour who herby did mightily shew himself to be Godman or Imanuel. — *Calef.*

[4] Lying. — *Calef.*

mankind will every where Agree to call *Miracles*, the [1] *only* Proofs of our *Holy Religion*, so I *do* Reckon it is from certain peculiar Circumstances of *Holiness* attending the *Doers* and the *Designs* of them, that they are *Proofs* at all. If you'l take my Definition of a MIRACLE tis this: 'It is a *Work* above the *known Power* of *second Causes*, in that *Order* of things, wherein God has fixed the World; effected by God, usually as a *Seal* to some Holy and Useful Truth, whereof 't is *Declared*, that it proceeds from *Him* alone.'

I will not expatiate upon every Clause in this Description of a *Miracle*. I only say when any *Person* asserting of any *Doctrine*, does perform a *Work* beyond the *known Course* and Force of *Second Causes;* and God hath clog'd the *Work* with no Circumstances, which may unto an ordinary Caution, discover a *Diabolical Original;* here is a *Miracle*, confirming the Truth of what has been asserted. But this I say further, That God has implanted in our [2] *Consciences*, those *common Principles* or Measures, to judge of what is *Holy and Just and Good*, whereby the *Circumstances* of such a Work as is counted a *Miracle*, are to be Judged of. Thus, the *Miracles* of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ, were so circumstanced, That wee may bee sure our God would never have so Abandoned the World as to have permitted such *Miracles* to bee done, by any *Impostor* whatsoever; and hence ('t is I remember the Observation of a learned man, tho whether it will hold or no, let the learned Reader Judge,) wee see *False Christs* have, in every Age, been presently Detected, by our Gods Denying unto them even such *Abilities* as Hee has Allow'd unto many other wicked men, that made no such pretences. Indeed, strange Things have been done by such famous Magicians as *Apollonius Tyanaeus*, the Records of Antiquitie about their strange Feats are most undoubted; [3] and they were as very *strange* as the most extravagant things that were ever yett putt into the most Incredible Relations of *Witchcraft*. But as they were not wrought by Persons pretending thereby to Seal *Doctrines* brought from God, so neither were there the Stamps of an *Uncaeremonious*, a *Self-Denying*, an *Heavenly*, *Holiness* upon them, which the *Natural Conscience* of man will expect, in a *Miracle*, whereby his *Faith* shall bee obliged. Briefly, if my memory fail mee not, I have mett with a saying of *Theophylact*, unto this Purpose, *As the Truth is to bee proved by Miracles*, *Miracles are also to be proved by the Truth:* for, sais hee, *multi miracula ediderunt per Daemones*. Our God will

[1] But our saviour accounts them a principle one. — *Calef.*

[2] It seems the light within is here our guide and not the scriptures. — *Calef.*

[3] What undoubted and yet more extravagant than our storyes of Incubus and Succubus, the turning men to cats and dogs riding upon a pole through the aire, and the rest of such ridiculous and brutish stuff. — *Calef.*

never permitt any man that publishes a *Falshood*, an *Error*, to do any *Extraordinary Work* for the Recommending of it, but what a *Rational Diligence* may soon [1] find some *Cloven Foot* of the *Divel* in. Yea, I will venture to say, If never such an *Extraordinary Work* were done, to confute any part of *Christianitie*, there would bee found those very Contrarieties to the Self-Evidencing Marks of *Holiness* in the Contrary *Haeresie* itself, that were enough to render the *Divel* visible at the Bottom of all. Very learned men think that some few of the popish *Legends* and *Fables* might bee founded in *Real Wonders*, done by great Wizzards to prove a Lye. However, in *Witchcraft* none of those things are done, that will come up to our Definition of a MIRACLE.

But thus you have seen the first of my *Three Convincers*, for the Beleef, *That there are Witches*. In my Accounts of the *Two Latter* I will use more of *Brevitie;* else, perhaps, you will not bestow the Reading on them.

§ 15. Undoubted *History* is another Thing that has carried mee to this Beleef. And here, because I have told you that I'l not run myself into the Hazard of making any Excursions from the *Road* of my own *plain Thoughts*, by advizing with my *Library*, I will only putt it unto any man of common Modesty, whether after so many Thousands of [2] *Well-attested Relations*. as wee have in some scores of the *gravest Authors* that ever took Pen in hand, it bee possible that all the *Witchcrafts* by them Related should bee so many *Shams*. The chronicles of Whole Nations may as well pass for *Fancies*, and those of Great *Britain* among the rest must go for as Aiery Notions as the Stories of *Don Quixot*, or *The Seven Champions*.

To give a *Catalogue* of the Learned, the Honest, the Faithful and the Disinterested Historians that, from *Bodin* [3] to *Bovet*, or from *Binsfeld* to *Bromhal*, have entertained the World with fair Narratives of *Witchcrafts*, that alone would bee to add *another Book* unto the rest. Wherefore, waving all the rest I would ask you at your Liesure to Read but that *one Book*, which my most Honoured Friend,[4] Mr. *Baxter*, as great a man as lived in his Age, published

[1] Here was one of the Jews stumbling blocks, that tho Christ did such mighty works as neither men or devills could do, yet they account him a Sabath breaker, a friend of publicans and sinners, and this they toke to be the cloven foot you speak of. — *Calef.*

[2] I suppose ours acted at Salem are as well attested as any others whatever. — *Calef.*

[3] In the preface to *More Wonders*, Calef refers to "blind guides, such as the corrupt practices of some other countries or the bloody Experiments of *Bodin*, and other Authors."

[4] You know I have read of his many silly storyes, as about the wench at Bewdly, etc.: and mak no dout but his intelects were then impaired. — *Calef.*

but just before hee Dyed; entituled, *The Worlds of Spirits*. *Hee* is very particularly Industrious about the[1] Validitie of the *Testimonies*, which prove the Truth of his *Narratives*, and among the Rest, there is one, as I remember, about the young Woman, that with many preternatural Torments kept voiding by Siege, many Scores of *Stones*, upon a Suspected *Witches* threatening such a praeternatural Mischief unto her; and continued so to do, till the suspected *Witches* Apprehension or Execution: *That One* were enough to silence any Gainsayer, that had not given himself over to abuse himself and others, with frothy *Clamour*, instead of *Reason*.

Moreover the[2] paenitent, unforced, Rational Confessions of *Witches*, occurring in these Writers, with Undeniable Demonstrations of Truth, are such (Cyprians you particularly Remember) that if I should scoff at them, I should count myself, when I came to myself, not only an *Absurd* man, but also a very *Wicked* one. And of the credible *Confessions*, which the world has heard of such Things, wee have a printed and a certain Account of more than one or two made in *England*, upon a *Witchcraft* lately committed there; even at the very Time when wee were here in the Height of our Troubles from the *Invisible World*.

Yea, besides all the Modern Histories to this purpose, hee must bee an Ignorant and an Impudent man who shall Deny That the *Christians* in the primitive Times Beleeved it a Common Thing for *Witches* to send their *Divels*, upon these and those with whom they had their Controversies, and for the *Divels* often to take a *Bodily Possession* of those Persons. Those men have Read little of *Ecclesiastical History*,[3] who quaestion it. Lett them only Read that one well known little piece, the Life of *Hilarion*, and quaestion it if they can.

§ 28. And last of all, personal *Experience* has made it impossible for mee to bee of any other Belief. We have an old Saying,[4] *That Seeing is Beleeving*. And one that hath *Seen*, and *known*, what I have must have been the greatest Sot in the World, if hee did not *Beleeve* as I do.

Not *I* only, but my whole Countrey, saw a most Illustrious Conviction of *Witchcraft*, when *Glover*[5] was convicted. Her *Magical*

[1] I dout Lauderdale imposes on him. — *Calef*.

[2] This might have had som weight before our Salem confessions had given so much light. — *Calef*.

[3] Remarkable providences tells us a generall councell anathem. them that believed such power in devills, page 124. — *Calef*.

[4] Cases of conscience concern. witchcraft, p. 21. an inchanted eye shall se such things as others cannot disern, and p. 25, the author tels us the Apostle speaks of bewitched eyes Galla. 3. 1. yet I se it not there. — *Calef*.

[5] Why must that single instance of Glover be better than those 20 at Salem tho at Salem besids thos that suffer 't is said there were 50 that confest, and

Images were found, and shee actually showed the whole Court by what *Caeremonies* used unto *them*, shee Directed her *Familiar Spirits*, how and where to torment the Objects of her malice. The *Experiments* were made over and over again before the whole Court; and the *Effect* still followed exactly in the Torments on the *Bewitched Children*. Shee also made a punctual Confession, of her *Witchcraft*, before and after which, a Jury of Doctors that Examined her secretly returned her, *compos mentis*. You have the story in print.[1] And some of the greatest persons in this Age, have confessed the Proof of *Witchcraft* therein given, to bee *ungaynsayable*. This I will say, To take pains for the Satisfaction of those, upon whom the Reading of that story will make no Impression, 'T is *To wash an Ethiopian*.

But I 'l pass from hence unto a *Few*, and but a *Few*, of the privater Demonstrations, whereto a Troublesome Experience has helped mee.

I *know* a Young Man, who had gone so far, as to gett Ready, a[2] *Covenant* with Satan, written all of it, in his *own Blood:* but before the Signing of it, the sinful I was made the happy Instrument of his Deliverance.

I *know* a Woman, whose Brother was tortured with a cruel, pricking, Incurable Pain in the Crown of his Head: which continued until there was found with her a *Poppet* in Wax, resembling[3] him, with a pin stuck into the Head of it; which being taken out, he Recovered Immediately.

I *know* a Person who missing anything, would use to sitt down and mutter a certain *Charm*, and then immediately, by an Invisible Hand be directly led[4] unto the place where the Thing was to be found.

I *know* a Woman, who upon uttering some Words over very painful Hurts and Sores, did use presently[5] cure them unto the amaze-

this a poor despised crazy woman that was willing to be out of this world and they as willing she should. — *Calef*. On Glover's case see Drake, *Witchcraft Delusion in New England*, III. 153.

[1] But I remember you once told me you did not then understand the wiles of Satan, and how much of it you will now abide by I know not. — *Calef*.

[2] Had this young man not bin educated to the belief that by vertue of such covenant he shold have a power extraordinary assisting him, what temtation could he have line under to it, and upon whom is the gilt. — *Calef*.

[3] As much like him I suppose as Glovers rags were like a man. — *Calef*.

[4] Perhaps this was old Keser. — *Calef*. Mary Warren in the Witchcraft excitement at Salem spoke of Keysar's daughter "that had been distracted many years." Drake III. 16 *n*.

[5] And what is this wors than knocking off invisible chains with the hand. — *Calef*.

ment of the Spectators. Now, thought I, if this Wretch can effectually employ *Divels* to *cure* Hurts, why mayn't shee to *cause* them also, which is the worst that the *Witches* do?

I have *known*, alas, how many, that with *magical Ceremonies*, have procured the *Divels*, to do those things, that have made the very Hair of the People in the Room, to stand on end. Now, thought I, wherein are these *Essentially Differing*, from the worst of *Witches?* There is very little other Difference than this, that the *Pranks* these have done have been less mischievous to other People.

I have had such *Confessions* of *Witchcraft* in the *Formalities* thereof, distinctly made unto mee, by several woful Creatures, in the Distresses of their Souls, that I could not sleight them [1] all for melancholy *Chiego's*.

Finally, I'l cutt off all that I might have given you, from any of my own *Experiences*, with one Passage which very lately befel mee.

There was a *Young Woman*, and one that had the Repute of a Devout and pious one; [2] who at some Times, when shee was *Alone*, especially after her *secret Prayers*, would hear an Unaccountable *Voice* audibly speaking unto her; and this Voice gave her such an Abundance of serious Counsil to walk Religiously, that shee began to bee very fond of his Discourses.[3] Upon my being informed of it, I suspected, that it might bee no more than the Effect of a *loose Imagination*, but when I found that this Odd *Voice* had spoken to her some *Secret Things*, which *I* knew, and *shee* did *not* know, to bee True, I became satisfied of a Realitie in the Business. Being in some Exercise of mind, about this matter, I quickly discovered, a Couple of *Marks*, upon this *Whisperer* from the *Invisible World*, which lett me discern what I had to do.[4]

First, The *Young Woman*, instead of being directed unto the Advice of *Peter*, had a strange Reluctance to Visit him, that the Lord had made her *Pastor*. And when shee came unto mee, upon being sent for, shee had a strange Inabilitie or Incapacitie, to Relate what had happened unto her, with such *Freedom*, as shee could use with some other Persons. This, I thought, looked as if shee were under the Enchantments of a *Spirit* who was lothe, I should examine too narrowly his *Devices*.

Secondly: The *Spirit*, addressing this *Young Woman*, besides a great many Good Things whereto hee advised her, hee also com-

[1] Then it seems some you did. — *Calef.*

[2] So had the rank wenches at Salem and Marget Rule here. — *Calef.*

[3] I suppose none heard it but her selfe and 't is like was as true as many at Salem as appears by its leaving her as soon as she found her self mistaken and that you did not incourage her. — *Calef.*

[4] A marginal note by Calef at this point has been carefully blotted out. Ed.

manded her to speak unto such and such Persons, concerning some hitherto conceled *miscarriages*, whereof, hee said, *they* had been guilty and must *Repent*. Whereas I could obtain a[1] *Charitable Proof* that some of those Persons were *clear* from such Iniquities as she charged them withal: or, however, I foresaw, that if shee charged them, it would have Endangered the Peace of the Neighbourhood. This, I thought, Resembled very much *The Accuser of the Brethren*.

Methoughts, The whole together, had no *Angelical Aspect*. Wherefore, I sent for the Young Woman, and solemnly, as the *Watchman* of her Soul, Required her to keep close unto the *Written Word* of God, and cry mightily unto the Lord that Hee would not give her up unto *Diabolical Delusions*. I Required her, that shee should give no Countenance unto the sayings of the *Unseen Speaker* that came unto her, but bee afraid of *Hearing* from Him. I told her, That if I could learn, that shee Really Entertained a Conversation with this *Invisible Whisperer*, I would proceed with her, as one that had a *Familiar Spirit*.

Accordingly, upon the Next Return of that *Spirit*, she said unto him: *I desire no more to hear from you; Mr.*[2] Mather *saies, you are a Divel, and I am afraid you are. If you are an Angel of the Lord, give mee a Proof of it. If you bee not, the Lord grant I may never bee troubled with you any more.* The *Spirit* made no Answer; and the Young Woman was delivered from her Snares.

Here, I plainly saw, *A Begun Witchcraft* of the most *explicit* sort that could bee. And I have no Cause to quaestion, but that the Spirit which proceeded thus far, might have proceeded quickly unto all the rest, if those *preventive Methods* had not been used.

Upon the whole, As all the *Ministers*, whether *English*, or *Dutch*, or *French*,[3] that I have the Honour to know in *America*, are of my Opinion for the Affirmative of[4] the Quaestion which has now been discussed. So, I hope, no Reasonable Man will bee offended, if after such *Irresistible Proofs*, I do not become the *First Minister* in

[1] And why so much charity now and so little to those at Salem, and why not believe this spirits speaking as much as the spectrall sight of those possessed there. for had it bin a spectre I se not but you must have given freer entertainment, or else bin very partiall. — *Calef*.

[2] Not the scripture. — *Calef*.

[3] Calef addressed a letter dated March 18, 1694–95, seventeen days after returning Mather's sheets, to "the Ministers, whether English, French, or Dutch." *More Wonders*, 33.

[4] "So that our Author leaves off just where he began, *viz.* in a bare Assertion, together with his own Biggoted experiences, hinting also at multitudes of Histories to confirm him in the belief of his definition [of a witch.]" *Calef to B——*, in *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, 32.

these Parts of the World, that shall Deny such *Scripture*, such *History*, such *Experience*.[1]

§ 29. I have told you my *Beleef;* what it has been, and *Why*. Shall I now tell you my *Practice?* [2]

The Proceedings of Joseph Stevens late of Pensilvania.

He gave an acco't that he came in a vessell bound for Road I'land, and that the vessell was cast away at Block I'land, that he lay som weeks sick and there after that came to Road I'land, and from thence a foot to Boston pasing thro Roxbery feb. 10 And at Boston gat abord a vessell and continued till feb. 19 and was there taken bleeding as he said at 5 a clock in the morning, and then the mate advised him to go a shore to a Dr. which he did and then thought to get back to Road I'land and came as far as Roxbery bleeding and there faild and about 8 a Clock Richd Woods [3] toke him in of mere pitty he lay that night by the fire upon some Clothes in the morning he had bled as was supposed about a quart. Dr. Thomson [4] being sent for staid the bleeding for the present the great storm of snow falling presently after hindered his traveling further if he had been able then Clothing was procured and his own Cloths baked and som burnt, for before that was done he was not fit to com in any bed and Continued there till the 23 of march (in which time he went to Boston on foot to get a pasage home and finding none at Boston that would receive into their hous in the evening he returnd toward Roxbery and came to the Rose and Crown [5]

[1] I hope better of them and take this to be a high reflection on them having never heard that any of them ever asserted that it was in the power of a witch to commisionat devills, etc. — *Calef.*

[2] You have told the world that already in your severall books, as praying that the aflicted might be able to accuse, knocking off invisible chains, etc. — *Calef.*

[3] Probably Richard Woodde or Wooddy, originally of Roxbury, but after 1674 of Boston.

[4] Benjamin Thompson, who died 1714.

[5] In 1705, "upon Complaint made that the Chimnyes of the Rose and Crown Tavern nigh the Town House is defective and dangerous, the Select men upon their view there of and also upon the report made by John Kneeland and Thomas Adkins two masons whom they have desired to View the Same, the said Select men have warned Mrs. Mary Phillips the Owner of said House to Cause the said Chimnyes to be forthwith Sufficiently Ammended and repaired." *Report of Boston Record Commissioners*, xi. 49. Henry Phillips died (1685–86) possessed of "a great stone house near the town house with the housing belonging to it down to Jabez Negus' house," valued in the inventory at £700. His widow, Mary, died 1712–13, and in 1716 administration *de bonis non* was granted to Eliezer Phillips. The inventory he presented mentioned only one item, "one

The proceeding of Joseph Stevens late of Providence

I [illegible] saw come ashore that he came in a vessell bound to Rhode Island, and that the vessell was cast away at Block Island, that he lay som weeks sick there after that came to Rhode Island, and from thence a foot to Boston passing thro Roxbury feb. 10 and at Boston got aboard a vessell and continued till feb. 19 and was there taken Bleeding as he lyed at 5 a clock in the morning, and then the master advised him to go a shore to a Dr with his dish and then thought to get back to Rhode Island and came as far as Roxbury bleeding and there fainted and about 8 a Clock Rich. Woods took him in of meer pitty he lay that night by the fire upon some Clothes in the morning he had bled as was supposed about a quart Dr Swinson being sent for staid the bleeding for the present yt grevil storm of Snow falling presently after hindred his travelling further if he had been able then (nothing was procured and his own Cloths baked and som burnt, for before that way down he was not fit to come in any bed and continued there till the 23 of march (on wch time he went to Boston on foot to get a passage home and finding none at Boston that would receive him to their howse in the evening he returned toward Roxbury and came to the Rose and Crown who took the pains to light him to woods' where he was not admitted in and went over the deep snow to the grag house the next day returned to Mr woods' again) the time he was at Woods's hous he had a good stomach and slept well but not being fit to go forward in his journey for fear of perishing upon the Road it was thought needfull to take the advise of some of the Justices how to dispose of him he being one that ought to be taken care of either at the charge of the Town or of the province

On the 23. march I the subscriber one of the Select men of Roxbury desired Mr woods to meet me at Boston and to take Mr Stevens with him in order to take the Justices direction how and where he should be disposed of, And that if he returned back to our town we might the better recover our charges of the province, And came to Justice Lynde's who not being within mr Stoughton came to whome I reported the case and prayed his direction what ought to be done with he declining to give the overseers of Boston being come and Justice Stoughton being present after som time they agreed that he should go to the Alms house and this I took to be very rationall as being at the province charge and nearer for transportation, then I took my leave of the Justice & overseers to kepton home the sun being about an hour and halfe high [illegible] we came But afterwards there rose a question about his going to the Alms house & the man continued in the street till within the evening, and was put upon a horse in order to be conveyed to Roxbury, (it is probable this delay might cost the man some damage) at length he was put in the Alms house.

And on monday I was convened before the Justices and was told that the man was very ill and was ordered to take him away, to wch I answered that I had rather pay for his keeping at the alms house he not being fit to be removed &c for wch I was bound over. after wch his Excellency in Counsell declared that he should for the present continue where he was

And if it were a Crime in me to bring him before a Justice to be examined where he belonged and to take his direction as to the further case of him that so our town might have the charges claimed to be reimbursed by the province

Or if the man were not in a condition fit to be brought to them and then tis a Crime of ignorance, for I never saw the man to my knowledge till I saw him that day in Boston

Robt Calef

who toke the pains to light him to meers',[1] where he was not admitted in and went over the deep snow to the gray house and next day returned to said Woods' again) the time he was at Woodses hous he had a good stomach and slept well but not being fit to go forward in his Journey for fear of perishing upon the Road it was thought needfull to take the advice of some of the Justisis how to dispose of him he being one that ought to be taken care of either at the charge of the County or of the province.

On the said 23. march I the subscriber one of the selectment of Roxbery desired said Woods to meet me at Boston and to take said Stevens with him in order to take the Justises direction how and where he should be disposed of, and that if he were ordered back to our town we might the beter recover our charges of the province, and came to Justis Lynds who not being within Mr. Stodder came to whome I reported the case, and prayed his direction what ought to be done, which he declining to give, the overseers of Boston being come and said Justis Stoder being present after som time they agreed that he should go to the Alms hous And this I toke to be verry rationall as being at the province charge and nearer for transportation, then I toke my leave of the Justis and overseers to hasten home the sun being about an hour and half high.

But afterwards ther rose a question about his going to the Alms hous as I have heard and the man continued in the street till within the evening, (and was put upon a hors in order to be conveyed to Roxbery,) tis probable this delay might doe the man some damage, at length he was put in the Alms hous.

And on Monday I was conveen'd before the Justisis and was told that the man was verry ill and was ordered to take him away, to which I answered that I had rather pay for his keeping at the alms hous, he not being fit to be removed, etc. for which I was bound over. after which his Excellency in Counsell declared that he should for the present continue where he was.

And if it were a Crime in me to bring him before a Justis to be examined wherto he belonged and to take his direction as to the

house and land being at the upper end of Pudding Lane," valued at £350. The house was thus on the northwesterly corner of Devonshire [Pudding Lane] and State [King] Streets.

[1] Samuel Meers or Mears in 1708 "sold Strong drinck as an Inholder at the House of Mr. Stephen Minot nigh Roxbury Gate in Boston." In 1711 James Meers obtained permission to "sell drinck as an Inholder at his House in Cornhill." In the same year he received twenty-five pounds allowance for having his house blown up in the fire of that year, and in 1713 the license to sell liquors was renewed to his widow, Eliza or Elizabeth, "as a Retayler at the Lower end of King Street." *Report of the Boston Record Commissioners*, XI. 69, 142, 152, 189. The two men appear to have been brothers, sons of Robert Mears, who died 1667.

further care of him that so our town might have the clearer claim to be reimbursed by the province,

Or if the man were not in a Condition fit to be bro't to that end then tis a crime of ignorance; for I never saw the man to my knowledge till I saw him that day in Boston.

Robt. Calef.

A Portrait of John Trumbull.

Mr. Lord exhibited an autograph letter from Colonel John Trumbull, dated New Haven, March 14, 1840, addressed to Dr. James Thacher, the author of *A Military Journal of the Revolution*, *A History of Plymouth*, and other publications, and for many years the librarian of the Pilgrim Society, relating to the gift by Colonel Trumbull to the Pilgrim Society of the portrait of Colonel Trumbull. The letter was recently presented to that Society by Miss Mary Hodge, a great-granddaughter of Dr. Thacher.

Mr. Lord said in part: Colonel Trumbull was born in 1756 and died in 1843. He was the son of Jonathan Trumbull, governor of Connecticut from 1769 to 1783, and Faith Robinson, the daughter of Rev. John Robinson of Duxbury. Colonel Trumbull served on Washington's staff during the siege of Boston and was later promoted to the position of deputy adjutant-general in the Continental Army. Dissatisfied because the date of the commission issued to him made him junior in rank to other officers, he resigned from the army on the 22d of February, 1777, and began the study of painting. Relying upon the Amnesty Proclamation published by the British Peace Commissioners in New York on the 2d of October, 1778, and the assurance given by Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the American Department, that if he came to England "No notice would be taken of whatever had passed in America," he sailed for England in May, 1780, with the intention of pursuing the study of painting under the instruction of Benjamin West.

When on the 15th of November, 1780, news arrived in London of the treason of General Arnold and the death of Major André, a warrant was issued for Colonel Trumbull's arrest. "Mr. André had been the deputy adjutant-general of the British army and I a deputy adjutant-general in the Ameri-

Col. John Trumbull
by
himself

can, and it seemed to them (the Loyalists) that I should make a perfect *pendant*."[1] Permission was given him to make choice of any prison in the kingdom, and he selected the Tothill-Fields Bridewell, situated behind Buckingham House towards Pimlico, where he remained until liberated through the intervention of Mr. West and Mr. Burke in June, 1781.

Colonel Trumbull in his letter to Dr. Thacher states that the face of the portrait was painted by Mr. Stuart as soon as "I was at liberty;" but in the *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, page 64, it is stated, "Stuart was a warm friend of Trumbull when he was imprisoned in London, on charge of being a spy, he having been arrested at the time of the execution of Major André. While so imprisoned Stuart painted his portrait."

The portrait represents Trumbull as sitting under a grated window. The portrait does not appear to be mentioned in the list of Trumbull's works, but is referred to in Mason's list of Stuart's works, but the location of the portrait is not given. The identification of the portrait of Colonel Trumbull as the joint work of Stuart and Trumbull, and the fact that it is preserved under the circumstances stated in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, justify a reference to it in the *Proceedings* of this Society.

TRUMBULL TO JAMES THACHER.

NEW HAVEN, 14th Mar., 1840.

DEAR SIR, — The picture which I promised to send you for Pilgrim's Hall is packed and placed in the hands of Mr. John Thomas, your friend in N. York, to be forwarded.

You are aware that I was arrested and committed to Prison in London in the year 1780, and liberated in June 1781. As soon as I was at liberty, my friend Stewart, who died lately in Boston, and who was then a student with Mr. West, painted the *face* of this portrait. I painted the other parts, it is probably more curious from this fact, than for its likeness. Such as it is, I beg thro' you to offer it to the Pilgrim's Society, for their Hall, and am, Dr. Sir, with sincere esteem Your Servant and friend,

JNO. TRUMBULL.

[1] *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull*, 69.

Trumbull Silhouettes.

In this connection the Editor inserts four "shades" recently found by Mrs. Henry Jackson, of Boston, among some family papers. They each bore a name, "Gov. Trumbull," "Col. Trumbull," etc., in the writing of Dr. James Jackson (1777–1867). Dr. Putnam, in his *Memoir of Dr. James Jackson*, makes no mention of any connection with the Trumbulls, or Hartford, and reproduces a number of family silhouettes some of which are similar in cut to these four; but in the absence of a definite date noted upon them, it can only be said they were made between the years 1800 and 1809. Colonel Trumbull was in Boston in 1804, intending to make that city his home. On his journey he had stopped at Hartford, Lebanon, and Norwich, visiting the different branches of his family. In Boston he would meet the club of which Dr. Jackson was a member. The clue to such a possible connection is of the slightest, and is advanced in the absence of any other of greater probability. Colonel Trumbull's wife was a Miss Sarah Hope, of a Scotch family.

Miss Alsop is believed to be Miss Mary Alsop, of Middletown, Conn., a daughter of Richard and Mary (Pomeroy) Alsop.[1]

By the courtesy of Mr. George Lyman and Miss Lyman, the following letter is printed:

Rev. Joseph Lyman to Charles P. Phelps.

Hatfield, March 21, 1810.

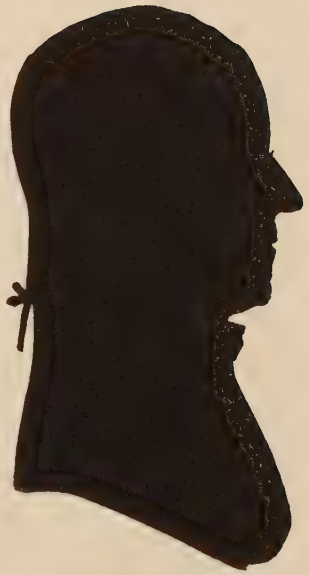
My dear Sir, — I am induced to write this letter, that I may inform you and our other friends in Boston that the Democrats in this County, and as we believe in the other counties, were never so active and desperate in their measures to prevent the success of the federal ticket as they are this year. There is no exertion too much and no deception too vile in order to carry the French nominations.

Their motto is, *Si nequeo Superos flectere, Acheronta movebo.*

[1] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, xxxvii. 36. I have been aided in their identification by Mrs. Jackson, Mr. Dexter, of New Haven, Mr. Trumbull, of Norwich, and Mr. Godard, of Hartford.

Col. John Trumbull
1756–1843

Mrs. John Trumbull
–1824



Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.
1740–1809

Miss Mary Alsop

The friends of our excellent Governor and Lt. Governor[1] we are apprehensive are too secure of their success. A few sleepy Federalists resting upon what they have already attained and confident that things must go well in future may by their supineness mar all our fair prospects. Our election is not to be carried by betts of two to one in favour of federalism, or betts of six thousand or eight thousand in favour of Gore. Every man must go [to] the polls and put in his vote, and then we shall succeed and rescue ourselves from the French faction and the grip of Napoleon. Otherwise we shall be defeated and the country involved in a nefarious war against Great Britain. Pray inspire your friends with an animation worthy of the prize before us. Let not a man be absent who will act right at the elections and guard the polls from the intrusion of unqualified and unprincipled voters. I hope care will be taken of the Lists that they be pure as possible. Much is to be done to keep up the attention of all the federalists in federal towns and to rouse the zeal and perseverance of every federalist in the Jacobin towns. Do extend information and influence thro' all the towns of the Commonwealth and counteract the thousand lies which will be circulated between this and the day of election. Above all things be guarded against a false security and let all act as if the salvation of our country rested upon the exertions of each individual. As for this county you know our situation, that you cannot calculate upon a single vote more this year than last. Democracy has advantages in such a county where they have so many materials to work upon. But federalism has the same advantages in Democratic counties. From Boston, the headquarters of good principles in politics, we expect much. Let our hopes be more than realized. Great care must be taken in the choice of Senators especially in those districts where the parties are nearly equally balanced. In this county as far as I can learn there is no lack of energy on either side. But we do not calculate upon doing more than to hold our own. The Shepherds are scattering their United Irishmen into the neighbouring towns. Our Democrats carted in three of those patriots of '76 into town last Saturday. They have bought land, but we shall know what to do with them. Major John Smith I am told loves the people better and better and takes every opportunity to express this love as far as talking and horse flesh will express it. I have heard from Boston of your bets offered and rejected that Gore will have a plurality of eight thousand. The Jacobins know well enough that if they pretend to be afraid to bet, it will make their antagonists secure. Our duty to our God, our Country and ourselves is to put on strength

[1] Christopher Gore and David Cobb.

equal to the magnitude of our conflict to secure first the election of Governor, Lt. Governor, and Senators, and then to be equally attentive to our May elections. The Representatives we can carry do their utmost. They cannot create Democratic towns so fast and easy as they can create Democratic individuals. If we could be guarded against corruption there would be no hazard, but we must calculate to beat them after they have foisted upon the lists voters or put into the ballot boxes votes to the amount of five thousand wholly illegal. This we can easily do if we are conscious of our danger and confident of our strength. Let me have an answer to this, so that I may get it the Friday before election, if possible, — a hint from abroad may be useful.

My family are in health. We all remember you and Mrs. Phelps and your little folks with affection. I am, Dear Sir, Ever your friend and servant,

Joseph Lyman.

Addressed, Charles P. Phelps, Esqr., Round Lane, Boston, Mass.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. Green, Thayer, Norcross, W. R. Livermore, T. L. Livermore, Rantoul, and Kittredge.

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., VICE-PRESIDENT JOHN D. LONG, in the absence of PRESIDENT ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gifts of a medal and badges, from Mr. H. A. Gray; the acquisition of several other medals and badges; the gift of a large photograph of William R. Gray, from Mr. Edward Gray; and of five large photographs of paintings bought in 1908 by Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay at the sale by the executor of the estate of the Hon. Mather Byles Des Brisay, of Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, and now in his possession — of Cotton Mather, by Peter Pelham, Rev. Mather Byles, Senior, when young, by Peter Pelham, and at middle age, by Copley, Rev. Mather Byles, Junior, perhaps by Stuart, and Mather Brown, painted by himself — from Mr. Gay.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Thomas Franklin Waters accepting his election as a Resident Member.

The Editor reported the following gifts: From Mr. Francis J. Garrison, eight letters and one printed paper, 1850–1857, from Elihu Burritt to Gerrit Smith on "ocean penny postage" (now an accomplished fact), and compensated emancipation. From Mr. Arthur B. Claflin, twenty-five letters from Massachusetts political and literary characters, addressed to Governor Claflin and his wife — letters from Whittier, Holmes, Aldrich, Kirk, Dawes, and others. From Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, of Worcester, a MS. volume containing the District, Brigade and Garrison orders of Military District No. 1, 1813–1815, in which Forts Independence and Warren were included. It also contains general orders issued at Chateaugay, 1813, and orders at Forts Preble and Scammell — a valuable record

of military details in the War of 1812. From Dr. Loring W. Puffer, of Brockton, additional Baylies and Taunton papers. From Mrs. James Goldthwaite Freeman the books and papers of the Boston Marine Insurance Company. Incorporated in 1799, with a capital of $500,000, it continued in active operation until 1838, when it was absorbed by the Suffolk Insurance Company of Boston. The last policy written was No. 9293, January 11, 1838. The papers are quite complete and contain the "proposition books" (14 volumes), policy records (35), stock transfers (3), note, cash, journals and other records. Among the more important documents may be named the original subscriptions for stock in Boston, Salem and Newburyport; minutes of meetings; law opinions by Parsons, Fisher Ames, Daniel Webster, and F. C. Gray; papers relating to the settlement of claims, giving foreign decrees on commerce, letters from captains of vessels relating shipwreck or capture, and judgments in foreign courts of admiralty; proxies for dividends, and transfers of stock; and examples of the marine insurance policies in use at home and abroad, including some private policies. The collection promises to give abundant material for a full history of the methods of marine insurance in Boston, for a period of great commercial and historical importance, when the British and French decrees sought to drive the American merchant from the carrying trade, and the War of 1812 exposed the American to confiscation. As a record of American shipping and mercantile enterprise, of vessels, owners, captains and voyages, the collection is noteworthy. One of the objects of the company was to make insurance for the ransom of persons in captivity — in the Barbary States. Among the miscellaneous papers were found the bills for the expenses of the public funeral of Fisher Ames, 1808, and the records of a "Callico Printing Manufactory Company," 1795.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the appointment of the following committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. ROBERT S. RANTOUL, WINSLOW WARREN, and THOMAS L. LIVERMORE.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. GEORGE HODGES, FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, and JOHN S. BASSETT.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. HAROLD MURDOCK and HENRY H. EDES.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Don Gleason Hill, a Resident Member, at Dedham on February 20. He was born at West Medway, on July 12, 1847; entered Amherst College in 1865, where he spent two years, and then went to the University of Albany, where he graduated with the degree LL.B. in 1870. He removed to Dedham, and was admitted to the Norfolk Bar on September 25, 1871. He was elected a Resident Member of the Society on February 9, 1905, and was present at the following March meeting, the only time during his membership. He made no communications to the Society.

Mr. WINSLOW WARREN paid the following tribute to the memory of Mr. Hill:

Probably very few of the members present here to-day knew Don Gleason Hill, or were aware even that he was a member of this Society. I cannot myself recall seeing him at any of our meetings, nor do our records since his election in 1905 show any contribution by him to our proceedings; yet over forty years of personal acquaintance with him in Dedham has given me some knowledge of the rich fields of historical interest which he in his quiet way had been gleaning and particularly of his accurate knowledge of the early history of Norfolk County. His path in life it must be confessed was rather a narrow one and his absorption in his profession and in matters of local interest only, combined with a modesty and a singular shrinking from publicity, deprived this Society, and other historical societies with which he was connected, of the benefit of his historical knowledge.

Though by no means a recluse — for in the circle of his family and intimate friends and in the loved bounds of the large library he had collected he was a ready talker and full of interesting information — he was not by nature social and rather withdrew himself from general social intercourse in the town in which he dwelt. His place was that of a student and persistent worker and he gave to the public unstintedly the results of his constant labor. For over thirty years he was Clerk of the town of Dedham and edited with great care the records of births, marriages, and deaths from 1635 to 1845, and the

early records of the town of Dedham in five volumes, and the later records in three volumes, besides other important statistical works. These volumes were with copious *indices*, and are models of careful and accurate work. He was also much interested in the Public Schools — served upon the School Committee, as Trustee of the Public Library, and in other important local positions and in all of them rendered great service to the town.

Apart from his profession of the law, his chief interests in life were the Congregational Church, of which he was an active member, and the Dedham Historical Society. He was President of this latter Society for many years, and to him more than to any other man is it indebted, for its remarkable success and for its rare collection of historical relics in its own attractive building. In that connection he was chairman of the Committee of Publication of the *Dedham Historical Register* from 1890 to 1903, and in its pages may be found many interesting but forgotten episodes of Norfolk County history, and a reproduction of many colonial houses, maps and other items of political and social importance.

He was born in West Medway, Mass., educated at the Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Mass., was two years at Amherst College, studied law at the Law School of the University of Albany, received its degree of LL.B., and was admitted to the bar of New York in 1870.

Returning to Massachusetts in 1871 he settled in Dedham; was admitted to the Norfolk Bar and entered the office of the late Judge Waldo Colburn, and upon his decease continued the practice of the law in Dedham, and devoted himself chiefly to conveyancing and probate law. He became counsel in real estate matters for the Dedham Institution for Savings, of which he was also Trustee, and by indefatigable work attained a high rank in his chosen branch of the law, was noted for his thoroughness and accuracy, and greatly trusted for his sound judgment. He was a man of firm convictions though never self-assertive; he was far from controversial, but whenever his opinion was sought or occasion arose for its statement, he showed great capacity for clear and convincing thought. For years before his decease it was evident that he was overworking a none too strong physique, and that his neglect of

all amusements and all forms of physical exercise was telling upon him in too great a degree. It was doubtless owing largely to failing health that this Society was deprived of his knowledge and abilities, but he left an excellent record of completed work elsewhere, and one of high character and faithful endeavor. His story is that of a plain, unobtrusive, high-minded man, a student of history who contributed much to his locality, and gave to the public much faithful and important work — one who lived and died appreciated and honored by his fellow-citizens, but who sought no other reward than the satisfaction of having done his duty manfully and well, and of having left an unstained record of public service.

The VICE-PRESIDENT also announced the death of General Joshua L. Chamberlain, a Corresponding Member, at Portland, Maine, on February 24. Since his election on February 8, 1912, he has not been present at a meeting, nor has the Society received any communication from him.

Dr. GREEN, in behalf of Mr. F. B. Sanborn, exhibited a volume, entitled "Du Bartas, His Deuine Weekes and Workes," translated by Josuah Sylvester, from the library of Ellery Channing.

Mr. RANTOUL, in behalf of our associate, Mr. Endicott, presented a copy of a Confederate Prayer Book, printed in London in 1863, though with a title-page for "Richmond, Virginia," one of a cargo which was captured from a vessel trying to run the blockade into Charleston Harbor.

The VICE-PRESIDENT communicated the following paper submitted by Mr. C. F. Adams, of which the Corresponding Secretary read extracts:

McHENRY ON COTTON CRISIS, 1865.

In preparing recently a lecture — one of a Johns Hopkins University course now being delivered — I came, in my notes, across a reference to a pamphlet in the Library of Congress, entitled "Statement of Facts relating to the approaching Cotton Crisis." Prepared at the time by one George McHenry, it related to the so-called Lancashire "Cotton Famine" of 1861–1864, and was printed as a "Secret Session" document in response to a request from the Committee of Ways and

Means of the Confederate House of Representatives under date of January 5, 1865. The paper itself is dated Richmond, January 8, 1865, though, on the cover, it bears the imprint "Richmond, Dec. 31, 1864." As the result of further investigation, Professor E. D. Adams subsequently advised me that this McHenry was a son of Dr. James McHenry, of Philadelphia — a well-known writer during the middle period of the last century. A somewhat frequent contributor to the English organ of the Confederacy, the *Index*, the son, George McHenry, a sympathizer with the Confederacy, appears to have made a special study of the social, economic and industrial problems connected with the cotton problem. I have also found traces of other pamphlets emanating from the same source: one privately printed in London, in 1861, and called *The African Race in America, North and South;* another, also published in London, but in 1865, called *The Cotton Supply of the United States of America.* Into neither of these do I propose to enter; but the paper published by order of the Committee of Ways and Means of the Confederate Congress in January, 1865, proved not only interesting and of historical value, but distinctly suggestive. Prepared in London during the previous six months — that is, the last half of 1864 — it was printed in Richmond, in January, 1865. The Confederacy was then already *in extremis.* General Sherman, bringing his march through Georgia to a triumphant conclusion, had, it will be borne in mind, stormed Fort McAllister on the 13th of December, and entered Savannah on the 21st. Five days previously, the 16th, General Thomas had defeated Hood at Nashville. On the 3d of February, following, took place the fruitless meeting of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward with the Confederate commissioners at Fortress Monroe. On the 22d of the same month, Wilmington, the last blockade-running port of entry of the Confederacy, was captured; Charleston was at the same time evacuated by the Confederates. Thus, it would seem, this paper of Mr. McHenry, prepared six months before, was printed in somewhat despairing mood when the Confederacy was in its death-agony, and to show that there was still a chance. It was a last recourse to the King Cotton faith. Accordingly, the writer thus begins: "This paper is intended to demonstrate that the belief is incorrect that the 'cotton

famine' is over, and that by reason of increased production in other countries the world had become independent of the Southern States for a cotton supply. Further, the paper is intended to show that as yet there has been no actual 'cotton famine'; that that calamity is still in store, unless the war in America should cease before long; and that the production in 'other countries' has not, to any great extent, been augmented." The writer, he declares, "was one of the few Americans, who, at the time of the fall of Fort Sumter, held to the idea that cotton was not then *king;* and he now finds himself almost alone in asserting the political power of the leading article of commerce, provided the rulers of the Confederate States think proper to take steps by which the mercantile monarch may be reinstated upon his throne."

McHenry then proceeds elaborately to marshal the facts and statistics. Though all the writer's anticipations and predictions were set at naught through the course of events then in progress, his statements and conclusions still have significance and historical value.

This I personally had occasion to realize, as a study of the document led to a very considerable modification of conclusions only last May expressed at Oxford, in the course of lectures I there delivered. In my second Oxford lecture, that entitled "The Confederate Cotton Campaign," I dealt in some detail with the events connected with the Lancashire Cotton Famine, so-called, of 1861 to 1865. In the succeeding lecture, entitled "*Dis Aliter Visum*," I presented the facts, as I then saw them, connected with the October crisis of 1862 in England, when the question of foreign intervention in our Civil War presented itself, and, as subsequent events showed, was finally disposed of. In dealing with these historical problems — vital factors in our Civil War history — I became satisfied from my study of the McHenry pamphlet, that I had left important facts out of consideration. I therefore propose to print these two lectures — one entitled "The Lancashire Armageddon" and the other, "A Crisis in Downing Street" — part of the course now being delivered at the Johns Hopkins University, in the *Proceedings* of the Society. I shall submit one, — that on the Lancashire Cotton Famine — at the April meeting, and the other — that on the Cabinet

action of October and November, 1862 — at a subsequent meeting. As copies of the McHenry pamphlet are extremely rare, I reproduce here for future reference the more interesting and historically valuable passages of this Confederate Congress document.

The cotton manufacturing interest had in 1860 become, so far as Great Britain was concerned, a factor, both industrial and financial, of prime importance. Indeed, the Manchester School, as it was called, then largely influenced, and was by many thought to control, the polity of the empire. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were its leading and typical representatives. The very disturbed condition of that interest in December, 1864, after three years of extreme business uncertainty, is forcibly set forth in the following statistics and statements from the McHenry pamphlet.

While the importations of raw cotton into England in 1860 were the largest on record, amounting to 1,390,938,752 pounds, at a cost of £35,756,889, three years later, in 1863, the importations were 669,583,264 pounds, or almost exactly half the previous quantity, worth £56,277,953, or approximately for the lesser quantity an increase of nearly 70 per cent in value.

On the other hand, the British exportations of raw cotton in 1860 were 250,428,640 pounds, valued at £5,388,190; while three years later the exports were 241,570,992 pounds, valued at £20,145,911; in other words, the amount being practically the same, the value had increased nearly fourfold. In the above figures is included, of course, cotton from all sources.

"In 1860, £1,000 sterling's worth of British cotton goods, at manufacturers' prices, contained raw cotton to a value of £300." Owing to the loss incurred in spinning inferior cotton at higher prices, there was an increase in the cost of the raw cotton in manufactured goods of the same amount of £900. It was generally assumed that the manufacturers had been great sufferers by the so-called "cotton famine." They, on the contrary, had been great gainers by the partial stoppage of supplies. The total stocks of cotton, either raw or in the manufactured state, in the hands of all classes in the United Kingdom, when reduced to the weight of raw cotton, were in January, 1861, 851,486,450 pounds, while in January, 1864, the quantity had been reduced to 189,186,871 pounds. The

expense of cotton clothing to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom was computed as follows:

In 1860	£25,000,000
In 1864	£60,000,000

The manufactured cottons purchased at low cost having all been consumed, and four or five prices having to be paid for every pound required, the drain upon the resources of the English people for that description of clothing was naturally serious, and greatly deranged financial concerns. The cost of raw cotton contained in home-consumed cotton goods in 1860 was £7,500,000. In 1865 it was said that at the lowest calculation it would amount to £42,500,000, or a difference of about £35,000,000. These figures nowhere appeared in the governmental returns; but they made their presence felt in the money market. The increase in the cost of raw cotton in 1865 over the figures of 1860, it was estimated, would be equal to four times the amount of the income tax, to one-third more than the interest on the national debt, and fully one-half of the yearly outlay of the British government.

A careful calculation, made in 1864, showed the increase in the quantity of cotton grown in all countries other than the Southern States equalled only 350,000 bales of American in weight. The famine, as it was called, was thus tided over through the utilization of the stocks on hand and supplies from other quarters and the cotton, estimated at 900,000 bales, which had escaped from the Confederacy. Up to 1860 British cotton fabrics were made up of 90 per cent of American cotton. In 1864 the case was reversed, and it was estimated that the goods manufactured in that year did not contain more than 20 per cent of American cotton. In order to work the inferior grades and to augment the weight of the fabrics, a large admixture of mineral and other substances was used. After the trade resumed its former extent the great difficulty that the mill owners encountered was the absence of the requisite number of operatives. Many of them had lost their skill by being engaged in other employments. It was found that paving streets and breaking stone physically incapacitated them for textile manufacturing. Others had emigrated. As respects cotton other than American, the loss in spinning Surat cotton was set down at 27 per cent in 1858, and 33½ per

cent in 1863. No Surat cotton, it was stated, could be worked without a loss of 25 per cent. The total exportations of yarns and goods in weight from Great Britain in 1860 were reported at 748,722,000 pounds; in 1863 they were reported at 390,000,000 pounds, — a reduction of almost exactly one-half. Likewise, in 1860 yarns and goods produced by the English mills, chiefly in Lancashire, amounted in weight to 973,650,000 pounds; in 1862, they amounted to 365,000,000 pounds.

McHenry then goes on to say:

> The American cotton coming to hand more freely than was expected, enabled the spinners to consume more of the inferior cottons; and the "cotton famine," was therefore at one time thought by many persons, unfamiliar with the detail of the trade, to be at an end. As already stated, there has been no actual cotton famine. If the American crop of 1861 had reached Liverpool in due course, there would have been no sale for it: the markets were then overstocked with cotton and with cotton goods; and if the war had never taken place, the operatives would have fared just as badly as they have done the past three years — perhaps worse; for, in that event, all the cotton interest of Lancashire must have been ruined by the great depreciation which most assuredly would have taken place. The spinners will not buy raw cotton, unless they have a demand for their goods. The crop of 1861 would, therefore, have remained unsold, except to speculators at very low rates. Some persons are laboring under the mistaken idea that the Confederate Government should have seized that crop, and sent it forward to Europe. It could not have been depended on as a basis of credit; for the moral effect of such a large quantity, even when stored in warehouses at Liverpool, would have had a very depressing influence upon prices. To repeat, it has been a mistake to attribute the distress in the manufacturing districts to a cotton "famine." . . .
>
> It is a fortunate thing for England that she was possessed of such large stocks of cotton and cotton goods, when the war broke out, at a cost to her of seven pence per pound for the raw material; and it is also fortunate for her that she has received, directly and indirectly from the Confederacy, since the 1st of September, 1863, over 4,000 bales of cotton per week. The English manufacturers and merchants held a stock of cotton and cotton goods, at home and abroad, equal to three years' demand, which they have been dealing out at three, four and five prices. And no sooner did that supply fail, than the Confederacy began to favor them with the much needed staple, at the above-named rate per week.

There has been a constant drain of cotton from Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, through the ports of Galveston and Matamoras, which has been enriching the shoddy men engaged in the transactions, without giving any adequate return to the government or the people of the Confederacy. In many instances where government officials, both civil and military, have had control of cotton, frauds have been practised to such a shameful degree, that public attention is being drawn to the crime. Blockade running, too, has been conducted at a rate of extravagance never before known. The system inaugurated by the parties having charge of many of the ships engaged in the trade, for costliness, is without a parallel in the history of commerce. There are shoddy captains, shoddy officers, shoddy crews, shoddy engineers, shoddy pilots, shoddy fireman, shoddy stewards, shoddy cooks, etc., etc. The expense of getting a bale of cotton to Liverpool now, is more than the former value of the cotton itself. Very few of the ships bring in full cargoes of supplies; some of them only one-fourth of their capacity, and some nothing at all. All of them, however, take out full cargoes of cotton — even to deck loads.

The quantity of raw cotton, cotton yarns and cotton goods, in the whole world was believed to have been 7,500,000,000 pounds on January 1, 1861, and 2,500,000,000 on January 1, 1864. It was further estimated that on January 1, 1865, the quantity thus on hand would be reduced to 1,500,000,000 pounds.

In consequence of so large a proportion of commercial cotton, consisting of the growth of the Southern States, the "bale" became the standard of measure, when speaking of quantity, and that system has been continued up to the present time. But it is just as absurd to estimate the stocks of cotton by that standard now, as it is to value the cost of any article in the Confederacy by the quotation in paper money. American bales average 460 lbs. in weight, but those of India much less. Surats weigh but 370 lbs., and Madras and Bengal only 290 lbs. West India cotton bales contain 200 lbs.; Italy and Malta, 220 lbs.; Brazils, 180 lbs.; Egyptian, 500 lbs.; Turkish, 350 lbs.; Grecian, 200 lbs.; Chinese and Japanese, 120 lbs.; Peruvian, 150 lbs.; African, 150 lbs.

It is neither the province nor wish of the writer to attack Confederate legislation on the subject of cotton; nor yet to intrude his advice upon the Congress of these sovereign States; but he desires to express his opinion that England, unless for some selfish political causes, will never throw the weight of her influence in favor of the South until Manchester speaks, and that Manchester is not likely to

speak until the Confederate "cotton leak" is stopped. In ordinary times 4 to 5,000 bales of American cotton reaching Liverpool every week would be inconsiderable; but now that the stocks of raw cotton and cotton goods are so much reduced, that quantity becomes an important feature in the trade of Great Britain. Had the exportation of cotton from the Confederacy been prohibited a year ago, England would by this time have been compelled to acknowledge the independence of the South; for the amount of cotton contributed to Lancashire within the last twelve months has been the means of keeping her mills in partial operation. The position of the cotton trade is quite different now from what it was then, or even two years ago. The British cotton manufacturers will not be content to remain quiet, if they are deprived of the raw material when they have a demand for their fabrics. So long, however, as the Confederacy voluntarily contributes to their wants, it cannot be expected that they will exert themselves to bring about peace.

It will be remembered that shortly after the Confederate victories in front of Richmond in the summer of 1862, the British government, it was reported, had determined to acknowledge the independence of these States. An intimation was not only thrown out to that effect by the friends of the Ministry, but Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech at New Castle, conveyed the same idea to the public. His remarks, in fact, savored so much of recognition, that the Lancashire people became alarmed, and exerted their influence in order to prevent the government taking such a step. Those Lancashire people, and with them may be included the Yankee and Confederate cotton speculators, were large holders of raw cotton and cotton goods, and they feared that the opening of the Southern ports would be the means of deluging them with cotton, and lowering the value of what they held.

France, like England, held a large reserve of cotton goods in 1861. So long as the old supply lasted France as a community hardly felt the pressure of high prices. The usual expense to the people of France for the raw cotton contained in their clothing was one hundred and twenty million francs per annum. It was estimated that in 1865 that material would cost them upwards of five hundred million francs. Meanwhile, the American portion of French commerce in raw cotton in 1860 was 252,667,555 pounds, which amount had fallen in 1863 to 10,000 pounds.

Horrible as this war has been, it will not prove an unmixed evil, for it will demonstrate to the other powers of the world their de-

pendence upon the fibre of these States. It has been the enormous stocks of raw cotton and cotton goods made from the products of the Southern States, with the quantity of cotton that has eluded the blockade, and been "swapped" to, and stolen by the Yankees, that has caused the neutral powers to be passive viewers of the American contest. For the same reasons there has not been any "cotton famine" yet. The "operatives" were overemployed before the war, and since the conflict they have been underemployed.

England cannot afford to do without American cotton. No species of industry can possibly take its place. So long as all the parties interested in the cotton trade were making money by the stoppage of the usual supplies of cotton, they were contented to partially support their idle operatives. Those operatives, be it remembered, had been fully employed at high wages for several years before the war, and had saved large sums (for them) of money, which they had invested in the savings-banks. They now, however, have expended all their former earnings, sold their surplus furniture, and their demands upon the public will there be larger than hitherto. Unless England obtains a full supply of American cotton, there will be a revolution — a civil war — in the British Isles.

Burgoyne on the Battle of Bunker Hill.

By the courtesy of Mr. Wilfred W. Ashley, of Broadlands, Romsey, Hampshire, the following letter is printed. It was written to Henry Temple, second Viscount Palmerston (1739–1802), at the time a lord of the admiralty, and it is taken from a valuable collection of historical and family papers in Mr. Ashley's possession.

Burgoyne to Viscount Palmerston.

Boston, June 25, 1775.

My dear Lord,

I take the first opportunity of a safe conveyance of my letter to acquit myself of the duty you enjoined me and which I owe to your friendship. But after informing you I am perfectly well, a circumstance from which I am sure you will receive satisfaction, I know not where to find one that will not give you pain. Our prospects on the side of the enemy are gloomy. Enthusiasm, and a combination of artifice on one side, perhaps mismanagement on the other, and accident on both, have produced a crisis that my little reading in history cannot parallel. The British Empire in America is overturned without great exertions on your side the water. If

the confederacy on this continent is general as I am inclined now to believe it, and you determine to subdue it by arms you must have recourse to Russia or Germany; such a pittance of troops as Great Britain and Ireland can supply will only serve to protract the war, to much fruitless expense, and ensure disappointment.

You will hear by these dispatches of a victory of our troops and perhaps Government will be elated with the account. It is glorious to the troops, and important to the nation, inasmuch as the disgrace of the 19th of April is erased, and the superiority of the king's troops over a rebel army confirmed. It is certain we had the odds of three or four to one to contend with, assisted with all that nature and art could do to give strength to a post, and inspired (I may so call it) with the fanaticism of a favourite demagogue (Warren) who devoted himself at their head and fell accordingly. But our victory has been bought by an uncommon loss of officers, some of them irreparable, and I fear the consequences will not answer the expectations that will be raised in England.

I will take the liberty my Dear Lord to refer you to Lady Charlotte[1] for the picture of the action; it not having been my lot to be personally engaged further than in the superintendence of a cannonade I had leisure to observe and describe it, and a complication of horrors rendered it the greatest scene that the imagination can conceive. For the time it was most animating; but the private sorrows that followed upon looking round the field have been more than ordinarily numerous and affecting. One, it is a principal purpose of this letter to mention; and tho' it may affect your sensibility to hear it, I am confident you will be recompensed if you find it in your power to contribute to relieve it.

Major Pitcairn who commanded the Marines, was an officer distinguished by every quality that constitutes a brave and a good man. Lord Sandwich knew *much* of his merit. He will not know it *all* till he hears the particulars of his death. His son[2] was upon the field and brought his dying father upon his back from the entrenchment where he received his wound, to the nearest boat about half a mile. Having deposited him there he returned instantly to his duty. This story dressed with the imagery that painting or poetry would add to it would equal most that antiquity can furnish. I need but state it, naked of ornament to interest a mind like yours in favour of the family of Pitcairn, for I believe it is numerous. I inclose to you part of a letter found among the Major's papers for Lord Sandwich and probably designed to be finished for this conveyance. It re-

[1] His wife, Lady Charlotte Stanley.

[2] Thomas Pitcairn, who received, January 13, 1776, a commission as lieutenant in the 14th Regiment, commanded by Col. Robert Cunninghame.

M. Brown.

From the original in the possession of Frederick Lewis Gay, Esq.

gards the business of the Corps and consequently is proper to be delivered to Lord Sandwich's hands — one circumstance that will strike you is the attention he was shewing to assist those he thought worthy. I was requested to convey this letter and so mention the circumstance of the son's behaviour. I am certain I cannot put it into better hands than yours and that you will accept with pleasure the office of recommending so singular an instance of filial piety and military ardour for notice and reward upon any proper occasion, and this is all that is desired.

I have mentioned a plea in my letters to the great and powerful that may probably carry me home in the course of the ensuing Autumn. The enjoyment of your Lordship's friendship will be among the principal pleasures of my return. In the meantime believe me with the most respect, affection, and sense of obligation,

My Dear Lord, Your ever faithful and obedient servt.

J. BURGOYNE.

P. S. Being pressed sooner than I expected to finish my letters for the sailing of the Ship, you will forgive me if I have in some places wrote badly and unintelligibly.

GAWEN AND MATHER BROWN.

Mr. FREDERICK L. GAY has prepared notes on Gawen Brown, and not only adds to what is printed in *Proceedings*, XLVI. 250, and p. 32 *supra*, but offers corrections of statements made in the two contributions.

Gawen Brown was married to Mary Flagg, by Rev. Joseph Sewall, April 5, 1750.[1] She joined the Old South Church, May 12, 1751,[2] and died March 28, 1760. She was buried in the Granary Burying Ground,[3] where her stone may yet be seen. By her he had six children, all baptized in the Old South Church.

For a second wife he took Elizabeth Byles, July 3, 1760. The intention of marriage was declared June 18, 1760.[4] About two months later, on August 10, 1760, he was admitted to the Hollis Street Church, "on a Letter of Recommendation from the Rev. Jo. Oliver, Pastor and Eldership of a Desenting

[1] *Boston Rec. Com.*, XXVIII. 239.

[2] *Old South Catalogue*, 45.

[3] Whitmore, *Granary Epitaphs*, 1217. Of this book only one copy was saved from the fire at Munsell's printing office, Albany.

[4] *Boston Rec. Com.*, XXX. 36.

Church at Framlington in Northumberland, South Britain." On November 27, 1760, the Church records state that "after the Publick Exercises (it being the Day of General Thanksgiving thro' the Province) the Brethren of the Church were desired to stay, and were informed, that the Painting of the Pulpit was given at the Charge of Mr. Gawen Brown. Unanimously Voted, That the Thanks of the Church be given him for his Generous Present." On October 11, 1761, Mather Brown was baptized,[1] the only child by this marriage. The mother died, June 6, 1763.

On October 19, 1764, he married at the New South Church, for his third wife, Elizabeth Adams,[2] widow of Dr. Joseph Adams, brother of Samuel Adams the patriot. Her maiden name was Hill, and she had married her first husband from that same church, September 11, 1754.[3] She was admitted to the Hollis Street Church February 17, 1765.[4] Gawen Brown died August 8, 1801, aged 82 years.[5] His will, dated June 13, 1794, proved August 25, 1801, mentions wife Elizabeth, children, Mather, Margaret, etc.[6]

In addition to the advertisement printed in *Proceedings*, XLVI. 250, which states that he had recently come from London, there is an advertisement in the *Boston Evening Post*, December 11, 1752; a notice in the *Boston Gazette*, February 26, 1754, of his removal from "King to Union Street, next door to Mr. John Salter, brazier, opposite the Conduit, at head of Town Dock"; one in the same journal, September 17, 1754, offering his house in Union Street for sale; and a notice, also in the same journal, May 8, 1769, that "John Harris, harpsichord, spinnet, watch-case maker, tuner, etc., from London, lives at Gawen Brown's in King Street."

His clock was exhibited at a Town Meeting at Faneuil Hall, and the following description appeared in the *Boston Gazette*, March 21, 1768:

At the said Meeting was exhibited the Frame and principal Movements of a superb stately Town-Clock, made by Mr. Gawen Brown, of this Town: The two great Wheels took near 90 lb. weight of

[1] Ms. Records of the Hollis Street Church, in my possession. He was born October 7.
[2] *Boston Rec. Com.*, XXX. 380.
[3] *Ib.*, 377.
[4] Ms. Church Records.
[5] City Registrar's office.
[6] Suffolk Probate Files, No. 21,509.

Brass: It is calculated for eight Days to shew the Hours and Minutes; will have three grand Dials, and a mechanic Lever to preserve the Motion during the winding up. The Pendulum Wheel and Pallets to perform the dead Beat. The Works are nicely executed: The steel Pinions and Teeth of the Wheels are finely polished, which must greatly abate the Friction, add to its Regularity and Duration. It will have a curious mathematical Pendulum, that may be altered the 3500th Parts of an inch while the Clock is going. From the exquisite finishing of the Parts already done, good Judges are of the Opinion that it will be a Master Piece of the Kind, and do Honour to America.

This was without doubt the clock offered to the Old South Church in the following letter:

To the Society Meeting in the South Church in Boston:
GENTLEMEN,

Having made a Clock suitable for Publick Use a Number of Inhabitants of the Town are desirous to Purchase the same by a Voluntary subscription, Provided it may be put Upon the Steeple of your Church, that being the most Convenient Scituation for said purpose on many Accounts.

These are therefore humbly to Request your consent thereto, and that you would give your Petitioner Liberty to put up the same accordingly, and I Promise and Engage provided said Permission is granted that the same shall be put Up and Continued there forever free of Charge to the Society. Your Humble Servant,

GAWEN BROWN.

BOSTON, July 23d, 1768.

Of the son, Mather Brown, the following reference appeared in *Graham's Magazine*, XX. 63, in an article on "The Daughters of Dr. Byles," written by Miss Eliza Leslie:

Before I had looked half enough at Copley's picture, the two old ladies directed my attention to another portrait which they seemed to prize still more highly. This, they informed me, was that of their nephew, "poor boy," whom they had not seen for forty years. It was painted by himself. — His name was Mather Brown, and he was the only son of their deceased elder sister. He had removed to London, where, as they informed me, he had taken the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York — "and, therefore," said one of the aunts — "he is painter to the royal family." . . .

The truth was, as I afterwards found, that a much longer period than forty years had elapsed since their nephew left America; but

they always continued to give that date to his departure. He had painted himself with his hair reared up perpendicularly from his forehead, powdered well, and tied behind, — and, in a wide blue coat with yellow buttons, and a very stiff hard-plaited shirt-frill with hand-ruffles to match. In his hand he held an open letter, which, both his aunts informed me, contained the very words of an epistle sent by one of them to him, and, therefore, was an exact likeness of that very letter. To gratify them, I read aloud the pictured missive, thereby proving that it really contained legible words.

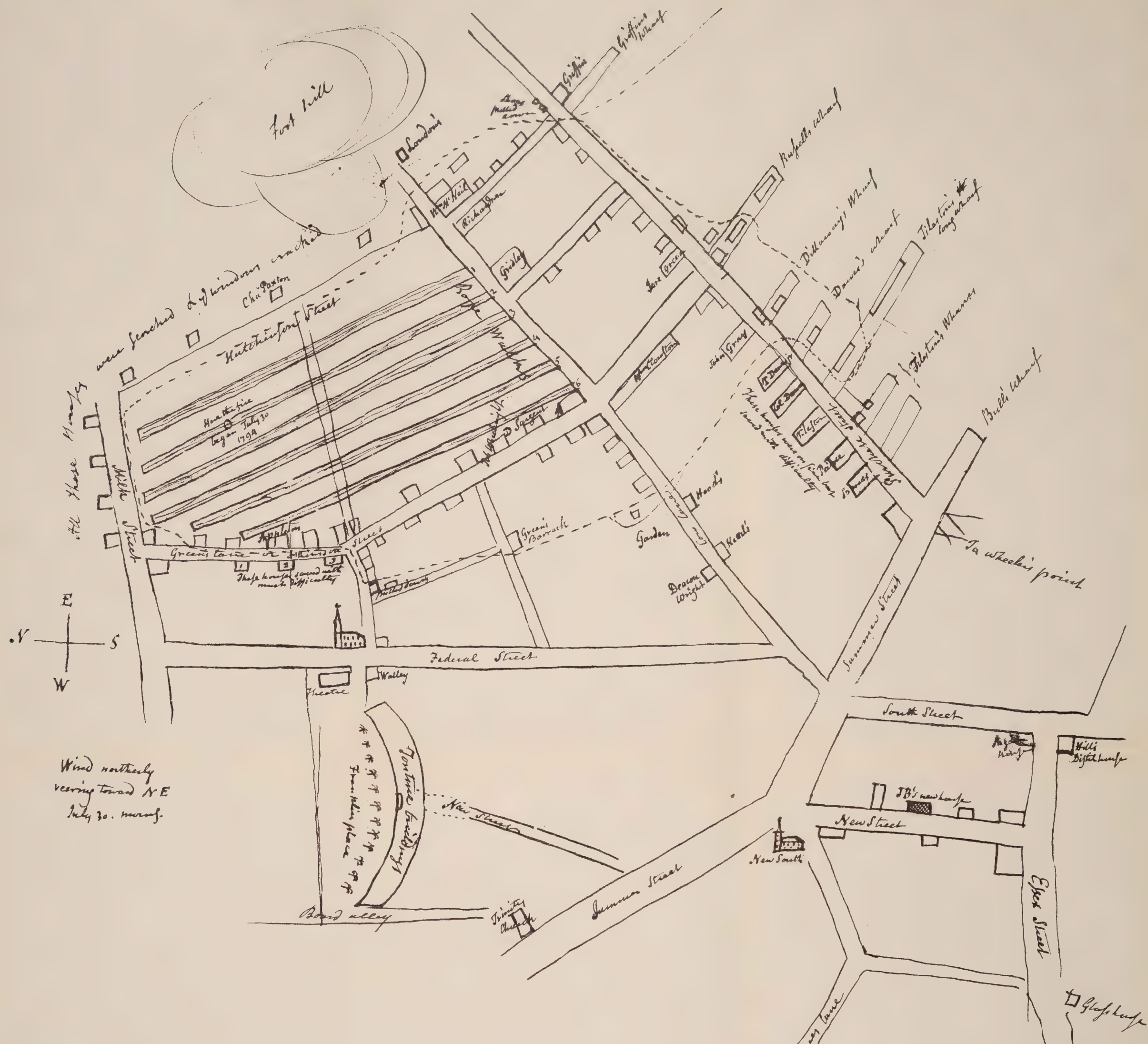
In 1786 he painted a portrait of Charles Bulfinch, of which Bulfinch said in a letter from London to his mother, September 17, 1786:

Even the picture should not be omitted. I should have sent it by this opportunity, but the colours are not sufficiently dried for packing. It is esteemed a good likeness; but I think it a very dull, unmeaning face; but we must not blame the painter for that, as it was not his duty to create, but to copy. It is the work of Mr. Brown; you will find it very rough, but that is the modish style of painting, introduced by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Mr. Copeley indeed paints in another manner, his pictures are finished to the utmost nicety, but then — they are *very dear*.[1]

Mather Brown died in Newman Street, London, May 25, 1831, and was described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (June, 1831), as "Historical Painter to his Majesty and the late Duke of York." In the issue of the Magazine for August appeared the following notice:

June 1. In Newman-street, at an advanced age, Mather Brown, esq. This gentleman was a native of America, and coming to England when a young man, became a pupil of his countryman Mr. West. He was employed by Boydell to paint some of the subjects for the Shakspeare Gallery, and was afterwards honoured by being commissioned to paint portraits of their Majesties, and others of the Royal Family. Towards the latter end of the last century he enjoyed considerable practice as a portrait painter and for several years occupied a spacious house in Cavendish-square, which had been previously tenanted by Romney. He also painted the historical pictures, from which were engraved some of the most popular prints, particularly the Marquis Cornwallis receiving the sons of

[1] Bulfinch, *Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch*, 56.


Fort Hill
London
Griffins Wharf
Griffin
Russells Wharf
Dillaways Wharf
Daniels Wharf
Tileston's long wharf
Tileston's Wharves
Bulls Wharf
Richardson
Gridley
Jesse Green
Johns Gray
Hon. Thos Dawes jr
Tileston
Hooks
Keeds
Garden
Deacon Wright
Ja Wheelers point
Summer Street
Hutchinson Street
Chas Paxton
Hutchinson
began July 30
1794
Milk Street
Appleton
Green Barrack
Green Lane or Hutchinson st
Federal Street
Walley
Theatre
Franklin place
Tontine Buildings
New Street
Board alley
Trinity Church
Summer Street
New South
South Street
JB's new house
Hills Distillhouse
New Street
Essex Street
Bowers Lane
Glass house
Wind northerly
veering toward N E
July 30. morng.
The boundary lines of the fire are marked with red ink
and the houses & Ropewalks burnt are also red –
The neighbouring houses saved are marked with black ink
The fire began about ½ an hour morng by some carelessness in kindling a fire under the Parkette in a Ropewalk
& there being a large quantity of tarred rope yarn extended from one end to y other which was to have
been twisted into a cable, the fire ran along the whole ropewalks like a train of Gunpowder &
set y whole in flames at once.

Tippoo Saib as hostages. These productions had sufficient merit for public sale; but not to place Mr. Brown in a very high rank in his profession. A picture of the Resurrection, which he painted late in life, was considered one of his best productions. Happily, he had, in his more popular days, laid by something which enabled him to live in comfort, and to continue to provide himself with all the necessaries for pursuing the art to which he was fondly attached, and which he continued to pursue with little abated vigour.

His admiration of the talents of his preceptor, who was always kind to his pupil, amounted almost to idolatry; and during the years that Mr. West's gallery remained open, even to the period when his vast collection was brought to the hammer in the spring of 1829, scarcely a day passed that he did not proceed thither to pay his devotions before his great idol, the Scriptural pictures painted for the King. Knowing his venerable master as he did, and intimately acquainted as he was with his professional and social habits, and being so familiar with the many distinguished persons who at successive periods were wont to assemble in his gallery, it is to be regretted that Mr. Brown had not kept a diary of the sayings and doings of such a coterie. Had he been so disposed, he would have been well qualified for the task, for he was a man of reading, had received a liberal education, and was moreover a great observer of men and things. His own apartments in Newman-street were part of the spacious house formerly occupied by Dawe [1] the academican.

Boston Fire, 1794.

In the second part of the *Belknap Papers* (5 *Collections*, III. 350) was printed a rough sketch map by Dr. Belknap of the portion of the town of Boston affected by the fire of July 30, 1794. A similar sketch map by Dr. Belknap is among his MSS., giving the same region of the town, but in greater detail, and with names attached to twenty-three of the houses on the plan. It is reproduced as a contemporary record of a part of the town in 1794.

Letters to Jonathan Russell, 1801–1822.

Through the courtesy of Miss Mary Rivers, of Milton, the Editor prints the following letters, a fragment of the Russell Papers.

[1] George Dawe (1781–1829). Some notice of Mather Brown will be found in Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts*, 280.

AARON BURR TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

N. YORK, 22 May, 1801.

I have read with attention and with very great pleasure your letter of the 14th and the papers which accompanied it. You have anticipated my wishes by the frankness of your communications and by the confidence you have reposed in me. They justify the prepossessions I had imbibed and establish a claim to reciprocity which shall not be disappointed. I thank you. "I am not of many words; but I thank you."

The measure which has occasioned so much dissatisfaction, is not remediless. I think it will be reversed: as to that which you apprehend; immediately on the receipt of your letter, I hastened to communicate my advice that it should be suspended: but in this and in other suggestions which I have made, originating from your letter, I have not felt myself authorized to use your name.

A very strong representation will, I am told, be made against Ellery of New Port with a view to remove him from the office of Collector.[1] Something has also been said to me in his favor. If you should have any knowledge of him, or of his intended successor, whose name even I have not heard, you would much oblige me by a line on the subject. I am with very great respect and consideration Your assured and Servt.,

A. BURR.

ALBERT GALLATIN TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

WASHINGTON, 25th Sept'er, 1804.

SIR,

When I was favoured with your letter of the 31st May, I had no doubt that Benjamin Tupper who was appointed Receiver of public monies at Marietta was a different man from Benjamin Tupper whom you had known in France. But in order to ascertain the facts I was obliged to write to the westward, and have now the honour to communicate the result of my enquiries.

The gentleman appointed receiver of public monies is son[2] of a General Tupper who migrated about fifteen years ago from the State of Massachusetts to Muskingum. He was a child at that time, has resided ever since in that country, has never been out of the United States, is married to a daughter of General Putnam late Surveyor General, enjoys an unblemished reputation, is a man of

[1] William Ellery (1727–1820), who served as collector of customs at Newport from 1790–1820, in spite of many attempts to have him removed.

[2] Major Anselm Tupper.

decent talents and well qualified for the office he fills, having been for several years a clerk in that of the Surveyor General. In his politics he is federal, and yet was recommended by two republicans, judge Meigs [1] one of the most reputable characters of the State of Ohio and Jared Mansfield now Surveyor General.

There is now at New Orleans another Tupper who arrived there from France last winter or spring, who is said to be a man of talents but unprincipled. He does not hold any office under Government, unless the local Government of New Orleans has given him one, which is not probable. From the time of his arrival, he has been very troublesome, and is considered as the first promoter of the popular meetings and subsequent memorial of the inhabitants of Louisiana, whose prejudices in favour of the slave trade he artfully excited for that purpose. There is every reason to believe that *he* is the person whose infamous character you communicated.

I beg you to accept my sincere thanks for your obliging communication; for, although in this instance we had not committed any mistake, yet in those distant appointments there is always some risk, even after application to the best sources, that the Administration may sometime be deceived in the character of the persons appointed. I have the honour to be respectfully, Sir, Your obed't Serv't,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

MADAME DE STAËL TO JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Ce 13 7bre 1810. blois. Dep. de loir et cher.

I take the liberty général to ask you if the vessel which has brought Mr le ray in Europa is on the point of returning and if it be possible for her to wait 'till the first of November and that she comes in a harbour in Normandy because I am obliged to stop in england for some affairs. I request you general to excuse my importunity but having the intention to embark for the united States with all my family I desire to spare my daughter a long voyage on the Sea in this Season. I trust to your kindness, général, this trust is founded on the high esteem which I feel for you and on which you may depend if you allow me to be worthy of appreciating you. Your most obedient Servant,

NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

Addressed: Son Excellence Monsieur Le General Armstrong, Ministre des Etats Unis près La Cour de France, Rue Vaugirard, Hôtel du Ministère des Etats Unis, à Paris.

renvoyé à mr russel rue Et hotel grange, BATELLIERRE.

[1] Return Jonathan Meigs.

MADAME DE STAËL TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

blois, ce 21 7bre., [1810].

I thank you with all my heart Sir, for the benevolent letter you have written to me, and if my english was not very bad I should express my gratitude for your kindness as I feel it. Since I cannot take advantage of the ship which is to set off the 11th of october, have you any means to arrange my departure in the first days of november on an american vessel which could stop in england and which could sail from an harbour in the channel. I know I desire a great deal but I am sure you will do all that lies in your power. where is géneral armstrong. he is expected at chaumont and my intention is to go there to see him. I am indiscreet, Sir, in giving you the trouble of writing again to me but if I am in the wrong 't is the amiable style of your letter which is the cause of my importunity. mr. le ray did not come in the hornet but in the flash. do you know any thing about her. I am Sir with much truth yours,

NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

JOEL BARLOW TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

SIR, WASHINGTON, 10 Jan'y, 1811.

I send by Mr. Erving a copy of the Columbiad for M. Botta, and one for Mr. Oelsner with a letter for each. If Mr. Erving in his haste passing Paris should not be able to find out those gentlemen to deliver the parcels, I have taken the liberty of desiring him to leave them with you, and of begging you to be so good as to see it done. Mr. Botta is author of a history of the Am'n War and a deputy to the Legislative body easily found. Mr. Oelsner is well known to Senator Grégoire, and most of the literary men in Paris.

Excuse, Sir, the liberty I take with you, and accept my respectful regards,

J. BARLOW.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

DEAR SIR, BALTIMORE, 28 Jan., 1811.

A prosecution is pending here against a very worthy and useful man, the Editor of the *Whig*, for a supposed libel on Timothy Pickering.[1] He finds it necessary to his defence to have certain exam-

[1] The "libel" appeared in the *Whig*, published at Baltimore by Baptist Irvine, July 14, 1809, and charged that Pickering had been concerting, with George Canning, a separation of the Eastern States from the Union, by the aid and protection of Great Britain. The *Whig* made a retraction, May 20, 1812.

inations taken at Paris, and he has on my suggestion, had the commission issued for this purpose, directed to you. I write this note to tell you so and to take the blame, if there be any, on myself, and at the same time to assure you of the great respect and constant attachment of, Dear Sir, Yours, etc.,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

P. S. I begin to doubt whether B. L.[1] will be appointed to Paris. An attempt will be made to get a nomination for Gen. Smith or for some other Southern man. This to yourself.

MADAME DE STAËL TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

30 june 1811. Coppet, Suisse, pays de vaud.

You had the goodness last year, Sir, to inform me of the good occations for america. I dare to ask the same service now. it is said that the *john adams* and the man of war *the president* are expected soon in france do they intend to stop in England on their return in America and do you believe it would be possible to obtain with your protection a passage for my whole family consisting in eight individuals masters and servants. I am very interested in the success of this request and I beg you to direct your answer under cover to my bankers in Geneva, dep. du lèman, Mrs heutsch. I don't make, Sir, any farther excuse to you for my importunity you have convinced me that the pleasure of obliging compensates for you all trouble. I have the honor to be Your humble and obedient Servant,

NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

I know that there are american ships at nantes and at bourdeaux but they are merchant ships which would be desagreeable to me. is it true that there is in the texel a ship which will return without merchandise and which could stop wherever the Captain might chuse.

MADAME DE STAËL TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

COPPET, 20 juillet, 1811.

SIR:

I take the opportunity of my Secretary's departure for paris of thanking you for the information you have had the goodness to give me relative to the american ships in holland and it being impossible for me to terminate the arrangement of my affairs before the latter end of august I fear it will be out of my power to take advantage of this ship, and I must again have recourse to your kind-

[1] Brockholst Livingston.

ness to inform me whether amongst the ships that leave america at this time you do not expect some arriving at nantes, orient or bourdeaux which on their return would be convenient for me that is to say being able in case of necessity to stop in england. My Secretary will return here in a fortnight and you can answer me by him which will avoid all hazards of submitting our letters to the post. If by chance Sir, it should be your intention to set off for America in six weeks as I understand it is, I should esteem myself very fortunate in being able to embark with you, if you can stop in england I need not say that upon this question the most perfect secret is necessary to me and I know that it is enough to require it from such a character as yours to be sure to obtain it. I have the honor to be, Sir, Your h. and obedient Servant,

NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

MADAME DE STAËL TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

COPPET, ce 17 7bre, 1811.

I am ashamed, Sir, to trouble you again but having seen in the papers that the frigate which brings Mr. barlow is arrived at cherbourg, I take the liberty of asking you to have the kindness to inform me when she will sail, if it be soon enough to avoid the bad season and if by your credit I could obtain my passage upon this vessel, in consequence of your answer, if you are good enough to send it to me immediately, I would ask for my passport of the french government being desirous not to lose a moment because the approach of the winter alarms me for my daughter.

I have seen here this Summer many of your country men, Sir, and I have not miss'd an opportunity of saying to them how much I am indebted to you. I have the honor to be, etc.

NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.

Addressed: Monsieur Russel, Chargé d'affaires d'Amérique, Rue Cerutti No 16 à Paris.

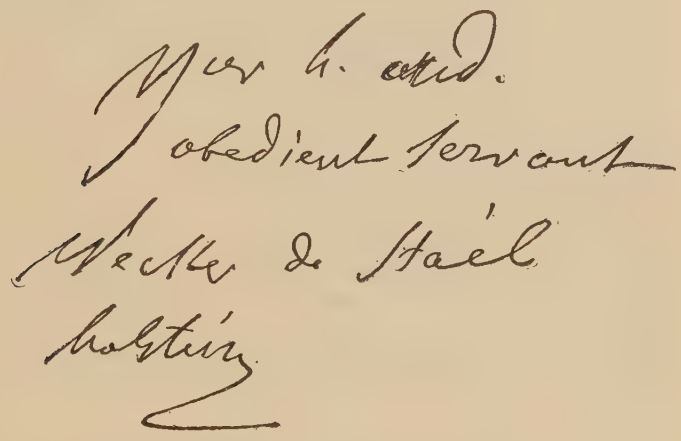
MADAME DE STAËL TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

SIR, COPPET, 23 8bre, 1811.

I begin to be anxious at having no news of the fregate the *constitution*. I hope always that you intend to go upon this vessel without this circumstance I should be afraid of a winter passage. I have asked for my passeports, the minister of policy [police] has promised to give them to me as soon as he knows with certainty the departure of the fregate. I suppose he expects the return of the Emperor. will you be kind enough, Sir, to give me as soon as

possible all the informations you can have about our voyage. I repeat *our* because it is a very important word for me. in answering me I beg you to address your letter *at genève departement du leman.* your last letter by want of this designation was sent to gens in italy, and I have received it a fortnight later than I ought to have done. I think always with gratitude that without having the honour of being personally known to you you deign to interest your self with a perfect benevolence, for me and my family in the most important circumstance of our life. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient servt.,

NECKER DE STAËL HOLSTEIN.



JOEL BARLOW TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

PARIS, 8 Feb., 1812.

DEAR SIR,

I have an accidental occasion to send to you and I enclose a dispatch (a duplicate of the one I sent to your care by the *Hornet*) for the Secretary of State. Send it as safe as you can, but by a different ship from the one that carries the other. Nothing to be relied on by way of news. Whispers say since yesterday that all is settled amicably with Russia. And the Turk is to pay in kind on the Pontic for what is to be taken here on the Baltic.

Our affair here goes on slowly, and I have reason to believe it will be finished soon. The *Hornet* sailed (as I hope you know) from Cherbourg for England the 1st Feb., 1812, to carry my dispatch to you and return to Cherbourg aforesaid. Your friend and servant,

J. BARLOW.

JOEL BARLOW TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

Books.

31 March, 1812.

DEAR SIR,

This letter will be confined to Book business. Mr. Volney is a member of the *Asiatic Society* (if that is the name) of Calcutta, and has always received gratis the volumes of the Asiatic Researches as fast as they are brought to England, I mean the Calcutta edition printed in 4o. Major Simmes was the agent in London and used to send them: The major is now dead and the 9th and 10th volumes have not been sent to Mr. Volney. He is anxious to get them, and has desired me to ask you to take the trouble to enquire whether there is a successor to Major Simmes as agent in that business and to see whether the two volumes can be had as usual. If not, can they be had by purchase? He means brochés, not bound. Be pleased to conduct this enquiry in a distinct and regular manner, and make your report to me by return of trunk, and with the books therein if convenient.

2dly. Mr. Volney takes by purchase the London edition of said work in 8vo. He wants the 10th volume and desires me to get it over for him. You can get it over and let me know to whom I can pay the money.

3d. I too am purchaser of the Asiatic researches, London octavo edition, but I want the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th volumes. Get them for me when convenient and send them when you can, payment as above.

4th. A very learned work on languages called *Mithridates,* written in German, by Adelung, ought by this time to be translated into English. Enquire, and if published in English send me a copy. It is probably in two volumes.

5th. I do not much like the *Quarterly Review.* It is poorly conducted and on Tory principles. Is there not a better one?

Mrs. Barlow and her sister join me in best regards to you.

J. BARLOW.

JOEL BARLOW TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

John Henry whose revealations have produced such a sensation in the U. S. and in England, is now in Paris. He came passenger in the *Wasp.* He is an Irish American citizen educated in New York, and was a captain in our short-lived Army of 1798.

J. BARLOW.

PARIS, 12 May, 1812.

Lucien Bonaparte to Jonathan Russell.

Monsieur, [6 July, 1812.]

Je viens réclamer vos bons offices pour que vous veuilliez bien intervenir auprès du gouvernement Britannique, et obtenir pour moi la liberté de continuer ma route aux états unis ou j'allais m'établir avec ma famille. Je viens d'addresser à ce sujet un mémoire à Mylord Castelreagh, mais je crois devoir entrer avec vous dans de plus grands détails.

Dans l'année 1807 je me déterminai à quitter L'europe pour aller m'établir aux états unis, et je demandai à Mr. Hill ministre anglais en Sardaigne des passeports. Ce Ministre me les adressa de suite avec beaucoup d'obligeance. Je serais parti à cette époque du Port de Livourne si j'avais obtenu les passeports de S. M. L'Empereur des français.

N'ayant pu obtenir les passeports français que deux ans après vers le fin de 1809, je craignis que les passeports anglais obtenus en 1807 ne fument trop vieux, et je les renvoyai à Mr. Hill en Sardaigne en le priant de leur en substituer de nouveaux: et cependant je fis noliser a Naples la batiment l'Hercule de Salem, capitaine West, et je le fis amener et charger dans le Port de Civita Vecchia, où je me rendis pour m'embarquer.

Pour mettre à la voile je n'attendais plus que le retour de l'homme que j'avais expedié en Sardaigne; mais Mr. Hill par le retour de cet homme m'écrivit qu'il ne pouvait m'envoyer aucuns passeports, et que le gouvernement avait révoqué ceux qu'il m'avait accordés en 1807.

Quoique très contrarié par cette réponse, les circonstances me faisant une nécessité de partir, je mis à la voile du port de Civita Vecchia, dans l'espoir que le batiment américain pourrait échapper aux croiseurs anglais, et que d'ailleurs le pavillon d'une puissance en paix avec l'Angleterre me protégerait.

Le sort trompa mes espérances; sur les hauteurs de Sardaigne une tempête nous assaillit; et quelques uns de mes enfants étant malades, je fus contraint d'entrer dans la rade de Cagliari.

Là, je renouvellai mes instances auprès du Ministre anglais, pour obtenir des passeports; et sur son refus j'écrivis au gouvernement de S. M. Britannique pour en solliciter, et je demandai au gouvernement Sarde la liberté d'attendre à Cagliari les réponses de Londres.

Le gouvernement Sarde me refusa l'asile; et en même temps le Ministre anglais me déclara qu'en sortant de la rade je serais arrêté, et conduit prisonnier à Malthe pour attendre les ordres de Londres. En effet la Pomone arrêta l'hercule au sortir de la Rade de Cag-

liari. Je fis en vain au Capitaine de la Pomone ma Protestation écrite: ma protestation fut inutile; je fus conduit à Malthe et mis dans le fort Ricasoli d'où on me transféra ensuite dans une maison de campagne du gouverneur général.

J'écrivis alors de nouveau au gouvernement Britannique pour réclamer ma liberté.

En réponse, la frégate la Présidente fut envoyée à Malthe avec l'ordre de m'ammener en Angleterre, où je suis arrivé à la fin de l'année 1810, à Plimouth: de là, on m'a transféré à Ludlow; et je suis maintenant auprès de Worcester dans une maison de campagne Prisonnier sur ma Parole avec un rayon de dix mille.

Depuis ma détention j'ai réclamé plusieurs fois auprès des ministres pour ma délivrance; mais sans jamais avoir pu obtenir de réponse.

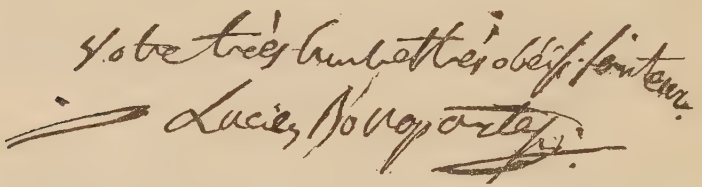
La nouvelle administration ayant renouvellé mes esperances, je viens d'écrire à Mylord Castelreagh pour le prier de mettre sous les yeux de son A. R. Le Prince Régent les circonstances de mon arrestation, et mes réclamations successives.

La justice de son A. R. et l'obligeance de Mylord Castelreagh me laissent l'espoir d'obtenir ma liberté; et je crois en ce moment pouvoir réclamer vos bons offices.

Arrêté sur un batiment américain, n'ayant d'autres intentions, comme je le déclare solemnellement ici, que d'aller m'établir dans une république dont j'admire et je chéris les lois, j'espère que vous voudrez bien m'accorder votre bienveillance auprès du gouvernement Britannique, et transmettre cette réclamation auprès des états unis.

Je vous prie, Monsieur, d'agréer les expressions de la plus haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.



ELIZABETH BONAPARTE TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

WASHINGTON, Jan'ry 27th, 1814.

You must allow me, my dear Sir, to felicitate you on your nomination to Sweden, notwithstanding your silence. I fear you have

forgotten that no one more than myself desires every thing which can contribute to your convenience or pleasure. In my estimation to quit the United States is pleasant tho' not always equally convenient.

Mr. Clay offers to execute in Europe any commission for me; yet I prefer confiding one to you, to which I flatter myself you can have no objection. It is to take to Stockholm the Portrait of my Son,[1] which Mr. Clay will deliver [to] you; and when convenient, to transmit it to the King of Westphalia.[2] Nothing would please him more than to receive it. I have not written to him, I must rely on you to adopt the most probable means for his reception of it. I beg you to excuse my making this request of you, as likewise that of your writing me every particular of Stockholm which you think will be interesting to me. To abandon this Country at least for some time, perhaps permanently, is an idea too long indulged for me now to relinquish. I know of no Ladies who at present contemplate a Trip to Europe, — but some such occasion may occur during the ensuing summer. I shall avail myself of the earliest opportunity of leaving this, as the ennui of which you have heard me complain, encreases every hour and has at length occasioned so great a dimunition of Health as to render a sea-voyage indispensable. From the descriptions given me of the state of society and manners in Sweden, I might perhaps live as comfortably there as in other part of Europe. Will you then have the goodness to inform me what pecuniary means would be requisite for the mode of life to which I have been habituated and whether I should be likely to be satisfied with my reception in Stockholm. There is no chance of my ever going to France, at least, not, if I submit any longer to vegetating here. There are many motives which ought to influence me to leave this, besides inclination; and I have at length decided upon it. We lament very much that you should depart without having visited the Seat of Government, but suppose the badness of the roads more than want of inclination, has deprived us of the pleasure of seeing you.

I regret still more than any other person, your not having come on, since in addition to the pleasure I always experience in your society, I wished to repeat all our discussions of last summer on the propriety and impropriety of my going away from the insipidity of America. Do not advise me not to do it, for indeed I have no longer the courage to submit to the unvaried dullness of life here:

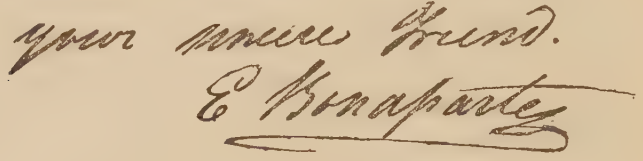
[1] Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, born at Camberwell, England, July 7, 1805.

[2] Jerome Bonaparte, the father of her son. In 1807 he had married Catherine Frederica, princess of Würtemburg.

but write to me that I shall find some other Country less disagreeable. Miss Spear desires me to say every thing to you for her. I have nothing new to tell you of her sentiments as I am persuaded you must have known last year that they were all favorable.

With every wish for your prosperous voyage and happiness, I remain your sincere Friend,

E. BONAPARTE.



A. J. DALLAS TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

DR. SIR,

I enclose a packet for my Son,[1] which I recommend to your particular care. I rely, also, upon your being so good as to shew him, personally, any countenance that you can, while he remains in Europe. It will give me pleasure to communicate to you any agreeable intelligence, and receive from you an account of the occurrences of the old world.

Mr. Monroe having mentioned my Son's letters to Mr. Clay, I thought it right that he should see the passages, which I read to you. In spite of every obstacle, I trust to the efforts of the Mission, most confidently, that we shall either have an honorable peace, or a popular war. I am, very sincerely, Dr. Sir, Yr. friend and Servt.,

A. J. DALLAS.

13 Feb., 1814.

Pray acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

Addressed: Jonathan Russell, Esq. (to be left at the post-office 'till called for), New York.

HENRY CLAY TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND JONATHAN RUSSELL.

GOTTENBURG, 31st May, 1814.

GENT.

I have said to Mr. Connell that I see no objection and therefore that he has my consent to his taking a passage in the *John Adams* to Antwerp, or whatever other port she may be destined to, and thence to America. I have found him an extremely obliging well informed and well disposed American. Yrs.,

H. CLAY.

[1] George Mifflin Dallas, now secretary to Albert Gallatin.

Jonathan Russell to Elizabeth Bonaparte.

Stockholm, 13 Aug't, 1815.

My dear Madame,

You will permit me to render to you, like a good and faithful servant, an account of my stewardship. The portrait of your Son, I endeavoured, on my arrival at Gottenburg, to send to Paris, by a Messenger we dispatched thither, but he unfortunately found it too long for his trunk and declined taking it. I rather believe however that he was afraid that it would have recommended him to the attention of the Cossacks with whom the road to Paris was then thronged. Thus foiled in my first attempt I took the portrait with me to Ghent. While I was there the wife [1] and daughters of Lucien Bonaparte passed through that place, and sent the Abbé Charpentier, one of their suite, to make me their compliments. It occurred to me that this visit afforded a good opportunity to discharge my trust by putting the portrait in a way to reach its destination. I accordingly showed it to the Abbé and urged him to take charge of it. He affected to be entirely disposed to oblige me, but no Jesuit could with greater ingenuity and address have got rid of a mission he was determined not to accept. I should do him great injustice were I to attempt to repeat you the many reasons he advanced against the propriety of his rendering himself responsible for the execution of so delicate and important a commission — reasons indeed the more unanswerable as they were too fine for my dull comprehension.

I had now no other alternative left than to take the portrait with me to Paris. On my arrival there I enquired after the confidential friends of the ex-king of Westphalia and had at length the good fortune to be introduced to Mons. De Potheau who had been director general of the posts and minister of that kingdom. I found Mons. de Potheau very differently disposed from Messrs. the Messenger and the Abbé, and he undertook with alacrity the safe delivery of the portrait, to the personage for whom it was intended.

I thought it expedient to proceed in form and I now enclose for your satisfaction a copy of the correspondence which took place on the occasion. I left Paris previous to the arrival there of prince Jerome, and the intercourse between this country and France having since been continually interrupted I have not received the promised communication of the delivery of the portrait to him. I can have no doubt however of the fact and I flatter myself I

[1] A Madame Jouberthon, whom he secretly married in 1803. He had six daughters.

shall soon be qualified to announce it to you in an authentick manner.

I should have rendered to you, at an earlier day, this account had I not unfortunately packed the letter of Mons. de Potheau among other papers to be sent from France to this country by water, and which have just arrived. I dare to hope that the manner in which I have executed the trust committed to me may meet your approbation, and I appeal to Miss Spear to decide if the zeal which I have manifested does not recommend me to mercy and plead in mitigation of the sentence which condemned me to a probation of ten long years. Ten years — I grow grey at the very thought. Ten years was the utmost extent of the period required for the conquest of Troy. I hope the scriptures at least may be allowed some authority as they prove that seven years is a very reasonable term. A very wealthy patriarch in fourteen years *doubled* his happiness, and if a precedent could be drawn from those holy times, I might be presuming enough — but I dare not tell you and Miss Spear how presuming I might be.

I have been much disappointed in my expectations of *les agrêmens* here. Stockholm has indeed fewer social charms than any other capital in Europe. The nobility are poor and proud and the fashionable world is so shackled with unmeaning etiquette that a regular drilling is necessary in order to acquire sufficient discipline to perform its evolutions with measure. You have nothing — tho' I have much — to regret in your not having visited Stockholm.

Of the strange things what have happened [in] Europe since my arrival I say nothing. I sincerely hope that your happiness is placed above the reach of events and that on my return to America I may find you and Miss Spear as cheerful, as interesting, as charming as ever. Cordially and respectfully your friend,

J. R[USSELL.]

JAMES MADISON TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

May 5, 1816.

DEAR SIR,

I have received within a few days yours of Jan. 6. It reminds me of your preceding one of Feb'y 1815 which, tho' receiv'd at a late day, would have been sooner acknowledged, but for a conflict between my wish to alleviate the feelings it disclosed, and the duty imposed by my view of the case out of which they arose. I have gained however nothing by the delay; and can therefore only say now, that with every disposition to allow weight to your observations, I am not aware of the necessity of so critical a comparison as you

enter into, of your pecuniary claims with those of Mr. Adams. I am persuaded it will never be made by others to the disparagement of your reputation; the less so, as the difference between the expence incident to diplomatic missions in St. Petersburg and Stockholm is so well understood. All the Governments of Europe attend to it, I believe, in their allowances to their public Ministers; and it is more than probable that a similar rule will be adopted by this country in future missions. In a bill for augmenting the Salaries of foreign Ministers brought into Congress at the late Session, a distinction was made between the great and minor powers, and altho' the bill did not pass, its failure was certainly not on that account.

With respect to the assurance given at the time of your nomination to the Senate, I beg you to be satisfied that it was not a bribe to the parsimony or a compromise with the enmity of your opponents. It was information only of the fact, that such was the purpose of the executive, given with a view to prevent the effect of a misapprehension of that purpose. This is a precaution not unusual and certainly not exceptionable. But I perceive you have been led into the view you have taken of the incident, by supposing that the assurance in question was made in order to reconcile the Senate to the nomination of J. R. and not to a mission to Sweeden. As the Senate is known to decide on the expediency of foreign missions, as well as on the fitness of the men nominated, they may of course make the expediency of a particular mission to depend on the cost of it to the Nation, and it might be the duty of the executive to yield to that opinion, even if contrary to its own, rather than to loose an object important in the opinion of the executive to the interest of the Nation.

The Secretary of State writes to you on the subject of your letter requesting a sanction to your leaving Stockholm. I hope the ground on which he places the termination of your diplomatic services there will be consistent with the interesting object communicated in your letter to me, and in consummating which, I sincerely wish you all the happiness promised by it. Accept my friendly respects,

JAMES MADISON.

JAMES MONROE TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1817.

DEAR SIR,

My late visit to Virginia preparatory to the tour I propose making soon, to the northward and westward, prevented an earlier answer to your last letter.

The views respecting the mission to Sweden, communicated to you when here, have undergone no change. It is still intended that you should return, and remain there, a certain time, leaving Mr. Hughes chargé des affaires, when you take leave of that government. The new modification of the convention,[1] made necessary by the vote of the Senate, gives additional force, to the reasons, in favor of your return to Stockholm.

Mr Rush will forward to you in due time, the necessary instructions, to enable you to fulfill the objects of the government. You will be so good as to inform him when it is probable you will be ready to sail.

Accept my congratulations, on the late important change in your situation, and my best wishes for your own happiness and that of your Lady. With great respect and esteem I am, dear Sir, your very obedient servant,

JAMES MONROE.

CHARLES STEWART TO JONATHAN RUSSELL.

NAPLES, April 19th, 1819.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your letter from Rome, in which your wishes are express'd to be afforded an opportunity of returning to America in one of the Ships of war. It would afford me great pleasure to have your company and that of your amiable wife in the *Franklin*, but it is yet uncertain whether I shall be relieved and permitted to return home before next summer, all the changes in the Squadron, contemplated by government this year has already taken place, and the Frigate *United States* left Messina three weeks since for America, the *Peacock*, had sailed in December last. Should no circumstances arise to prevent, I contemplate returning to this place in two weeks, when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you and paying my respects to yourself and Mrs. Russel, and be enabled to inform you of my probable movements from more recent advices from Gov't. In the mean time I have the honor to remain with my best respects, to your Lady, Your most obe't Serv't,

CHS. STEWART.

[1] Concluded September 4, 1816. The Senate refused to accept three Articles, the III, IV, and VI, and the King of Sweden and Norway consented to the modified treaty, which was proclaimed December 31, 1818, and continued in force until September, 1826.

Henry Clay to Jonathan Russell.

H. of R., 27th Dec., 1819.

My Dr. Sir,

If I have not before offered to you my congratulations upon your safe return to your Country and to your friends, you must attribute the omission to any other cause than that of a diminution of my friendship for you, which remains unshaken and unaltered.

I transmit to you, by this day's mail, the message and documents. You will experience, from their perusal, mortification at the triumph which has been obtained, in diplomacy, over us, by the Dons.

I do not think it likely that Congress will concur in the strange opinion that a treaty is binding upon both parties what has been executed by one only; nor, if it be not obligatory, that the party who has the disadvantageous side of the bargain should hold himself bound, whilst the other remains free. Yrs Cordially,

H. Clay.

Thomas H. Benton to Jonathan Russell.

Senate Chamber, March 29th, 1822.

Sir,

I have seen in the correspondence which led to the treaty at Ghent, communicated to and printed by order of the H. of R. that a proposition was made by the American Ministers to confirm to the British the right of navigating the Mississippi; and the right to certain fisheries to the U. S.

From a short note of yours addressed to the Secretary of State, and printed in the same document, it is seen that a majority only of the mission were in favor of that proposition, and that you were in the minority.

I am very certain that Mr. Clay, one of the mission, was also in the minority with you, but I should be glad to have it in my power to make an authentic declaration to that effect, and have to ask of you the favor to give me such information on this point as the facts may authorize.

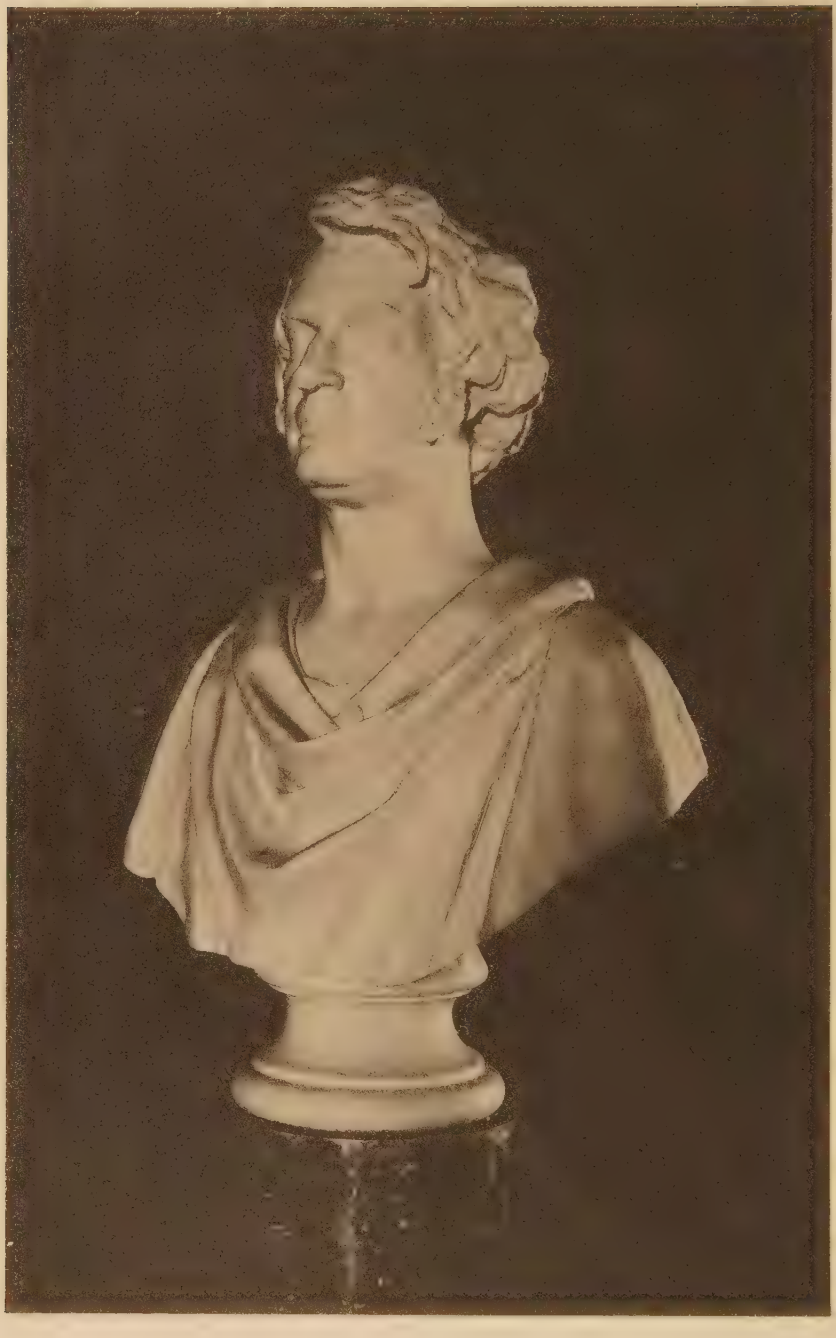
It is also seen from the same document that you proposed to state your reasons in some subsequent communication for opposing the proposition in question; but I do not find such communication in any part of the published correspondence; possibly never sent, or lost on the way. If you have a copy or can recollect the substance,

I should be extremely glad to be favored with the view which you have taken of this subject, in which as an inhabitant of the West, I must necessarily feel a particular interest. Very respectfully, Sir, Your obedient Servant,

THOMAS H. BENTON.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. NORCROSS, STANWOOD, and RHODES.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH



CHARLES SUMNER

BY MARTIN MILMORE

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1914.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the past month.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the addition by Henry Adams to the Adams collection of coins and medals of coins collected by him and twenty-three volumes on the subject of numismatics; the gift of store cards and army and navy cents from Mr. Ford; of a bronze medal struck to commemorate the dedication of the municipal buildings of the City of Springfield, Mass., 1913, from that city; of a lithograph of the schooner *Missionary Packet*, from James M. Hunnewell.[1] He also reported the gift of two busts, one of Charles Sumner, by Martin Milmore, and one of Whittier, by David M. French, from Mr. Arthur B. Claflin.

Sumner began to give sittings to Martin Milmore, in the summer of 1864, and the bust was completed in the following year. The original stands in the State House, Boston, and a replica was given by the State of Massachusetts to George William Curtis in recognition of his eulogy on the senator. For some years this replica was deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City; but in 1894 Mrs. Curtis presented it to the United States Senate. It now stands in the east lobby of the Senate gallery in the Capitol.

The Whittier bust is the work of David M. French, a stone

[1] This vessel sailed from Boston, January, 1826, for Honolulu, James Hunnewell, master, under instructions from Jeremiah Evarts of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. It arrived at Honolulu in October, after a passage of nine months and one day. Its dimensions were forty-nine feet long, and thirteen feet wide, and its burthen, thirty-nine and two-thirds tons. The lithograph, made after a pencil sketch by Mr. Hunnewell, was printed by Charles H. Crosby, after 1869.

cutter, who was born at Newmarket, N. H., and died in Newburyport, Mass., April 19, 1910, aged eighty-four years. The bronze statue of William Lloyd Garrison, in Brown Square, Newburyport, and some busts of local and minor interest, sum up his work; but his reputation did not extend beyond Newburyport. The original of this bust, also in plaster, was given by Mr. French to the poet, and is now in the possession of Mr. Samuel T. Pickard. It was made about the year 1880.

The Editor reported gifts:

From Mr. Barrett Wendell, a set of New Hampshire merchants notes of 1734. This set consists of six examples of the four denominations, making twenty-four in all, and gives the various arrangement of the signers' names. The collection is unique. A description of the notes and the circumstances of their issue, by Mr. Davis, will be found in *Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Transactions, XIV. 373. Also a transcript of entries, historical and family, made by his great-grandfather, John Dorr (1770–1855). The original Bible containing these entries is now in the possession of Miss Frances Hayward of Boston.

From Mr. James M. Hunnewell, the books and papers of the Phoenix Bank of Charlestown, Mass., 1832–1840. They contain the letter-books and correspondence, signature book, stock transfers and directors' minutes — an interesting and valuable record of a local financial institution during the decade in which occurred the crisis of 1837.

From Mr. Edward L. Morse, a letter from Paris asking Samuel F. B. Morse, a member of the Legion of Honor, for a subscription to rebuild the office of the Legion, which had been burned in the days of the Commune. The envelope is addressed to Mr. Morse, "New York City, department of Boston."

From Mr. Albert Thorndike forty-one letters of one of its former Presidents, John Davis. They were written in the years 1778–1796, to his brother, Thomas Davis, early in his career, when he was in Harvard College, at Barnstable as a tutor, at Bridgewater as a student of law in the office of Oakes Angier, and at Philadelphia as Comptroller of the Treasury.

Zachary Taylor Hollingsworth of Cohasset was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

BY DAVID M. FRENCH

Professor CHANNING communicated a memoir of Thomas Wentworth Higginson; and Mr. CLEMENT one of Gamaliel Bradford.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then entered upon. Mr. RANTOUL, senior Member-at-Large of the Council, read the following:

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Since the last annual meeting the changes in membership have been as follows:

Deaths:

Resident Members.

1890, Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters	Aug. 16, 1913.
1913, Reginald Heber Fitz	Sept. 30, 1913.
1904, Thomas Minns	Oct. 28, 1913.
1889, Thornton Kirkland Lothrop	Nov. 2, 1913.
1905, Don Gleason Hill	Feb. 20, 1914.

Corresponding Members.

1902, Reuben Gold Thwaites	Oct. 22, 1913.
1912, Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain . . .	Feb. 24, 1914.

Resignation:

Resident Member.

1894, Edward Francis Johnson	Oct. 9, 1913.

Elections:

Resident Members.

Reginald Heber Fitz	Apr. 10, 1913.
Charles Grenfill Washburn	Dec. 11, 1913.
Frederick Lewis Gay	Jan. 8, 1914.
Thomas Franklin Waters	Feb. 12, 1914.

Corresponding Member.

John Holland Rose	Dec. 11, 1913.

The resignation by Dr. Green of the office of Vice-President, after a service of eighteen years, received fitting notice, and Hon. John D. Long was elected to the vacancy created.

The Society has been invited by the Borough of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, England, to be present by a delegate and to take part, in June next, in the unveiling of a memorial to Governor John Endicott, who sailed for Salem from that port.

The Council congratulates the Society upon its activity in the past year, details of which have been recorded each month in its *Proceedings*.

The problems to be met seem to be mainly three in number: room for the increasing collections; membership; and the supply of original papers for the meetings and proceedings.

Our actual available shelf-space is nearing congestion, and only new stacks will relieve this condition. The best spaces are already occupied, and the American history shelves will in a few years be full. Shelving cannot be added in the room where this collection now is, because the floors will not bear the added weight. The newspaper files demand an appreciable amount of space each year, and the periodicals and proceedings of historical societies constitute a steady annual addition to the shelves. The manuscripts, pamphlets and less used files of newspapers fill the stacks formerly occupied by the American Academy, and already threaten to overflow their bounds. The Cabinet also is notoriously congested. Only in the basement can space be found, and much of that, besides being inconveniently placed, is predestined to specific collections, to storage or to administration. The Society faces a choice between lopping off a part of its accumulations, and constructing a book-stack on its unoccupied land. A final and satisfactory solution is not yet within reach, and, until the situation can be thus met, temporary and inadequate makeshifts must suffice.

But broader considerations underlie all this. In its century and a quarter of honorable effort, the Society has heretofore welcomed, without discrimination, all contributions of books, papers and relics. Has the time now overtaken us when, surrounded by younger but not more active rivals, we have at last to limit ourselves in our ambitions and desires? The capa-

city of our present quarters is nearly reached. Shall we insist upon a more spacious Cabinet, as we did some years ago, or shall we say to our Cabinet-Keeper, "You must reject or receive more sparingly pictures and curios which would fill space now needed for papers and printed matter"? Shall we begin to weigh what contributions of books to invite and what reject? A student's reference-library craves one class of books, — a club-room for general readers quite another. We can hardly hope much longer, if we ever did, to satisfy them all. To the original delver hardly any form of printed matter can give more help than the daily journals of the period involved. They are "the abstract and brief chronicles of the time." But they need care, and they fill space. The British Museum contains an exhaustive, printed index, covering a long period of the daily issues of the London *Times*. Few books of like size can be more stimulating to thought. The Essex Institute has excellent, hand-made indices of the Salem *Gazette* and of the Essex *Register*. Is the day at hand when we must leave to other collections the storing and treatment of our leading journals? We have the richest collection of New England manuscript material outside of the State Archives. The way to preserve manuscripts is to print them, because, when printed and widely distributed, they are indestructible. Must we forego this function — or discharge it more sparingly? We have never restricted our researches to the history of the State; but history is a broad field. Shall we claim it all, or shall we spread our wings only over the history of the continent? These may seem to be fanciful suggestions now, but they will become serious considerations soon.

An examination of the reports of the Council and other annual reports, for the decade just past, leads to results which may well challenge thought. Where a settled policy is disclosed, the policy evolved ought to be emphasized. In some essentials we seem to be drifting. In matters where no settled policy appears, it may be well, if possible, to establish one.

First, as to our ever-present menace from fire and its attendant scourges of water and smoke. Scarcely a year goes by when this risk is not referred to in our reports. Much has been done in the way of external protection, much in the way of precautions within, — the elimination of rubbish, though

much of our legitimate stock-in-trade is extra-inflammable, fire-proof doors, iron shutters, shelves of steel for shelves of wood, hand-extinguishing appliances, automatic sprinklers, the screening of electric wires and hot-air ducts, with all the varied resources of modern science in this behalf. But our obligation does not cease with the effort to protect the treasures entrusted to our charge. We have also to inoculate the public, from whom we invite these deposits, with the conviction that no possible precaution is here omitted which could contribute to their safety. These are the terms upon which we may expect, in the future, to challenge the confidence of depositors. Humanly speaking, we should be beyond the reach of fire. Cæsar's wife had no more need than we to hold herself above suspicion.

About one-third of our membership is engaged in teaching history, and presumably in original research. Yet this professional element is almost unproductive, so far as our *Proceedings* show. Too much preoccupied to contribute, their energies go into teaching, the production of magazine articles, of volumes which embody their researches, or of lectures called for to meet the requirements of their chairs. To elect members who will attend meetings and make frequent contributions is a requisite not easily met. Recognition is due to teachers who are doing their share to encourage the study of history at large, to the delvers in local history and to directors of kindred societies, for their work stimulates the care and examination of records as well as the publication of papers. Another form of influence also demands full recognition — namely, the collection of books and of manuscript material.

The collecting of books and manuscripts in New England has not held its own; and hardly a year passes without the dispersal of one or more notable collections of size and value. Fortunate is the collector who is able to place his life-work where it will not be lost sight of, and fortunate the institution receiving it! Boston and its neighboring cities still hold a pre-eminent position as to public and quasi-public collections; but the tendency to specialize and to restrict collecting has affected the membership as well as the prospects of this Society.

Looking into the Society's past it is found that seventy years ago — Mr. Savage then being President — a committee

considered what measures could be adopted "to render the meetings of the Society more interesting and useful." Mr. Savage made the report, and offered two quickening suggestions: First, that "any member may propose in writing any question pertinent to the history of the country, or any part of it, from its discovery, and the Secretary shall make Record of such question; on which any member may make remarks or answer in part or in full, at the same or any subsequent meeting." Secondly, "At every meeting, or within two days thereafter, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to give notice to six members of the Society [the full resident membership was then sixty, and twelve meetings were held each year,] taken in regular alphabetical rotation from the beginning, that each will be expected, at the next meeting, to produce, for the inspection of the members, some rare volume, or original Ms. relative to the history of the country, or some part thereof, or of some prominent individual of a former age connected with it, and that he must explain the dates or incidents or initials contained in it, and read the whole or such part of said Ms. as may be required, so far as may be in the power of said member." From these votes grew the present practice of dividing the Society into sections, and thus provision was made for hearing from members in regular sequence.

Communications made in meetings do not necessarily appear in the *Proceedings*, and the exhibition of a manuscript or a rare imprint, the relation of a personal experience or a detail of historical interest, may lead to an interchange of views and the discovery of new material. Perhaps an enlargement of the more informal features of our meetings might encourage the presentation of short papers, and the more frequent passing reference to matters of historical importance.

Our printing bill is, after salaries, our largest item. We have on hand, at all times, a plethora of available matter. According as we draw on this matter, or omit to use it, shall we deplete our exchequer or save a larger fraction of our funds for other needs. Then the little temptations are always assailing us. We would like to see an elevator filling the spiral staircase in the mainhall. And we would like to see Francis Parkman's bust over his manuscript locker.

In connection with the announced re-publication of Win-

throp's *History*, the Society has instituted a search for material in Suffolk and the neighboring counties of England. Experimental in character, it is the first systematic attempt to cover that particular field. The wealth of manuscript material in English family mansions is as yet unprobed, even by local antiquaries. By employing one who has gained standing in such research, and who enjoys the additional advantage of being a local antiquary of Suffolk, the Society feels that the experiment is being made under the most hopeful auspices.

The general increase in publishing activities has not affected the peculiar field marked out for this Society. Standing almost alone a century ago, we have lived to see the foundation of sister societies in other States, and of local specialized societies in our own territory — all more or less active in publishing historical material. A society devoted to genealogy, another to colonial history, others to national military records, and still others to the general service of special areas, all full of vigor, add to the output of printed material.

The usual volume of *Proceedings* was ready at the first meeting in the autumn, a month earlier than had been the custom. In addition to a volume of *Proceedings* for the coming year, the Society will issue two volumes of *Collections*, and work will continue on the *Winthrop*, awaiting the results of the English investigations. The programme calls for much; but the material in the Society's hands, or offered to it for publication, is largely in excess of its ability to print, and a number of desirable issues have been set aside from lack of funds required for the printing. To publish two volumes a year meets all requirements; but every opportunity should be seized upon to get our choice manuscripts into print and thus into wide availability, and beyond the chance of loss.

The Society now possesses a photostat of a size adequate for all ordinary uses and of the best construction. Such an instrument for reproducing printed or manuscript material at a small cost will prove of high service to the Society itself, but it is hoped to make it serviceable also to our sister institutions. With it an entire volume may be reproduced, at a nominal price — a boon to scholars at a distance, denied access to the original. It is proposed to adopt liberal rules controlling its use, with the hope to foster scholarly investigation generally.

Report of the Treasurer.

In presenting his annual report on the finances of the Society Mr. Lord said:

I desire to make a brief statement of the financial condition of the Society, supplementing what is set forth in detail in the Treasurer's report submitted in print to-day.

The property of the Society may be divided conveniently as follows:

1. The Land and Buildings, which stand on the books at $97,990.32 and are valued by the City Assessors at $196,000.

2. The Library and Collections, which have never been appraised or assessed, but which have an estimated value not less than $1,000,000.

3. The Invested Funds of the Society, which are carried on the books, as appears in the Investment Account, Exhibit I of the Treasurer's Report, at $466,378.02. Of this sum the two centenary funds amount to $62,875.46, of which amount $57,869.38 is the principal of the Sibley Centenary Fund and $5,006.08 of the Anonymous Fund. Under the terms of the bequests the income of these funds must be added to the principal until the expiration of one hundred years from their receipt, or, in the case of the Sibley Centenary Fund, the year 2002, and in the case of the Anonymous Fund the year 1991.

The only gift or legacy received by the Treasurer during the past year was the sum of $400, on account of the legacy of $500 from Mrs. Mehitable Calef Coppenhagen Wilson, widow of Darius Wilson of Cambridge, which was added to the General Fund.

Since the report was printed the Society has received from Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis the generous gift of $1,000, without restriction as to the use to which it may be applied. This gift was reported to the Council to-day.

The gross income of the Society from all sources the past year was $25,980.16, of which $24,409.21 was the income of the invested funds. From this gross income must be deducted the income of the two centenary funds, which under the terms of the gifts are to be added annually to the principal, amount-

ing to $2,994.06, and leaving a balance of income available for all purposes of $22,986.10.

The expenses of the Society are as shown in the report (Exhibit II) in detail:

Care and maintenance of building	$3,212.49
Salaries and wages	12,168.45
Incidentals	663.66
Making a total of	$16,044.60

and leaving a balance applicable to the publication of the *Proceedings*, and the *Collections*, and to additions to the Library and Cabinet of $6,941.50.

The amount expended for those purposes in 1913 was $3,911.47, as follows:

Library and Cabinet	$1,596.69
Publication of *Proceedings* and *Collections*	2,314.78
	$3,911.47

The balance of income over expenditures the past year was $3,030.03. This balance was added to the accumulated income available for publications, and will be applied to the cost of the publications to which the Society is already committed.

REPORT

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1914.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty in number. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund the past year, appears in Exhibit V, in this report. An account of these funds, giving a brief history of each fund, will be found in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1910 (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 529). The securities held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows:

INVESTMENTS.

Schedule of Bonds.

Chicago & West Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1921		$14,000.00
Chicago & North Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1931		1,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		5,000.00
Cincinnati, Dayton & Ironton R. R.	5%	1941		5,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1915		13,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific & Gt. Northern R. R.	4%	1921	"joint"	50,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Detroit, Grand Rapids & Western R. R.	4%	1946		2,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923		2,000.00
West End Street Railway Co.	4%	1915		6,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
United Electric Securities	5%			25,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929		5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933		5,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963		5,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942		8,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		10,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5%	1963		10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5%	1938		10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line R. R.	4½%	1961		10,000.00
Arlington Gas Light Co.	5%	1927		8,000.00
United Zinc & Chemical Co. (with 60 shares pfd., and 60 common)	5%	1928		30,000.00
			Par value	$351,500.00

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston	$5,000.00
50	National Bank of Commerce, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Shawmut Bank, Boston	5,000.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.	2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co. Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
75	American Smelting & Refining Co. Pfd.	7,500.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	1,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange	500.00
120	Pacific Mills	12,000.00
52	Puget Sound Traction Light and Power Co. Pfd.	5,200.00
5	" " " " " " " Common	500.00
1218	Shares Par value	$127,200.00

SCHEDULE OF NOTES RECEIVABLE.

G. St. L. Abbott, Trustee, Mortgage 6%	$2,000.00

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS.

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,122.27
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	195.27
	$1,317.54

TRUSTEES' CERTIFICATE.

Lewiston-Concord Bridge Co.	$4,860.00

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds, par value	$351,500.00
Stocks, par value	127,200.00
Notes receivable	2,000.00
Savings Bank Books	1,317.54
Lewiston-Concord Bridge Co.	4,860.00
	$486,877.54

Represented by Balance, Investment account $466,378.02

The balance sheet follows and shows the present condition of the several accounts:

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1914.

Investment Account, Exhibit I	$466,378.02	Funds, Exhibit III	$427,854.16
Real Estate	97,990.32	Accumulated Income of Funds, Exhibit IV	49,389.80
Cash on hand, Exhibit II	10,793.86	Building Fund	72,990.32
Accrued Interest	72.08	Ellis House	25,000.00
	$575,234.28		$575,234.28

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance March 31, 1913		$461,854.40
Bought during year:		
$10,000 Connecticut Power Co.	$9,600.00	
1,000 United Electric Securities, Series 30	1,000.00	
10,000 Boston & Albany R. R., 5%, 1938	10,000.00	
10,000 Cleveland Short Line, 4½%	9,525.00	
8,000 Arlington Gas Light Co., 5%	8,000.00	
Accrued Interest M. A. Parker Savings Bank Book	43.56	
" " Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	7.56	
Total Addition		38,176.12
		$500,030.52
Securities sold or matured:		
$5,000 New England Cotton Yarn Co.	$4,512.50	
6,000 Consolidated Gas & Electric Co., Baltimore	6,000.00	
12,000 Kansas City Stock Yards Co.	12,000.00	
G. St. L. Abbott, Trustee note, on account	4,000.00	
Lewiston-Concord Bridge bonds, " "	7,140.00	
Total Deduction		33,652.50
Balance, March 31, 1914		$466,378.02
Increase during year	$4,523.62	

EXHIBIT II.

CASH ACCOUNT.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1913		$8,965.47
Receipts during year to March 31, 1914:		
Sale Publications	$1,312.59	
Royalties, Little, Brown & Co.	.90	
Carry forward	$1,313.49	$8,965.47

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward		$1,313.49	$8,965.47
Rebate, telephone call		.35	
Income from Investments, net		24,358.09	
Interest on Savings Bank Books		51.12	
" on Bank Balances		225.11	
" on Legacy, M. C. C. Wilson		32.00	
Total Income credited Funds, Exhibit V			25,980.16
Bequest of Mehitable C. C. Wilson, 80%			400.00
Securities sold or matured, Exhibit I			33,652.50
			$68,998.13
Payments during year to March 31, 1914:			
Investment Account, Securities bought		$38,125.00	
Interest, Savings Bank Books, not drawn		51.12	
Total additions, Exhibit I		$38,176.12	
Accrued Interest, $3,000 Arlington Gas Co. bonds		72.08	
Income Account:			
Bindery	$1,148.45		
Binding	294.40		
Books, Pamphlets and Manuscripts	1,247.29		
Building:			
Cleaning $279.45			
Engineer 1,029.00			
Fuel 519.30			
Furniture 52.25			
Lighting 104.88			
Repairs 1,011.03			
Supplies 35.33			
Telephone 108.25			
Water 73.00	3,212.49		
Portraits and Medals	55.00		
Postage	112.24		
Printing:			
Publications:			
Proceedings, vol. 46 $936.22			
" " 47 513.27			
Illustrations and Reprints 465.29			
Collections:			
Winthrop's History 400.00	2,314.78		
Miscellaneous	68.75		
Salaries:			
Librarian's Assistants $4,340.00			
Editor and Assistant 6,080.00	10,420.00		
Stationery	169.58		
Carry forward	$19,042.98	$38,248.20	$68,998.13

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward	$19,042.98	$38,248.20	$68,998.13
Treasurer's office:			
Bond	$25.00		
Bookkeeper	600.00		
Public Accountant	25.00		
Safety Vault	50.00	700.00	
Miscellaneous,			
American Bibliography	50.00		
Other	163.09	213.09	
Total, charged Funds, Exhibit V		$19,956.07	
Total Payments			58,204.27
Balance on hand, March 31, 1914			$10,793.86
Accounted for as follows:			
Balance, April 1, 1913		$8,965.47	
Receipts for year	$25,980.16		
Expenditures	19,956.07	6,024.09	
Bequest of M. C. C. Wilson		400.00	
		$15,389.56	
Increase in Investments	$4,523.62		
Accrued Interest Arlington Gas bonds	72.08	4,595.70	$10,793.86

EXHIBIT III.

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1913–1914.

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1913			$424,460.10
Added during year:			
Additions to Centenary Funds:			
Anonymous Fund		$238.38	
J. L. Sibley Fund		2,755.68	2,994.06
Addition to General Fund:			
Bequest of Mehitable C. C. Wilson			400.00
Total of Funds, March 31, 1914			$427,854.16

EXHIBIT IV.

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS.

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1913	$46,359.77
Income during year, Exhibit II	25,980.16
	$72,339.93
Expenditures, Exhibit II	19,956.07
	$52,383.86
Less additions to Centenary Funds	2,994.06
Balance, March 31, 1914	$49,389.80

EXHIBIT V.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1914.

	Balance Mar.31,'13	Income	Expenditures	Balance Mar.31,'14	Funds
Amory	$1,851.60	$177.69	$145.00	$1,884.29	$3,000.00
Appleton	6,475.25	722.60	768.45	6,429.40	12,203.00
Bigelow	574.83	118.46	97.86	595.43	2,000.00
Billings	2,877.50	592.30	465.29	3,004.51	10,000.00
Brattle St.	87.71	7.56		95.27	100.00
Chamberlain	71.99	93.08	73.00	92.07	1,232.33
Dowse	45.04	592.30	620.00	17.34	10,000.00
Ellis	605.37	1,877.57	2,463.06	19.88	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,704.57	177.69	175.00	2,707.26	3,000.00
General	101.43	3,303.43	2,802.50	602.36	45,827.43
Hunnewell	788.64	296.15		1,084.79	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,465.57	177.69		1,643.26	3,000.00
Lowell	394.24	177.69	175.00	396.93	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	5,314.09	592.30	107.25	5,799.14	10,000.00
Parker	25.72	43.56	39.00	30.28	1,000.00
Peabody	834.30	1,463.56	936.22	1,361.64	22,123.00
Salisbury	112.18	296.15	211.59	196.74	5,000.00
Savage	599.24	355.38	259.47	695.15	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley	83.16	1,332.67	1,363.80	52.03	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	4,982.66	7,786.69	6,388.06	6,381.29	121,077.00
Slafter	160.85	59.23	54.00	166.08	1,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,623.93	296.15	187.75	1,732.33	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,261.68	592.30	513.27	4,340.71	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	2,472.82	592.30		3,065.12	10,000.00
Waterston Library	523.35	231.00	610.50	143.85	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	5,646.13	592.30	1,041.62	5,196.81	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	330.24	142.15	151.66	320.73	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,345.68	296.15	306.72	1,335.11	5,000.00
Balance, Mar. 31, 1913	$46,359.77				
General Income	22,986.10	$22,986.10			
	$69,345.87				
Sibley Centenary		2,755.68			57,869.38
Anonymous Centenary		238.38			5,006.08
Total Income		$25,980.16			
Expenditures	19,956.07		$19,956.07		
Balance, Income	$49,389.80			$49,389.80	
Total Funds, March 31, 1914					$427,854.16

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was nearly six per cent on the funds.

The real estate, which is entirely unincumbered, stands on the books at $97,990.32, but is valued by the City Assessors at $196,000. The aggregate amount of the permanent funds including unexpended balances represented by securities at par and deposits is $486,877.54, as per schedules of investments given above.

ARTHUR LORD,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 1, 1914.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society as made up to April 1, 1914, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Gideon M. Mansfield, a Certified Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

HAROLD MURDOCK,
HENRY H. EDES,
Committee.

BOSTON, April 6, 1914.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The LIBRARIAN reported that during the year there have been added to the Library:

	Gifts	Bought	Total
Books	561	332	920[1]
Pamphlets	1,070	11	1,081
Newspapers, bound	89	1	119[2]
Manuscripts, bound	59	21	103[3]
Broadsides	122	89	211
Maps	5 vols. and	15	

[1] 27 by binding. [2] 29 by binding. [3] 23 by binding.

In the collection of manuscripts there are now 1,359 volumes, 192 unbound volumes, 108 pamphlets with manuscript notes and about 18,000 manuscripts.

In the Rebellion collection there are now 3,535 volumes, 6,609 pamphlets, 510 broadsides and 111 maps.

The Library is estimated to contain 56,070 volumes, 117,554 pamphlets and 5,208 broadsides.

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper.

The *Proceedings* contain from month to month the list of gifts and additions to the Cabinet, and I shall mention here only some of the more important. The great gift of the year has been the collection of coins and medals made by John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams, Sr., sent to the Society by its Honorary Member, Mr. Henry Adams, together with a smaller lot of coins collected by himself, and a number of valuable books on the subject.

The curator of coins and medals, Dr. Storer, will report more specifically upon the collection. This gift, with the Appleton bequest and the minor accumulation of former years, places this Society in possession of a large and notable numismatic cabinet, which in the future should be arranged and displayed in special cabinets. At present the small room adjoining the Dowse Library is used as the coin room, but larger quarters should be provided.

Among the purposes for which the Society exists is the collection and preservation of portraits, busts and other representations of prominent Massachusetts persons. Recent gifts have strengthened this feature of its collection. The busts of Noah Webster from Mr. Ford, and of Charles Sumner and John Greenleaf Whittier from Mr. Arthur B. Claflin have come as welcome additions.

The medallions of Edward Everett, and of our member Mr. Davis; the water-color drawing of Col. Gamaliel Bradford by Kosciusko, lent by Mr. Bradford, and the miniature of Edward Everett and the brooch with Daniel Webster's hair given by Mrs. Charles D. Homans, should also be mentioned.

The number of historical portraits in and near Boston is very large, and the percentage of those whose identities have

been lost is greater than it should be. The Society will welcome photographs of such portraits, engravings or "shades," whether of its members or not. The photographs of portraits recently presented by Mr. F. L. Gay and Mr. Edward Gray offer fine examples of what is desired. The Keeper of the Cabinet will be happy to learn of the existence and location of portraits in private hands, if only as a record which, even incomplete, would be of service to future investigators in art and history.

In its earlier days the Society received on deposit a number of portraits which remained with it for a time and which were returned on request of the owners. Before the days of photography no reproduction could be made, and in later days and until quite recently the reproductions inadequately represented the qualities of the originals. Thus many an interesting portrait, engraving or lithograph has passed through its hands into oblivion. Does any member know of the portrait of Jeremy Dummer, returned to Mrs. Perkins in 1844? This is only one instance of what has passed from memory.

The Cabinet room has been rearranged during the year under Mr. Tuttle's supervision so as to remedy to a great extent its crowded appearance and to give better light for the exhibits, which have been placed in chronological order as far as practicable.

Dean Hodges, for the Committee, read the following:

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet.

Your Committee, appointed to make the annual examination of the Library and Cabinet, has performed its customary duty. We were assisted by the courtesy of Mr. Norcross, the Cabinet-Keeper, and Mr. Tuttle, the Assistant Librarian.

We observe with approval the increased fire protection installed during the past year. It seems to us that all has now been done which can be done under the present circumstances to make the building fire-proof.

The binding of manuscripts, pamphlets and newspapers is improving the appearance of the collections; but this work proceeds very slowly. The money available is inadequate and barely provides for the annual accessions.

The Society seeks to maintain files of Boston newspapers, and has spent money freely in this endeavor, but the quality of paper which is used in these journals seems likely to defeat our purpose. After a short exposure to air the paper crumbles at a touch, and, if left in direct sunlight, the ruin is much hastened. No care will preserve the sheets, and no expense will make good the rotten tissue. This is the more deplorable, as few sets of any newspapers are bound except in the larger libraries; few sets are even saved in any form, thus reducing to a minimum the chance of making good a loss. The Society has recognized this danger by binding at short intervals, but even thus the decay begins at once on the exposed edges. Efforts to induce the publishers to remedy this defect have led to no result.

A similar difficulty arises in the matter of binding books, pamphlets and newspapers. Certain series have in the past been bound in leather, and after a few years the material has become so brittle as to break if handled. The degradation of chemically cured leather is rapid and unpreventable, and any other skins are too expensive to be used. We strongly recommend for the future the use of buckram. The experience of other libraries on this matter is conclusive. The buckrams now made supply a lasting and inexpensive covering, serviceable from every point of view. The experiments which have already been made in substituting buckram for canvas in the binding of files of newspapers have our approval.

We are of opinion that the Society will gain by parting with some of its collections. It has long ceased to be a depositary for the publications of the United States government, and at no time has it possessed a complete series. A selection of the historical volumes, such as those containing diplomatic correspondence, would be sufficient for the convenience of our members. We question the expediency of keeping official administrative reports of states and cities outside of Massachusetts, unless avowedly historical in their character. Pamphlets which have little to do with history should be weeded out.

The true aim of the Society is not mere accumulation. Our purposes are special and distinctive, and do not permit us to give the hospitality of our shelves to any irrelevant material,

whether in print or in manuscript. A specialized institution such as this must be should attend with continual diligence to its specialty. Its ideal is to make its possessions accessible and complete, ready for the student and satisfying to his desires. For example, the leading periodicals on history should be not only received but catalogued in such a way as to show the principal contents by author and by subject.

We recommend that a list of such periodicals be hung in a conspicuous place in the Librarian's room. The present catalogue case should be replaced by a modern appliance, of greater safety, capacity and convenience. The map cases, containing very valuable charts and plans, are plainly inadequate and should be of metal. Separate desks or tables, properly lighted, should be offered to students, who are now obliged to pursue their investigations in a room much disturbed by casual visitors and the transaction of administrative business. There should be places where a member may find a desk and chair for his use, as he consults the collections.

We follow our predecessors on this committee in complaining of the scant space available for the Cabinet. Pictures and objects of great interest and value are crowded together. Coins and medals, of which the Society now possesses a notable collection by the Appleton and Adams gifts, have an artistic as well as historical value, and should be exhibited in suitable cases.

GEORGE HODGES,
FREDERICK L. GAY,
JOHN S. BASSETT.

Mr. RANTOUL, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Vice-Presidents.

JAMES FORD RHODES.
JOHN DAVIS LONG.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.

ARTHUR LORD.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members at Large of the Council.

WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER.
GAMALIEL BRADFORD.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.
JOHN COLLINS WARREN.

The PRESIDENT, after the announcement of the result of the election, remarked that he now enters on the twentieth year of his incumbency of the chair, — a longer term than that of any of his predecessors except Mr. Robert C. Winthrop. He made a brief review of some of the problems that have arisen during his term of office, and expressed the opinion that some of the most important of them had been satisfactorily solved.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS read by title a paper for the *Proceedings*.

As the members of the Society are aware, it last spring devolved on me to lecture at the English Oxford. To complete certain investigations begun in May, and to initiate a search for Winthrop material, I in August went again to England, this time, as before, accompanied by our Editor. As I afterwards explained here, our investigations during this second visit resulted in very considerable historical "finds," relating to the period of our Civil War, and to questions of foreign policy and international relations involved therein. The material thus brought to light had moreover a very direct bearing on conclusions set forth in my Oxford lectures, entitled *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity*. In fact, though six months had not yet elapsed since their preparation and delivery, those lectures, I was satisfied, stood as historical narrative in obvious need of revision.

While in London in September, I received from the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore a request that I would redeliver my Oxford lectures there, as a course in a lectureship endowed by our former resident associate and present corresponding associate, Mr. Schouler. This invitation I at first declined. Subsequently I was urged to reconsider my decision; and, doing so, it on reflection occurred to me that a repetition of my Oxford utterances would afford suitable opportunity for using the new material I had secured in England, and, in so far, revising my previous work. As a result, I accepted the Johns Hopkins invitation; and the Oxford lectures of May, 1913, in a decidedly revised, corrected and enlarged form, have accordingly this winter been repeated at Baltimore. The original course of four was there extended to nine lectures, and would, if published, make a volume of some three hundred and fifty pages. Beginning January 22, the course occupied every Thursday, from 5 to 6 p.m., concluding March 26.

In view of its very recent publication, I have not thought it worth while at this early date to supersede the Oxford issue. Nevertheless, so far as revision and alterations of historical statement are concerned, two of the Johns Hopkins course seem to be of sufficient importance to justify immediate printing. I accordingly, as I intimated at the March meeting (*supra*, 281–82), propose to submit to the Society certain portions of

these lectures in an independent form, to find a place in our *Proceedings*. A rekneading, so to speak, of the material used at Oxford, the historical results reached are essentially different.

The first of the two lectures referred to I now submit as a separate and independent paper. In doing so, however, I have not thought it worth while again to reproduce those portions of the lecture which I had seen no occasion to change; such, for instance, as the portions relating to the suffering incurred during the cotton famine by the Lancashire textile operatives, and the measures of relief to which recourse was had. What I now submit is confined to statements made at Oxford and conclusions set forth in my lectures as printed, which statements and conclusions have undergone revision as a result of further inquiry and a fuller consequent knowledge.

THE GOLGOTHA YEAR.

"Golgotha," in Hebrew parlance, signifies "a place of skulls." In our annals, 1862 might, therefore, well have been designated as our Golgotha, — the Year of Skulls. Indisputably the case in America, that "most immemorial year" might almost equally well have been so denominated in certain regions of Europe. Throughout its twelve months the contending armies, Union and Confederate, here swayed unceasingly to and fro, west and east, in life-and-death grapples. Beginning in Tennessee, in February, the scene of more vital conflict was then transferred to Virginia. September witnessed the Antietam struggle in Maryland, followed close by the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation. Finally, just as the year ended, came the ill-considered and altogether futile Fredericksburg slaughter. In Europe, during the same months, another issue was being wrestled out in Lancashire. Commercial in character, its outcome, so far as the great struggle in progress was concerned, was not less momentous than the outcome of what was occurring in America. The probability of an immediate foreign intervention was involved.

Here at least it is unnecessary for me to enter into the details of what had remotely preceded the Civil War, as well as what immediately led up to it. Historically, it is familiar. Suffice it to say that, owing to the improved mechanical appli-

ances associated with the names of Arkwright, Hargreaves and Whitney, the weaving of cotton into cloth had, during the century, 1760 to 1860, become one of the most considerable as well as most vitally essential industries of the world. It centred in the Liverpool and Manchester region of England, where a market for the staple had been developed, while a dense population was employed in its manufacture. But certain fundamental conditions connected with the cotton interests were, in 1860, both morally and economically wrong. A radical readjustment was both desirable and impending. Europe was dependent on America for its supply of the staple, and the production of cotton in America was assumed to depend absolutely upon slave labor. It was contended that only by the African, working under a system of forced labor, could cotton be successfully cultivated. Because of climatic and other conditions, free white labor would, and must, prove unsatisfactory. In this assumption, with all it implied, the English textile interest was disposed to acquiesce. The weakness of the situation had long been apparent; and, even as early as 1847, John Bright had prophesied that the day was not remote when Great Britain's supply of the food of its myriad looms would, because of its dependence on a wrong industrial system, be subjected to a disturbance no less incalculable than unprecedented. What corn shortage was to the Egypt of the Pharaohs, that, and even worse, might a cotton shortage prove to Victorian England. The necessary remedial measures were in this case perhaps practically impossible. In any event, nothing had been done in anticipation of the contingency predicted; and, suddenly, in 1861, it presented itself.

It presented itself also in a way altogether unexpected. It so chanced that, for a not inconsiderable period preceding the outbreak of our Civil War, — a period of some three years, it is said, — the British cotton textile interests had been abnormally active. In response to a great Asiatic demand — the opening of a new and apparently unlimited market — the construction of mills in England, etc., had been so rapid that their product altogether exceeded the existing consumption. On this point the highest authority on conditions then prevailing, Arnold, in his *History of the Cotton Famine*, says that "April, 1861, was a time of gorged markets both at home and abroad."

The enormous eastern demand suddenly arising for British fabrics had "so stimulated the home manufacture that new mills had sprung up in every town and township in the cotton districts, and with reckless cupidity the manufacturers had rushed to divide the profits of the increased trade." Such an output had there consequently been in 1859 and 1860 that, in the spring of 1861, "not a few houses in Manchester and Liverpool felt the severest difficulty in meeting their liabilities."

A natural trade crisis, and a severe one, was thus closely impending; and, just at that juncture, a difficult situation was further complicated by a sudden stoppage in the supply of raw material. Later it was asserted that, if the American cotton crop of 1861 had gone forward at the usual time, that is, between the December and May following, it would have met a most insufficient demand, and prices would have fallen materially. As the result of a trade crisis due to Asiatic conditions, the English mills would in any event have largely shut down, and the season's supply of the American raw staple must have found its way into storage. This seems altogether probable; in any event it was a strange concurrence of disturbing trade conditions: the almost complete stoppage of raw material from artificial causes, acting on a market overloaded with manufactured goods. Such a fortuitous concurrence of conditions was, of course, contemplated by no one. Least of all was it contemplated by the people of the South and the Confederate preachers of the cotton, what may not unfairly be referred to as the King Cotton commercial, industrial and political dispensation.

When, for instance, W. H. Russell, the "special" London *Times* correspondent, was in South Carolina in May, 1861, Mr. Rhett, "a very intelligent and agreeable gentleman," came to call on him at the house of a planter. According to Russell, the Carolinian was persuaded "the Lord Chancellor sits on a cotton-bale"; in any event, he very positively observed to the English visitor: "You must recognize us, Sir, before the end of October." Likewise, when Russell, a few days earlier, had visited one of the leading merchants at Charleston, he had been advised that "if those miserable Yankees try to blockade us and keep you from our cotton, you will just send their ships to the bottom and acknowledge us. That will be before Autumn,

I think." To the same effect, when he went to dine with a company of representative Carolina gentlemen, Russell wrote in his Diary: "I confess the tone of my friends irritated me." As he expressed it, "These worthy gentlemen regarded [England] as a sort of appanage of their cotton kingdom. 'Why, Sir, we have only to shut off your supply of cotton for a few weeks and we can create a revolution in Great Britain. . . . We know that England must recognize us.'" Yet, according to an apparently well-advised cotton expert, writing three years later, "the markets were then [to such an extent] overstocked with cotton and with cotton goods [that] if the war had never taken place, the operatives would have fared just as badly as they have done, — perhaps worse; for, in that event, all the cotton interest of Lancashire must have been ruined by the great depreciation which most assuredly would have taken place. The crop of 1861 would, therefore, have remained unsold, except to speculators at very low rates."

The consequences — commercial, financial, political and social — of this unprecedented, and wholly fortuitous, state of affairs, are now difficult to analyze and weigh correctly. From the operative, through the mill-owner and cotton-holder, to the member of Parliament and of the Ministry, they affected all concerned in diverse ways. I shall refer to the others presently; but, in the first place, those more immediately affected are to be considered. To the British mill-owner and the dealer either in the staple or in manufactured goods, the situation was a godsend. It enabled them to dispose of their surplus manufactured cottons at continually rising prices; while, at the same time, it increased the value of the raw material on hand. Both ways, those of either of these classes profited.

So far as the operative was involved, however, it worked exactly the other way. His lot was hard; for to him it was immaterial whether the mills shut down because of a lack of raw material or because of an excess of manufactured goods. In either case, he was the victim. Demand for his labor no longer existed. This situation, bad in itself, was for him further aggravated by the feverish increase in the value of the raw material naturally consequent on the artificial stoppage of importations, and now further aggravated by the spirit of speculation.

Even so, the conditions worked most unevenly. "It was many months before the quotations from manufactured goods responded to the rapidly rising price of the raw material, forced up by speculation predicated on the continuance of the war, and not by any real demand from the spinners." Thus during the years which immediately followed, the "middlemen" and the retailers had to be contented with a less percentage of profit, the manufacturers at the same time receiving more than two prices. None the less for that did these last complain that they were not getting a proper equivalent for their goods, seeing that cotton was selling at four prices. The actual consumer, meanwhile, was, owing to the very gradual rise in price, only paying about double the old rates for inferior goods. Thus, while the community generally supposed the manufacturers, as well as the operatives and consumers, had been sufferers by the so-called "cotton famine," they were, on the contrary, great gainers thereby through a most opportune stoppage in the supply of raw material.

While conditions, therefore, all tended to reconcile the manufacturers, taken by-and-large and as a class, to the situation, they made, so far as the operative was concerned, what was already bad distinctly worse. In the meantime, how did it fare with the Confederate cotton planter, economist and politician? He found himself all afloat; while his cotton could not be got afloat at all. His confident six-month prognostications as respects a forced foreign intervention to release cotton failed wholly to be realized. His product, shut up by the blockade, lay dead on his hands. In the sheds of the plantations, it was subject to shrinkage and rust, fortunate if it escaped capture and confiscation. Thinking to besiege the world, he had summoned it to an unconditional surrender, and lo! — it now appeared that, *quoad* consumption, the besieged British manufacturers and merchants held a stock of cotton and cotton goods at home and abroad equal, it was asserted, to three years of world-demand; and this stock they proceeded during those years of so-called "famine" to dispose of at three, four and five prices. Consequently, when, in the autumn of 1862, it was intimated that the British and French governments, acting in conjunction, had determined to recognize the Confederacy, "the Lancashire people became alarmed," and, it has

been asserted, "exerted their influence in order to prevent the government taking such a step." Whether this was or was not the case, their advocacy of any aggressive policy was naturally at least neutralized. Had they, under ordinary conditions, exerted themselves, they would have made themselves felt as a potent parliamentary influence; as it was, being satisfied, they were quiescent. Those of the Confederacy thus had occasion to realize the absence of an ally on whose coöperation they had counted as assured. The reason therefor quite escaped their comprehension. At the time it seemed inexplicable and heartless. They bitterly cried out against it. In fact, it was, under the circumstances — business!

Thus this whole great branch of industry and commerce was for a period of four years thrown into well-nigh inextricable confusion. It became little more than a world-wide welter, in the outcome of which all profit went to the speculator, the smuggler and the blockade-runner on the one hand, and, on the other, to the British manufacturer and dealer in cotton goods previously unsaleable. The operative alone felt the pressure of both the upper and the nether millstone.

As to the Confederacy, the "cotton famine" was after all merely a gigantic case of what is known in 'Change parlance as a "corner"; possibly the most gigantic instance of such of which there is any record. And, as is apt to be the case with "corners," things had adjusted themselves in ways that were unexpected and through processes against which provision had not been made — perhaps was not possible. Simply, in the jargon of the street, "the corner busted"; or, more conventionally expressed, staking his whole foreign policy upon a single issue, on that issue the slaveholder had lost. His failure was, as I have sought here to show, due in some degree to contingencies and concurrences of conditions lying beyond the ken of human prevision; but, taken as a whole, it was a complete case of miscalculating overconfidence — unquestioning reliance on a means inadequate to the attainment of the end proposed, and, at the time when put in operation, fatally interfered with by trade contingencies of a nature altogether unforeseeable. By the merest possible chance the proponents of the power of King Cotton had tested their theory at exactly the wrong time.

It is, of course, impossible further to differentiate, indicating

to how large an extent these consequences were incident to trade conditions, and to how large an extent they were caused by a stoppage of the supply of the raw material through artificial causes. In the general apprehension they were all attributed to the latter. So far, however, as the different classes and interests affected were concerned, it is unnecessary here to reproduce the statements and figures contained in the McHenry paper, extracts from which I submitted at the March meeting. They set forth the situation as the writer saw it, and must be taken for what they are worth. It may, however, in a rough way be asserted that for the British manufacturer and merchant the 1861–1865 situation presented large compensating conditions; for the average consumer of cotton fabrics it was a question of price and substitutions; for the Confederacy it falsified prognostication; for the British operative it in every aspect spelt destitution.

It was, however, in the latter half of 1862 — those months during which the weekly returns of the dependent poor in Lancashire were watched as the bills of mortality in a time of plague — it was at this juncture, when cotton touched thirty pence a pound, that the governmental crisis presented itself. Whether in the American histories of our Civil War, or in the British lives of individuals or general narratives, the story of what then occurred has never received adequate treatment. Passing it over in a way to the last degree superficial, the American authorities have devoted much time and almost unlimited space to an account of indecisive military operations then in process and battles badly fought, utterly ignoring the conflict on the issue of which the struggle at the stage it had then reached virtually depended. The English writers, on the other hand, in a somewhat indifferent spirit, allow a paragraph perhaps for a perfunctory reference to what was in reality for Great Britain's largest textile industry nothing less than a war of emancipation.

Concerning this governmental crisis, I, while in England last September, succeeded in getting access to material both new and important. That material I incorporated in the eighth lecture of my Johns Hopkins Course — the lecture entitled *A Crisis in Downing Street* — which I propose to submit at our next meeting to find its place in our *Proceedings*.

Professor CHANNING read the following letter from JOHNSON HAGOOD to THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

MY DEAR SIR, — COLUMBIA, So. Ca., 21 Sep., 1881.

Your favor of the 9th enclosing a newspaper article relative to the burial of Col. Shaw at Battery Wagner on the 19 July, 1863, is received.

I am obliged for the friendly feeling shown in the trouble you have taken; but you may remember that when you spoke to me at Spartanburg of correcting the statement which had been made of my ordering him buried among the negroes of his Regiment who were killed in the assault on that post, I said to you, I cared little for the charge or for the correction. The point is properly made in the article you send. "No one complains that Shaw and his men were buried together; nothing could have been more appropriate; the objection was to the brutal tone of the alleged order." The offence therefore with which I am charged is the use of brutal language in directing an appropriate act to be performed. Those who know me will, I trust, lightly regard such a charge: and those who do not, will take little interest in its discussion. If it is as an instance of the brutality of the class to which I belonged — the Confederate soldier — that the memory of the alleged order is still preserved and treasured, I have nothing to say to such people. They, who are seeking to keep alive the bitterness of civil strife in the generation succeeding that which unfortunately was engaged in it, you and I both know are of those whose zeal for a cause finds manifestation amid the clatter of words rather than the clash of arms. They did not as a rule, when the opportunity offered, exhibit the courage of their convictions: nor are they likely in the future to emulate the example of Col. Shaw by dying upon the ramparts of the enemy.

But to recur to your letter. In deference to you, I answer the enquiries you make, and will do so as briefly as possible.

You inform me (for I have not seen the publication) that "In Mrs. Shaw's sketch of her son . . . is found a statement by Asst. Surgeon John V. Leech, U. S. A., [Should be U. S. V., as his name is not in U. S. Army Register for 1865.] dated 21 Oct., 1865. He says, Brig. Gen. Hagood commanding the Rebel forces said to me, 'I knew Col. Shaw before the war and then esteemed him. Had he been in command of white troops I should have given him honorable burial. As it is, I shall bury him in the common trench with the negroes that fell with him. The burial parties were then at work.'" And you add, "Every man of experience knows how remarks are distorted: and I should be very glad of your recollection of this interview. I can not find out who Dr. Leech was."

On the day after the night assault and while the burial parties of both sides were at work on the field, a chain of sentinels dividing them, a person was brought to me where I was engaged within the Battery in repairing damages done to the work. The guard said he had been found wandering within our lines engaged apparently in nothing except in making observations. This man claimed to be a naval surgeon belonging to the Gunboat *Pawnee*,[1] and after asking him some questions about the damage sustained by that vessel a few days before in the Stono River from an encounter with a Field Battery on its banks, I informed him that he would be sent up to Charleston for such disposition as Gen. Beauregard deemed proper. I do not recall the name of this person, and have not heard of him since, but he must be the Dr. Leech of whom you speak. I have no recollection whatever of other conversation with him than that given above. He has, however, certainly reported me incorrectly in one particular. I never saw or heard of Col. Shaw until his body was pointed out to me that morning and his name and rank mentioned. The Doctor as quoted attributes no brutal language to me; and it is not claimed by Col. Shaw's friends, as the Doctor seems to have considered, that burial with his men was an indignity to the dead officer. I simply give my recollection in reply to his statement. As he has confounded what he probably heard from others within the Battery of their previous knowledge of Col. Shaw, he may at the distance of time at which he spoke have had his recollection of his interview with me confused in other respects.

You further ask if a request from Gen. Terry for Shaw's body was refused the day after the battle. I answer distinctly, No. At the written request of Gen. Gillmore, I as Commander of the Battery met Gen. Vodges (not Terry) on a Flag of Truce on the 22d. Upon this flag an exchange of wounded prisoners was arranged, and Col. Putnam's body was asked for, and delivered. Col. Shaw's body was not asked for then or at any other time, to my knowledge.

I have written more than I intended and beg you to excuse it. Let me add that you have correctly given my reply to your direct enquiry at Spartanburg: and I have no doubt with equal correctness reported the confirmatory statement of Maj. Lartigue (not Galliard) who was at that time Chief Quartermaster of the post, and being in charge of the burial parties was necessarily cognizant of the fact. I repeat; no special order was ever issued by me, verbally or otherwise, in regard to the burial of Col. Shaw or any other offi-

[1] Mr. Charles W. Stewart, of the Naval War Records, writes, April 22, 1914: "The Navy Register carries but two surgeons of that name; they are Thomas W. Leach of the Regular, and Thomas F. Leech of the Volunteer Navy, neither of whom served on the U. S. S. *Pawnee*."

cer or man at Wagner. The only order was a verbal one to bury all the dead in trenches as speedily as possible on account of the heat: and as far as I knew then, or have reason to believe now, each officer was buried where he fell with the men who surrounded him. Col. Shaw commanding negroes was buried with negroes. I am very truly and respectfully,

JOHNSON HAGOOD.

SUPPLIES FOR MASSACHUSETTS BAY, 1631–1632.

Mr. FORD stated that in the Massachusetts Archives (c. f. 9.) he had found a copy of an account rendered by Isaac Allerton against the people of Massachusetts Bay for the transportation of supplies from England to Massachusetts in 1631–1632. Although the paper says the account was "delivered me" by Mr. Allerton, there is nothing to show who was intended by "me." It is not a mere copy of a document, for it carries a statement in the writing of Rev. John White of Dorchester, made in 1640, and an attestation, also original, by Thomas Bushrode. It is filed with an application from Allerton, the history of which is sufficiently shown by the endorsements made upon it while under the consideration of the General Court.

The unfortunate dealings between Allerton and the partners of New Plymouth are too well known to require a recapitulation. The plantation suffered heavily by his mismanagement and want of judgment. He played with both sides for his own gain, and in the end lost the confidence of the English merchants, with whose interests his own were closely allied, as well as of the New Plymouth traders, who were obliged to settle the losses at usurious rates. While the paper now printed does not concern Plymouth directly, it has an interest as indicating the methods of the man and the commercial methods of the day. Intended to relieve the almost starving settlers in Massachusetts in their first two years of trial, the sending was in a large measure an act of charity. Winthrop had sent money, and others had contributed. The money was apparently expended under the direction of Rev. John White — a new proof of his interest in and connection with the plantation. Bradford complained that Allerton charged £4 per ton freight when others charged only £3, and demanded cash down at that. In this bill the rate charged is £4.

The few lines of White's writing reminded me of that on a

paper to be found in one of the volumes of manuscripts in the Society, Miscellaneous Mss. I. 2. It had no little interest in connection with Winthrop's *History*, but its true character could only be determined on discovering the writer. No endorsement gave a clue, and, being without signature and without internal evidence of the writer, it remained in my memory as something to be studied when the time came. Upon looking at it after the visit to the Archives, I saw at once that it was by John White, and a letter from White in the Winthrop Mss. confirmed this conclusion. It is a memorandum of what was owing to him by some in New England, and had been sent to William Pynchon, formerly of Dorchester, for collection. It shows how far White had ventured in some cases, and to what extent Edward Rosseter, who died shortly after his arrival in Virginia, was interested in the adventure. The paper may have been sent over in 1632, as it speaks of advances made "two years since" by Winthrop.

Vera Copia

7 Septemb 1632

The coppy of an accoumpt delivered me by Mr. Allerton to me unto Mr. White to write to the Governour of the bay that it is due unto Mr. Allerton, and that he has not payd it, but they of the Bay are to pay it, Mr. White havinge noe monyes in his hands for that busines. And to desier his note to that effect they will pay it, noe reason Mr. [White] should. It is sufficient he procured the guift.

An accoumpt of charges of a barke of goods sent by Mr. George [Way][1] of Dorchester for the accompt of Mr. Jno. White minister or preacher of Gods word at Dorchester from Padstow in Cornewell, followeth.

Decemb. 18. 1631

Inpr. payd a barks fraight loaden with Corne to Bristolle	08:[ ]:00
for Mr. Wayes man and diet aboard the barke	00:[ ]:00
for the barks Companies supper	00:[ ]:06
for the returne of the warrantes	00:[ ]:20

[1] "A worde more for my neighbour, Mr. Wey of this place, who hath ben an hearty friend to N. Engl., hath servants in the Bay who as it seems are not soe indifferently respected in their lott as they ought to be. They desire to open their case to you, and I know you will doe them right." *John White to John Winthrop*, [1637], 5 *Collections*, I. 253. One of the name was lost in the voyage of the *Lyon* in 1630, and one Henry Way is mentioned in Winthrop as of Dorchester and the owner of a shallop. *History*, I. 43, 59, 79.

for a certificate to Barnestaple and major	[ ]:00
pd the Corne measurer for his fee	[ ]:00
pd the barks fraight from Bristoll to Barnestaple . .	0:[ ]:00
pd boats and porters to land the meale	[ ]
pd for storehouse to put the meale in 2[ ]	00:14:00
pd for an other storehouse to put the remaynder of the meale in	00:05:00
pd for a man to goe downe with the Barke	01:00:00
the goods being steyed to cleare them, these goods part amounteth unto	05:13:06
pd for a barke from Barnestaple to Bristoll back again	05:00:00
for 2 boats and porters to land the goods	00:10:00
for a mans charges that came with the goods	00:17:00
pd demurradge untill a storehouse was provided I being not there my selfe	00:13:11
pd for a warrant and officers fees in custome house . .	00:15:00
for fraight of 6 butts. 49 hh. 30 barr. of meale from Padstow by Mr. Way marked as in the margent. And 25 tearses of pease and oatmeale sent by Mr. William Vassell by Mr. Whites order which he payd for. And Mr. Way sent 1 hh. of wh[eat]? marked W. W. W. W. [ ] ¼ at 4*l* per ton: Mr. Wayes was for Mr. Purchas accoumpt	97:00:00
W. W. T. S. R. S.	
for hawlinge, cranidge, litridge and wharfidge at 3*sh* . per ton.	03:12:09
windage to the ships company	02:08:06
	134:04:[ ]0
for charges on these goods being 24 tonn and ¼ accordinge to the proportion in the whole 35*sh* 4*d* ½ per tonn is	42:09:02
	176:14:
Mr. Way demanndeth mony for 8 bushels of meale beinge one hh. marked W. W. W. W. which beinge heare put ashore and used it must be allowed at 7*sh* 3*d* per bushell	2:18:
	179:12:
Mr. White and Creditor	
Decemb. 1630: the 50*l* res per his order of Mr. Arthur Kinge of Bristoll	50:00:00
May 20. res of Mr. Way per bill of Exch: per Mr. Whites order and accoumpt	40:00:00

April 15. 1632. res of him by exch: by Mr. Whites order	40 :00 :00
	130 :00 :00
Due Mr. Allerton to ballannce his accoumpt	49:12:[00]
	179:12:[00]

For the article of 42*lb.* 9*s.* or for the Charges uppon the goods sent for the releiving of the poore people in New-England I payd nothing to Mr. Allerton as having disbursed before more money then I received as appeares by the account which I gave in to the Contributours which I testify this September 27, 1640.

JOHN WHITE.

Thomas Bushroade merchant aged thirtie six or thereabout being sworne maketh oath that this abovewritten was subscribed as the act and deede of the abovesaid Mr. John White by the said Mr. John White himselfe in the presence of the said Thomas.

THO: BUSHRODE.

Jurat: coram me
[*undecipherable.*]
2 die Septr.

REV. JOHN WHITE'S ACCOUNT.

Debts owing vnto me in New-England from sundry persons which I desire Mr. William Pynchon of Rocksbury to demande in my name and to receive for my use and to sue for it if they be denyed or detained.

The Accompt of Mr. Edward Rosseters. Executors.

He is debtor

For 10 hh. and 4 sacks of malte cont[aining] 86 lb. att 3*s* per lb.	12.18.00
For 10 hh. to putt it in att 3*s.* 9*d.*	01.17.06
For 4 baggs att 2*s.* 1*d.*	00.08.04
For 86 ll to Weymouth	00.10.11
For Porterage of 3 Tonnes of goods at Weymouth	00.03.00
For the passage of 13 persons att 3*l* 13*s* 4*d* each person	47.13.04
For fraight of 12 Tonnes and 11 lb of goods at 3 *lb.* per Tonne	36.00.00
For 4 C[wt] of bread delivered him in New England by William Rockwell at 1*lb* 2*d* per C	04.00.08
For 2 C[wt] of bread delivered him by Mrs. Rockwell at Plimmouth	01.08.00
	104.19.09

Brought forward	104.19.09
For fraight of 3 Tunnes of goods from Weymouth to Plimmouth	001.10.09
	106.09.09

He is Creditor

For money payd for malte etc.	16.11.01
For soe much payd in parte for fraight of goods and passage of his people before his departure . . .	26.10.00
For soe much payd more att Plimmouth	23.06.08
For soe much payd by his sonne Mr. Nich: Rosseter by his order Febru 4, 1630[–31]	10.00.00
For soe much more payd by the same April: 1. 1631 . .	15.00.00
	91.07.09
Too reste due by Mr. Rosseters Executors to me . . .	15.02.00
	106.09.09

John Elford[1] owes

For soe much layd out for him vppon his letter in divers things which were taken vp vppon my name in severall shoapps by his Father in law George Panchards	11*lb.* 00.00

For this 11*lb* he sent over a bill signed by Mr. John Endecot to receive soe much money of the Adventurers for this Plantation and in the meane while dishonestly he received the same 11*lb* of Mr. John Winthrop the Gouernour for that time in N: England.

Soe he hath owed me these 4 years . . . . . 11*lb.*

The severall wares amounting to the summe of eleven pounds were fetch't by me

GEORGE PANCHARD.[2]

Mr. Ludlow of Dorchester owes me towards 20*lb.* or upwards which was payd him neere two years since by Mr. John Winthrop then Gouernour for wages which I had payd vnto Dentch a Fisherman the perfect summe Mr. Winthrop himself can tell you.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. LONG, NORCROSS and GREEN.

[1] Of Salem in 1630; in 1631 held to answer for the death of one, but no trial followed; and in 1639 excommunicated "for obstinacy, after divers sins he stood guilty of and proved by witness." Hutchinson, *History*, I. 421 *n.*

[2] An original signature.

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

BY EDWARD CHANNING.

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON was born at Cambridge, Mass., on the 22d of December, 1823, and died there May 9, 1911. His father was Stephen Higginson, Steward of Harvard College. His grandfather, also named Stephen, had been one of the leading members of the Essex Junto. He had written powerfully on his side of the cause, and lived and died in the conviction that vice and poverty would ever prevail against virtue and property in this sinful world. It is remarkable that the grandson, the subject of this memoir, from his earliest youth to his very latest year, should have held precisely the opposite opinions to those of his ultra-federalistic grandfather. Yet so it was, for the grandson was not only one of the most adventurous of men, — he was one of the most persistent and optimistic of reformers. These qualities he doubtless inherited from his mother, Louisa Storrow. She was the daughter of one of those British army officers, Captain Thomas Storrow, whom duty led to various parts of the world, among others to New Hampshire, where he met and married Anne Appleton, great-granddaughter of John Wentworth, the first royal governor of that province. At the outset, Colonel Higginson was named Thomas Wentworth Storrow, but in boyhood he dropped the last of the three names, thereby losing some part of his identity.

In youth Wentworth Higginson showed conspicuous precocity. He wrote poetry at the age of eight and read Spenser's *Fairie Queene* for pleasure when he was only twelve. He entered Harvard College at the age of thirteen and graduated four years later, in 1841, the second scholar in his class. It is

interesting to discover from the perusal of his letters and journals how the boy struggled with the man for mastery during these adolescent years. Throughout his college course he showed the same qualities that distinguished him during life — a love of learning for learning's sake and an intense desire for exercise in the open air, coupled with the pursuit of science. He was always acquiring old and out-of-the-way books and picking up flowers and insects — in every case acquiring knowledge. It was much the same way with human beings — he was as omnivorous with them as he was with books, insects, and flowers. He consorted with them all, high and low, rich and poor; he enjoyed them all, and from them all learned something. After leaving college, he essayed the part of pedagogue, but without much success. Returning to Cambridge, he devoted four years to more or less solitary study, — which makes one suspect that his early graduation from college was of no great benefit. In these years he supported himself, for the most part, getting his own meals and living with the greatest frugality, which did not, however, interfere with his bodily health. It was in these post-graduate student days that Mr. Higginson made up his mind as to the equality of the sexes and as to the wrongfulness of human slavery, — convictions which remained with him throughout life.

There was a good deal of hesitancy on Higginson's part as to what his life-work should be. His strongest bent was toward literature; but that then offered in America slight hope of pecuniary reward, and, at nineteen, he had become engaged. He thought of the law, but it seems to have been only a thought. Finally he was attracted to the ministry. His first parish was at Newburyport. There he won the love of many and the esteem of all; but there his utterances on the subject of slavery aroused the indignation of some of his parishioners whose families had been interested in the slave trade and who themselves saw no harm in negro slavery. He resigned and after two years of rustication in the neighborhood became the spiritual guide of the Free Church at Worcester. Here he was at liberty to say what he thought, and his outspoken opinions had great influence with his people. They took what he gave them and would have been glad of more. Both at Newburyport and at Worcester he was very successful in interesting

the younger people in religious and social work. His fondness for outdoor life helped him greatly in this, as did his natural sympathy with children. During these years his non-ministerial avocations grew rapidly. He became more and more interested in literary production, especially after the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly*, to which he contributed constantly for years. As time went on his lecture trips became more frequent and more extended, until finally they took him away from home for days at a time. The variety and lack of constraint of literary life appealed to him more and more. In 1855 the Free Church provided him with a colleague; but a year or two later he finally severed his connection with it and with the ministry.

Mr. Higginson's greatest interest in the ten years before the outbreak of the War of Secession was in connection with the anti-slavery agitation. He was one of those who battered in the door of the courthouse in Boston in a vain attempt to rescue Anthony Burns from those who were to return him to slavery under the direction of the Fugitive Slave Law. Rather to Higginson's grief the indictment against him and others for their share in this affair was quashed, so that the facts were never brought out under oath on the witness-stand. In some sort he had his revenge by rescuing from the hands of a mob a process-server who had ventured to Worcester to secure evidence against the militant minister. As a representative of many contributors, who had actively interested themselves in saving Kansas for freedom, Mr. Higginson made two western journeys. His errand was to oversee the organizing of expeditions of free-state emigrants and to overlook the expenditure of money which had been contributed by people living in New England.

On one of these trips he went into Kansas, and at St. Louis, on his return journey, visited an establishment where slaves were herded and offered for sale. He witnessed the actual sale of a slave girl of eight years of age; all of which deepened his detestation of the institution. Holding these ideas as strongly as he did, Mr. Higginson, in company with Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison and thousands of others among the abolitionists, favored the secession of the North from the Union. In 1857 a State Disunion Convention was held

at Worcester, Mass., to consider the advisability of separation. It was at one of these meetings that the Reverend T. W. Higginson, as he was then called, declared it to be "honor enough to stand upon this platform at all, to speak for the cause we advocate to-day; and if there really were dangers around us, it would be a thing to be still more grateful for." He declared that disunion was not a desire, but a destiny. The laws of human nature were taking care of all difficulties very rapidly. "The vast antagonistic powers are brought into collision — the earthquake comes — and all we disunionists say is, if it is coming, in God's name, let it come quickly!" All of which was received with great applause and enthusiasm. The upshot was the issuing of a call for a National Disunion Convention, which was signed by more than six thousand persons, — but nothing further was done.

It does not appear that Mr. Higginson ever saw John Brown face to face in Kansas. In 1858 Brown was at Boston. He was full of his schemes for collecting negroes in the mountain fastnesses of the South and either maintaining them there or sending them out of the country. Mr. Higginson fell in warmly with the plan; he raised money for it, he gave good counsel, and seems never to have realized the inevitableness of failure — any more than did John Brown himself. When the catastrophe came, Higginson refused to go to Europe or Canada, or to secrete himself; he would rather have welcomed the opportunity to give his testimony in a court of law. After Brown's conviction, Higginson visited the nineteenth century covenanter's family at North Elba in the Adirondack region with a view to getting Mrs. Brown to intercede with her husband to permit an attempt at rescue to be made. She and the militant minister actually started for Virginia, when a point-blank refusal to see his wife on such an errand impelled Mrs. Brown to turn back; but later, just before his execution, she visited him. Some time after this Higginson undertook to liberate two of Brown's companions who had not been executed with him; but various causes also interfered with the accomplishment of this design.

The firing on Fort Sumter stirred Higginson's blood as it did that of many other men. He would gladly have gone to the front at the first call had not the care of an invalid wife and

the fear that as a soldier he might be compelled to restore runaway slaves prevented. As it was, he drilled incessantly. On two occasions he took part in the raising of volunteers at Worcester and was expecting to be ordered to the front as the captain of a company when he was asked to take command of the first regiment of freed slaves which had been recruited on the seaboard of South Carolina. He at once repaired to his new duty and for two years or so led what was probably the happiest time of his life. His sympathy with people of color and his confidence in them, which was fully reciprocated, enabled him to bring his regiment to a condition of discipline that was seldom equalled. He took part in none of the grand operations of the war, but with his men performed necessary and effective outpost duty, some of which was important. In one of these expeditions he was badly injured by a flying projectile. It did not actually touch him, but the concussion was so great that he was obliged to go to the hospital, and throughout his later life was constantly reminded of the injury that had been inflicted. After a furlough he returned to his regiment, but found that the strain was too great, and resigned. His *Army Life in a Black Regiment*, describing this episode in his life, is a classic among books of personal experience in war. Throughout this time Colonel Higginson lived as with a rope about his neck, for the Southern government had denounced death for white officers of Union colored troops. This made his service doubly dangerous, but the added risk only gave it added zest for his adventurous soul.

On his retirement from the army Colonel Higginson rejoined his wife at Newport, on the island of Rhode Island, whither she had removed from Worcester on account of the milder climate of the southern coast of New England. There he lived for fourteen years, leading a literary life which had so peculiar a charm for him. There were rich summer residents in Newport in those days, but society had not then taken on the ultra-golden hue that it later assumed. There were other literary residents of the town, and artists and men of letters visited the place in summer. He was therefore thrown into the society of people of his own type and took much enjoyment in it. While there he published his translation of the *Works of Epictetus*, by which some good judges think he will

be longest remembered. At this time, also, he wrote *Malbone; an Oldport Romance*. The writing of the book gave him more pleasure than probably any other literary work that he did; but when printed it had no popularity. He was much more successful from the financial standpoint in his historical labors. The *Young Folks' History of the United States* performed a most useful service in rescuing the school teaching of our annals from ante-bellum text-books. During those years he produced an almost uninterrupted flow of essays, many of them being on outdoor subjects, which he loved so well and in the handling of which he was so happy. His first wife, Mary Channing, died in 1877. About two years later he married Mary Potter Thacher, and reëstablished himself at Cambridge.

The last Cambridge period was the most fruitful from the point of view of a man of letters. Of historical works, the most important was a *Larger History of the United States*, which was made up of papers that were originally published in *Harper's Magazine*. As an editor, his name is connected with the *Harvard Memorial Biographies* and with *Massachusetts in the Army and Navy during the War of 1861–65*. In later life he travelled abroad extensively, everywhere meeting the people best worth knowing. In 1891 he delivered the centennial oration commemorative of the foundation of this Society, but otherwise he was not a large contributor to our proceedings.

Throughout life Colonel Higginson was always ready to respond to calls for his services. He was interested in educational work, serving on school committees at Newbury, Worcester and Newport. At Newburyport he had to do with the establishment of free evening schools, and wherever he was he looked to there being the amplest provision possible for the education of the people. In connection with this the establishment of free libraries and their maintenance were always near to his heart. At Cambridge he was one of the trustees of the public library, and his solicitude and care for this institution has been recognized by the city. He ran twice for Congress, and was each time defeated. On the first occasion he was nominated by Whittier as the Free Soil candidate in the Newburyport district. The second occasion was at the time of Cleveland's campaign for reëlection, when Colonel Hig-

ginson became the Mugwump candidate for the Cambridge district. By that time he had served on the staff of our associate, John D. Long, who was then the Republican governor of the State. Later Colonel Higginson became an out-and-out Democrat, campaigning by the side of William E. Russell. As might have been expected from his whole career, he presided at a meeting in Faneuil Hall to express sympathy with the South African Boers. He was an anti-imperialist, and generally deprecated the occupation of the Philippine Islands. Whatever it was, he was always on the side of the humble, of the oppressed, and of those who needed help. Social ostracism and personal danger had no meaning for him. His mind never dwelt on such things; his only question was, could he, by pen, voice, or example, do good. Whether one agreed with him or not, this much is indisputable.

Colonel Higginson's writings were so numerous that a list of them would be entirely out of the question in connection with an article like this one. In 1906 Mrs. Winifred Mather and Miss Eva G. Moore prepared a chronological list of his writings which was printed by the Cambridge Public Library. A definitive edition of Colonel Higginson's writings, selected by himself, was published by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company in 1900. Of these, *Cheerful Yesterdays* and *Army Life* are really bits of autobiography, and reveal on every page the sweetness and simplicity of his character. Madame Blanc's *A Typical American*, which was published in London in 1902, is the most significant of all that has been written about him. This was composed of a collection of seven articles originally contributed to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by Madame Blanc under her pen name of "Th. Bentzon." They have been translated from the French by E. M. Waller. In 1914 appeared a memoir written by his widow and published under the title, *Thomas Wentworth Higginson; the Story of his Life*. After the manner of present-day biographical works, it is composed almost entirely of extracts from Colonel Higginson's letters and journals and therefore illustrates that continuous growth which was so characteristic of him.

Colonel Higginson's first wife was my aunt; his second wife, my sister-in-law. Our personal relations, therefore, were very intimate. The first time I remember seeing Colonel Higginson

was when, fresh from his military career, he came up from Newport on a brief visit to my grandfather, with whom I then lived. That was fifty years ago, but the recollection is still fresh in memory. A tall, well-set-up frame, with a face of singular charm, which at that time was adorned by the side-whiskers of the period, aroused my interest. His voice had a peculiar quality which attracted the youthful attention and aroused a longing to hear it again. He had none of that condescension which is so irritating to children. Quite the contrary, I remember that we were friends at once, without any effort on the part of either of us, and so we remained to the end. In the years when I knew him, Mr. Higginson lectured almost extempore, with only the smallest apparatus in the way of notes. I remember the first time that I heard him speak in public and the sensation that his graceful, well-considered, apparently spontaneous utterance made on me at the time. He was not an orator of the Wendell Phillips type, but an earnest, graceful speaker, whose words often carried conviction. He was always most helpful to aspirants for literary fame and tireless in answering questions that came to him by mail, most frequently from unknown correspondents. In his capacity for letter writing and in his willingness to write letters, he was one of the last of his type, as he was of that group of literary men and women who gave to Boston, Cambridge, and Concord their place in world-wide literature.

MEMOIR

OF

GAMALIEL BRADFORD.

BY EDWARD H. CLEMENT.

IF the stroke of fate which ended Mr. Bradford's life had been withheld a twelvemonth or so, he might not have felt called on to say in his autobiographical sketch, with the mingled humility and pride of the true Puritan, "If I have failed in achieving practical results, it is because I have aimed too high." His forty years' agitation for an executive power in the Republic, holding the entire initiative, but held to strict responsibility by a legislative body, and enforcing it in its turn by representation in that body, was nearing a signal triumph. Had he lived to see President Wilson inaugurated he would have witnessed, not indeed President Wilson's cabinet members seated in the House, but the President himself there delivering his message in person. He would have seen this President, in the first year of his term, taking the initiative in legislation, and in fact bringing all the work of Congress up to his own tests and standards. The precedent set by Mr. Wilson would have been more to Mr. Bradford's mind, after all, than the English practice of making a ministry, which is practically a committee elected and deposed by the House of Commons, the pivot of power. His ideal was " the single executive head (President, Governor or Mayor) deriving authority from public opinion, and exercising it before a criticising body, itself emanating from, and dependent upon, the same tribunal." These words (the very words written by Mr. Bradford, perhaps within a twelvemonth of his demise) perfectly describe what took place when President Wilson was inaugurated, and what has been going on at important moments of his administration.

As Colonel Codman has already said here, "With all of

Jamaziel Bradford

Bradford's energy and positiveness, there was never a touch of arrogance or bitterness in his speech, or his writings, in public or in private life." Still more impossible to him would have been any accent of an affected emotion or sentimentality. When he deplored the signs and portents which, as he said, were tending to "bring clouds and depression over the decline of life," he was simply recording a matter of fact, and he was aware that, as he phrased it, "one who has reached nearly fourscore years can do no more than to regard the decades next to come with passive contemplation." His immediate fear, with Roosevelt then looming large, was of foreign war, conducted by a centralized government, the traditional means of diverting public attention from local misrule. Had he lived the first twelvemonth of this administration, he would have seen the Philippine policy reversed. He would have seen the "South in the saddle," but only too ready to place reserved rights of the States in the hands of Federal authority. He would have been cheered by the reduction of the protective tariff which he regarded as compact of greed and graft; and above all would his soul have been delighted by the currency and banking reform, for which he had fought and prayed, and prayed and fought, from the time of the Greenbacks' conception in the Civil War. And all these reforms, which were just behind the curtain of those decades he was looking forward to with such misgiving, were accomplished by an heroic use of that panacea of his which he had pressed upon public attention, in season and out of season, for forty years without achieving practical results — to repeat his own saddened phrase — the executive's initiative, concentrated, exclusive, complete, insistent. Had Gamaliel Bradford lived to see the Wilson administration in operation he might well have murmured in deep content, "Now let thy servant depart in peace."

But Mr. Bradford was never, with all his disappointments in public politics, an unhappy or a soured man. He was optimistic to the last in spite of the clouds which his well-trained and far-sighted sagacity saw gathered on the horizon. One abiding shadow he confessed to, albeit with that whimsical smile which seemed to combine the piercing glitter of his eyes with the pucker of his lips, and that was the inevitable drawing on and shutting down upon him of old age. "Oh, if I were only

ten years younger," he one day exclaimed at my office, stretching his arms above his head. "Not that I realize that I am any different from what I always have been, not that I am aware of any falling off either bodily or mentally, — but everybody will say that I am too old; of course they know I am past seventy." Nevertheless, when the hour seemed to him to call, he stood forth as candidate for Governor with simple, undaunted moral courage and faith in enlightened public opinion. The inevitable and expected happened. It was with something of the same sort of consecration that nerved his forbears' in old England and their forerunners, from Latimer and Ridley down, to face ridicule, scorn and maltreatment, even to the fires at the stake. Our late departed associate was the seventh in a direct line of descent from the Governor William Bradford who in his history, recounting the arguments urged among the Pilgrims hesitating in Holland before the departure for America, wrote: "It was answered that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted that the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties many, but not invincible . . . yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet they might have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable." Perhaps this very passage was echoing in the sixth Gamaliel Bradford's memory when he framed that apologia: "If I have failed in achieving practical results, it is because I have aimed too high."

With wholly warrantable pride, Mr. Bradford mentions in the autobiographical sketch above referred to that his "grandson is the seventh Gamaliel in a direct line and the tenth in descent from Governor William Bradford." His own immediate ancestors, his grandfather and father, were equally worthy examples of long descent in Puritan New England. All through the colonial period the line has contained such notables as magistrates, colonels and representatives in the Governor's Council. In the Revolutionary War the late Mr. Bradford's great-grandfather, the second Gamaliel, was a colonel in the Continental army. A portrait of this colonel, admirably executed by Kosciusko, who was his intimate friend, and an ancestral tankard, traced back to the Plymouth Governor, were among the treasured heirlooms at the Austerfield,

named from the old English village of the Governor's birth. The grandfather accompanied his father to camp, though he was but thirteen years old. In recognition of his devotion and extraordinary energy during the war, this young third Gamaliel was made an ensign at sixteen, and the next year a lieutenant. He was twenty years old and past when the peace came, too late, he thought, to enter Harvard. But of studious habits, as well as of adventurous disposition, after he had made a voyage to France in 1784 to learn French, he also mastered Latin, Spanish and Italian, and was ever after a devoted lover of the best literature in those languages. The Boston and Salem ship-captains in those days were most singularly cultivated men. Bradford's letters from London, Paris, Naples and Cadiz, in a narrative style well described as "pure and copious," included his descent into the crater of Vesuvius, his views on the treasures of sculpture at Rome, and his account of Napoleon entering into Venice in 1807. They were published in the Boston *Anthology*, and read with avidity and admiration in the Boston "best circles" of the beginning of the last century. On two occasions, in different years, this third Gamaliel's ship was attacked by French privateers in the Mediterranean. In the first engagement he fought off four of these armed vessels. In the next year, 1780, attacked by two large French cruisers, near the coast of Spain, he lost a leg, and there is a tradition that Lord Nelson's own surgeon (his fleet then lying in Malaga Bay) was sent to the dashing Yankee captain to perform the operation. He continued to follow the sea, however, for nearly thirty years after, in spite of his wooden leg. Five years after quitting the sea he was appointed warden of the State prison at Charlestown, and in 1819 Harvard College crowned his record with its honorary degree of A.M.

The fourth Gamaliel Bradford, the father of the subject of the present memoir, was no less marked a man. He died young, at forty-four; but he had so early distinguished himself in science and in letters, that at thirty-eight he had been appointed superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and was looked up to in the life of the community as a leader in public questions. He, too, like his doughty father, knew much of foreign parts, having been sent to a seminary in Mes-

sina, Italy, and to London, to take up the time until he should be of age to enter Harvard, for which he had been ready two years before. His scholarship enabled him first to serve as a teacher in the Boston Latin School, after graduation in 1814 with a poem for Commencement exercise, and five years later he went to Edinburgh University for his medical education. As a popular lecturer on physiology in Boston, he distinguished himself particularly by attacking the excessive claims made at that time for phrenology, tackling Spurzheim himself on his visit to this country. These lectures contemporary testimony pronounced remarkable for scientific clearness and ability. He fell a victim to typhus fever, contracted during his practice at the almshouse, and, after a vain Mediterranean voyage to help convalescence, he died in 1838. The tribute to his memory in these *Proceedings*, declares that "few men could better sift the bearing of a matter so as to detect its essential elements. In a few words he could lay open lines of thought, before unnoticed, with remarkable clearness of intellectual vision. He always sought to reach the last analysis and arrive at the broad principle which included all particular cases." He was among the earliest of the Abolitionists, wrote much in the newspapers and leading magazines, and his speech at a hearing of Abolitionists was published as a pamphlet and also in the *Liberator*. Dr. Bradford was twice the poet of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in 1820 and in 1827. "He never paltered with conscience or principle," says his eulogy. "No shuffling devices ever degraded his opinions or conduct. Everyone who knew him relied on the forthright and thorough honesty of the man. . . . No one could know him without perceiving that his indignation at wrong expressed a sentiment inspired alike by benevolence and a sound logic, and that he was quite fearless in manifesting the feeling. From this source sprang his enlightened and firm attachment to the cause of Anti-slavery."

Such were the qualities of the paternal strain in Mr. Bradford's composition, and the maternal side was no less fine. His mother was born Sophia Blake Rice of Hingham, the daughter of a Revolutionary officer. An uncle by marriage, the Reverend Samuel Ripley, was young Gamaliel's first teacher. The boy was eight years old at his father's death, and, the family being in rather narrow circumstances, Gamaliel

earned his way as a day scholar at Mr. Ripley's boarding school in Waltham by working on the farm. On his mother's removal to Cambridge, he was sent to a private school. Those brilliant parts which enabled him to enter Harvard under fifteen years of age, Mr. Bradford himself, in his autobiography, attributes "solely" to this mother. He sets himself down at this period as "of idle habits and no special inclination." The call of the sea, which had held his grandfather so many years, was strong in him, but his mother resisted all his entreaties, resolved that he "should have an education equal to his father's at any sacrifice." One can see plainly from the autobiographical sketch that its author was "a mother's boy." There was an æsthetic sensibility in his nature, quick and responsive to all kinds of refining influence, fixing and nourishing in him his life-long ardors for languages, for music and the arts, and for classic literature. He calls "such a mother the greatest blessing that can fall to any boy's lot. . . . No condition of earthly wealth or fortune can be compared with a home training received at such hands. . . . It is for that reason that I believe the unparalleled provision for the higher education of women in this country to be the firmest foundation and the hope for the future of this Republic."

While the family were living in the Massachusetts General Hospital superintendent's quarters (where, as he says, he could throw a stone into the Charles River), the boy "imbibed that passionate love of the sunset which has lasted through life," and been fully gratified at its close in twenty years' residence in his Austerfield apartment-house overlooking the Charles River at Harvard Bridge. Another "prevailing passion" from childhood through a long life was a love for music. While at college he would walk from Cambridge to Boston and out again to attend Italian opera. At that famous first Italian opera, given by a troupe from Havana at the Howard Athenæum in 1847, the sixteen-year old Gamaliel was present. At one time he could boast that there had not been an opera performed in Boston which he had not heard. He was a constant subscriber to the best concerts for classic music by such organizations as the Musical Fund, the Germania Society, the Mendelssohn Quintet Club and the Handel and Haydn Society.

After all, are not such delights always the real things of life? The toil and stress in which man combats the world and makes his impression on his fellows are but the means of reaching these oases on the way to the great end of self-evolution. From the earliest years, under the guidance of that mother of his, the young Gamaliel fixed his aims high. He was thirty-seventh in his class as a freshman, but graduated fifth, "and thereby won election to the Phi Beta Kappa society, which, as my father held the same position, I believe repaid my mother for all her sacrifices." Even the by-play of his occupations tended toward culture. His first job was as private secretary of the superintendent of the Nautical Almanac, then at Cambridge, now at Washington. This threw him into frequent intercourse with professors Benjamin Peirce and Louis Agassiz, and a German computer from Berlin on the Nautical Almanac exchanged lessons in German for talks in walks and companionship, so that Mr. Bradford could say in his last years: "Of the few things which I know thoroughly, German stands at the head." Later on, while in the banking house of Blake, Howe & Co., on State Street, he studied Italian, as well as the English classics. During a trouble with his eyes, which had forced him to leave the Nautical Almanac, he engaged a series of boys to read aloud to him works of history and travels. At the same time he was hearing French plays read aloud, and this enabled him to speak French fluently for many years. During the first of his seventeen years of banking, too, he fell in with a Hungarian cavalry captain who had fled to this country with Kossuth, and from him gained a firm and easy seat in the saddle and the management of the horse, which was his greatest source of pleasure for many years. A voyage for the eye trouble had taken him to the Mediterranean in an old whaler, with a cargo of salt fish, and thus he had obtained his first sight of Rome, Naples, Pompeii, and Vesuvius, and the adjacent beauties.

It was after this Mediterranean trip that his cousin, George Baty Blake, one day at dinner, invited him to become a clerk in Blake, Howe & Co. It took the youth of twenty but a day to decide, and he remained there for seventeen years. However, his first duty was another trip to Europe, in charge of Mr. Blake's eldest son, a boy of twelve. This brought young

Bradford to Paris in December, 1851, during the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. On his return he took the full plunge into State Street, being made the firm's representative on the stock exchange, then recently opened. Of this youthful experience in the hurly-burly on the floor of the exchange, the octogenarian Bradford makes the impressive remark: "In the few years of my stay there I learned to dread the business as a medium of gambling. While of course there is much legitimate business, especially for brokers, all the transactions of Homburg in the past, and Monte Carlo since, are as child's play compared to what goes on in the stock exchanges of Boston and New York. Fortunes are made and lost with the turn of a wheel, and the conduct of the game requires a sternness and hardening of the sensibilities which make it an undesirable profession." He had been five years conducting the negotiation of notes, largely with private capitalists, but still more with banks, when the financial crisis of 1857 found him in the best possible point of vantage from which to study the phenomena of panic and, a little later, the "marvellous fruits of the greenback and the National Bank notes, soon to make their appearance." Mr. Bradford was an independent thinker then, as throughout his life, and he cried without ceasing that Secretary Chase had made a grave mistake in his determination that his bonds should be sold at par, and to issue irredeemable legal tender notes in quantities sufficient to float them at that price. "Unfortunately the notes floated everything else, so that all commodities were at double price without any corresponding increase in salaries and income. Only the termination of the war at this time averted more disastrous results than actually followed." Mr. Bradford was managing the foreign exchange business of the firm in which he had become a partner, and had incurred a large liability for those times to English capitalists. "It was weary and anxious work to carry this through the succeeding years, especially under the criticism of my partners, though none of them would assume the responsibility which I offered to resign." Soon after he did resign, for, as Colonel Codman has said in his tribute, "It was a striking peculiarity of Bradford's character that he never seemed desirous of becoming a rich man," and Colonel Codman, as Bradford's classmate, "and always his friend,"

should know. His remarkable ability in business, the quickness, keenness and intensity of his mind, produced the same results there as everywhere. When a competency, which would not now be considered large, had been acquired, he gave up business and all money-making, and devoted himself to expounding public finance and to doing what else in him lay to purify politics and promote whatever he believed to be for the welfare of his fellow citizens.

The record and the monument of this multifarious activity of his is the cabinet of bulky scrap-books which has been added to the collections of this Society. There are six huge volumes of them, including private correspondence, covering his political writings from 1869 to 1911. During all these forty years his had been only a voice crying in the wilderness. Had his life been lengthened by one more year he would have realized his prophetic political vision. And these thousands of "letters to the editor" seem struck out at white heat for the most part. One of his friends remarked of one of his latest protests, that against the fortification of the Panama Canal, "It really leaves one breathless by its persuasive and overwhelming vigor." The burden of all these letters on executive responsibility is expressed in one letter printed in the *Transcript* in 1889, thus:

> The splitting up into a number of discordant and irresponsible committees, made up at the pleasure of the Speaker, the handing over to them of every kind of undigested business, good, bad and indifferent, at anybody's pleasure, without any classification or precedents, the outside pressure upon these committees, the entire want of leadership or authority in the guidance of public business, the complete absence of power and legitimate influence on the part of the Governor, who is a mere figurehead, the incoherence of the executive officials separately elected and wholly independent of the Governor and of each other, the actual government of the State by a set of anonymous and irresponsible commissions, out of reach of the Legislature and the people, and, in turn, as little able to reach them, — all these things form one of the most extraordinary political spectacles which it is possible to imagine.

The breathless amazement and concern reflected in this single sentence of one hundred and thirty words Mr. Bradford seemed always to carry about with him, and to be always on

him whenever and wherever you met him. The wonderful thing about it was that he was never for long cast down, much less despaired of or soured against the world. He believed cheerily and firmly that all was right with the world if only certain patent faults of government organization were set right. These scrap-books of his work are of folio size, with every leaf on both sides pasted with clippings, ingeniously economizing every hair's breadth of space. One of them is almost exclusively composed of pleas for cabinet representation in the Legislature and the discussion of currency and banking reform. Another of the great volumes is almost wholly devoted to the propagandism of Anti-Imperialism, and in another has been assembled all the gibes and jeers and ribald cartoons which pursued his political activities, ten years ago, as a full-fledged member and leader of the old Democratic party. One volume is divided between that mass of matter, speeches, letters, editorials, in which he contributed more than anybody else to the defeat of the biennial election project, and controversy over the Spanish War and the Philippine war. Then there are two volumes of general political writings, such as tracts on Civil Service Reform, historical and financial discussions and literary reviews. It was in the best journals of the country, such as the Springfield *Republican*, the *Evening Post* of New York, and its weekly, the *Nation;* the New York *Tribune* and *Times*, the *Bankers' Magazine* and the Boston *Transcript* and *Advertiser*, that his tireless pen found hospitality; indeed, the *Advertiser* printed his work as editorial, and at times he appears in the old "Daily" with the regularity of a member of the staff.

It is pathetic to think of such industry, such conviction, such feeling, such high-mindedness and pure public spirit spent so lavishly on an ephemeral output, which would doubtless amount in all to more than a five-foot shelf of solid reading. Yet as one dips into the mass here and there, one finds nowhere any line that the most pious affection would wish to blot. All is written in faultless good English, with utmost correctness of parliamentary discussion, with taste, and scholarship, and with sincerity. Let all stand, and if the future historian or student of American politics finds anywhere a more complete, more vivid, more trustworthy series of pictures of

our conditions at this time, he will be fortunate indeed. The truth is that, though Mr. Bradford was undoubtedly disappointed, he was never disgruntled, and he could probably "come back" in politics better than most of his critics. There was some shallow ridicule of his failure at vote-getting. But it is a fact contemporaries can testify to that almost singly and alone he carried to victory the campaign against dropping our annual State election. Equally independent and unaided, it will be allowed, was his crusade for executive responsibility, — which is being practically exemplified to-day on the most conspicuous stage of action in the world. His dip into practical politics of ten years ago recalls the somewhat similar experience of the late French scholar and statesman, Pressensé. "Political shindies were not the proper element of the foreign editor of the eminently respectable Paris *Temps*," says a recent writer. "His righteous wrath wore the aspect of feminine fussiness. He did not understand — how should he, with his training and antecedents ? — the mentality of the great masses. Between him and them there was always a vast gulf fixed. To the end he remained the bourgeois, the Huguenot and the scholar in his despite. He was as conspicuously out of place in an assembly of social revolutionists as a white-tied country minister in the smoking-room of a transatlantic liner."

But from this misadventure Mr. Bradford rebounded with undiminished buoyancy and faith in his ideals. His future biographer will find in the last volume of these scrap-books testimonies of men of eminence to the value of his work which were surely enough to wipe out all memories of the treatment he had received from parochial politicians. Here is Mr. Perry Belmont, for instance, writing within a few weeks of the fatal accident to Mr. Bradford — that is, on July 9, 1911: "I find Governor Wilson of New Jersey entirely in accord with the views you have so often expressed. If you should care to write to him I believe great good would come of it." The country has had full demonstration at President Wilson's hands of the prime principle of Mr. Bradford's life-long propagandism. Professor Ford of Princeton, a close friend and confidential adviser before and since Mr. Wilson's incumbency, appears in this same collection of private letters to Bradford,

writing: "Seats in Congress for members of the Cabinet will be compulsory to escape from national ruin." To crown all there is the letter, dated a month before that of Mr. Belmont's, from Ambassador Bryce thanking Mr. Bradford for his account of the new nominating system of Massachusetts for the appendix to his new book, and predicting the triumph of executive representation in Congress. Absorbed in such affairs, the companion of master minds, Mr. Bradford must have been easily able to cleanse his thought of any lingering atmosphere of the hooliganism which had humiliated him but never for a moment dampened his faith in democracy. Before the twelvemonth after that event had elapsed, he had picked up the gage of battle thrown down by Richard Olney, in an *Atlantic Monthly* article, endeavoring to show the advantages, in certain circumstances, of diverting the populace from local agitations to foreign war in the good old way, and he vigorously censured such appealing to jingoism as reactionary and undemocratic.

All the forty years of this incessant battling for public causes, this tireless diligence with the pen (and Mr. Bradford wrote his letters to the editors with his own hand, never or rarely dictating to stenographers, and, as his Mss. show, almost never erasing or changing a word), Mr. Bradford enjoyed a most happy and equable private life. Its regularity and serenity were not allowed to be in the least disturbed by the gusts of controversy, where he appeared to be as much at home as the stormy petrel in mid-ocean. He had married, at thirty, Miss Clara C. Kinsman of Newburyport. Of this union of but five years one son died at the age of nine, and the other is the sixth Gamaliel and the fourth in succession of members of this Society of that name. For forty years Mr. Bradford's task, deliberately chosen and with high purpose, had been the study of the political history of all modern nations with reference to its bearing upon the present conditions and future welfare of the people of the United States. This mission was summed up in his work in two volumes, published in 1889, *The Lesson of Popular Government*, — "which I venture to hope will command a greater interest one hundred years hence than it does to-day." This is Mr. Bradford's characteristic, optimistic way of refusing to know, in the lexicon of the octoge-

narian, any such word as fail. Nor did he ever know any idle repining. Mr. Erving Winslow's sketch of his personality, his public characteristics and his private "walk and conversation" (published in 1898 in the little Boston weekly called *Time and the Hour*, of brief but brilliant career), lights up the other side of this life that had seemed to the easy-going, cynical, happy-go-lucky, supine, average citizen that of a self-constituted censor and critic:

> Mr. Bradford is one of the frequenters of the Boston Athenæum, and his constant presence there has led strangers to mark him as one of its officials. . . . Mr. Bradford's green bag is almost sure to be stuffed with a fresh bundle of books, and he is familiar with the magazine days, and the newspaper hours, and the snug chairs, and the best-lit corners. He has long been a widower, and lives in apartments in the Austerfield, — that fine house of which the upper windows face the rising and the setting sun, which gilds the State House dome and reddens the summit of Corey Hill. . . . Mr. Bradford's domestic library is not large; all his life he has browsed freely in the Beacon Street collection . . . As a human presence, Mr. Bradford is an inspiring element in the community. Shrewdness and determination, rather than benevolence, illuminate his sharply chiselled features. Yet the keen ardor of his glance is tonic and stimulating. He is quick and decisive in gait, nervous, probably irritable where it is possible to be angry and sin not. . . . While Gamaliel Bradford lives he raises the commonplace level to a larger average and keys the tone of public morals to a higher tension.

A capital pen-portrait sketch and most admirable estimate of his character and influence upon his time! It is pleasant to leave the subject of this memoir with the satisfaction recorded in his autobiographical sketch over the soundness of the principles which guided him through his busy life, and his own judgment that he could have no higher gratification in his declining years than to see these principles developing in his son and grandson.

MAY MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock P. M.; the President, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the addition of 267 medals and tokens of Massachusetts to the Society's collection by exchange and purchase; the gift of a medal of the Springfield Base Ball club, 1858, in white metal, by Robert Bird, of Canton; and the deposit of an oil painting of John Trumbull by himself, at the age of twenty-one, by Percy W. McClellan, of Haverhill.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from Zachary Taylor Hollingsworth accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts of manuscripts:

From Miss Grace W. Treadwell, the papers of Willard Phillips (1784–1873), whose long life was employed in many public and literary activities. He was a practising lawyer, judge of probate for Suffolk County, and president of a mutual life insurance company. His *Treatise on the Law of Insurance* (1823) and writings on patent law and political economy were esteemed, and he edited Collyer's *Law of Partnership* and the first eight volumes of Pickering's *Reports*. For a time he edited the *American Jurist* and the *North American Review*. The papers, the contents of two large trunks, reflect all these occupations, and promise much material of social and historical value. Miss Treadwell reserves the right to print the letters, or to give permission to others to print.

From Miss Caroline W. Fuller, of Boston, thirteen deeds of the Kennebec Proprietors.

From Mrs. Charles H. Joy, of Boston, two papers relating to

the visit of the ship *Columbia*, of Boston (John Kendrick, Commander) to Nootka Sound in 1789; and a letter from Benjamin Joy, U. S. Consul in India, to Delano and Stuart, dated Calcutta, July 23, 1794.

From Miss Mary Hannah Leeds, of Reading, a certificate of freedom of "black woman called or known by the name of Tula and her mulatto child called Bob, then being known, reputed and taken to be the absolute slaves of Robert Thorp, . . . with all their sequel and progeny gotten or to be gotten from thenceforth of the yoke of slavery and bondage thereby forever." The act of enfranchisement took effect in 1741, but this document continues the record until 1780.

From Mrs. Charles F. Richardson, of Boston, a certified copy of the will of Richard Pain, of Boston, 1708.

In the papers of the Boston Marine Insurance Company[1] were a number of blank forms of policies, collected in 1799, to serve as a model for that of the newly incorporated company, foreign as well as domestic companies being represented. Mr. Willard Phillips made a similar collection for use in his practice and *Treatise*, the policies belonging to the first half of the nineteenth century. The two collections give seventy-nine distinct forms used by incorporated and private insuring agencies, a number not easily equalled, and affording material for a study of an interesting subject. A list of these forms, with the date of use so far as can be determined, follows:

Domestic

Boston: Boston Marine Insurance Co., 1799, 1801, 1823; Bradbury, Charles; Gray, William; Manufacturers' Insurance Co., 1802; Mass. Fire and MarineI nsurance Co.; Mass. Mutual Fire Insurance Co., 1850; Merchants' Insurance Co., 1820–1850; National Insurance Co., 1850; N. E. Marine Insurance Co.; N. E. Mutual Life Insurance Co., about 1850; Russell, Nathaniel P., 1808; Suffolk Insurance Co., 1815; Union Insurance Co., 1815.

Nantucket: Union Marine Insurance Co., 1822.

New Bedford: Mutual Marine Insurance Co. of New Bedford; Williams, Lemuel, Jr.; Bedford Commercial Insurance Co.

Newburyport: Merrimack Insurance Co; Newburyport Marine Insurance Co.; Union Marine and Fire Insurance Co., 1805.

[1] Page 276, *supra*.

Salem: Essex Fire and Marine Insurance Co.; Lander, Peter; Salem Commercial Insurance Co., 1817; Salem Marine Insurance Co., 18—; Union Marine Insurance Co., 18—.

New York: Albion Life Insurance Co., about 1850; Atlantic Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1850; Broadway Insurance Co., 1850; Brooklyn Fire Insurance Co., 1850; The Clinton Fire Insurance Co., 1850; Columbian Insurance Co., 1800; Commercial Fire Insurance Co., 1850; Empire City Fire Insurance Co., 1850; Franklin Fire Insurance Co., 1820; Marine Insurance Co. of New York, 1798; Mercantile Mutual Insurance Co., 1840–50; Merchants' Insurance Co. of the City of New York, 1850; Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York, 1850; New York Insurance Co., 1798; New York Life Insurance and Trust Co., 1840; Ocean Insurance Co.; Sun Mutual Insurance Co., 1850; Union Mutual Insurance Co., 1850; United Insurance Co., 1798, 1800; United States Life Insurance Co. in the City of New York, 1850; Washington Insurance Co. in the City of New York, 1850.

Buffalo: Mutual Insurance Co. of Buffalo, about 1840.

Oswego: Northwestern Insurance Co. of Oswego, 1850.

Philadelphia: Delaware Mutual Safety Insurance Co., about 1850; Insurance Co. of North America, 1796, 1798; Insurance Co. of the State of Pennsylvania, 1797; Union Mutual Insurance Co. of Philadelphia, about 1850; United States Insurance Co.

Baltimore: Baltimore Equitable Society, 1850; Baltimore Fire Insurance Co., 1850; Baltimore Insurance Co., about 1820; Baltimore Life Insurance Co., about 1850; Chesapeake Insurance Co., 1820; Maryland Insurance Co., 1820; Merchants' Mutual Insurance Co. of Baltimore, 1850; Mutual Fire and Marine Insurance Co. of Baltimore, about 1850; Patapsco Insurance Co., about 1820; Universal Insurance Co., about 1820.

Charleston, South Carolina: Charleston Insurance and Trust Co., about 1850; South Carolina Insurance Co., about 1850.

Augusta, Georgia: Insurance and Banking Company, about 1820.

Lexington, Kentucky: Lexington Fire, Life and Marine Insurance Co., about 1850.

Cincinnati, Ohio: Cincinnati Mutual Insurance Co., about 1850; Merchants' and Manufacturers' Mutual Insurance Co., about 1850.

Columbus: Columbus Insurance Co., 184–.

Foreign

London: National Loan and Life Assurance Society of London, about 1850; Royal Exchange Assurance, 1796, 1810; Thomas Dickason and Co., Agents, 1796.

Amsterdam: Dutch form in Ms., 1797.
Paris: Compagnie Royale d'Assurances., 1820.
Spain: Form in Ms., 1797.
India: Phœnix Insurance Co., 1801; Hindustan Insurance Co., 1805; Form in Ms., 1801.
China: Canton Insurance Co., 1817.

The Council reported the appointment of the following Committees:

House Committee: Grenville H. Norcross, J. Collins Warren, and Worthington C. Ford.

Finance Committee: C. F. Adams, Grenville H. Norcross, and Charles P. Greenough.

The PRESIDENT appointed as the Committee to publish the *Proceedings:* C. F. Adams, James Ford Rhodes, and Edward Stanwood.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended on such objects as to the Council of the Society may seem desirable.

Chester Noyes Greenough, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society; and George Peabody Wetmore, of Newport, Rhode Island, a Corresponding Member.

The Recording Secretary communicated three memoirs: one of Thornton Kirkland Lothrop by Mr. MORSE; one of Francis Calley Gray by Mr. BOLTON; one of Charles Eliot Norton by Mr. HOWE and Mr. C. F. ADAMS.

Mr. NORCROSS presented a copy of the *Boston Patriot* of February 22, 1815, containing the proclamation of peace.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS read portions of a paper on

A CRISIS IN DOWNING STREET.

At the November meeting, 1911 — thirty months since — it may by some be remembered I submitted a paper — "The Trent Affair; An Historical Retrospect" — which now appears in its proper place in our *Proceedings*. The episode then discussed was one of indisputable historical interest, and I was able to speak of it to a certain extent from personal recollection. What I now submit amounts to a sequel. I then had occasion to refer in some detail to the Confederate Commis-

sioners arrested in transit by Capt. Wilkes — James M. Mason of Virginia, and John Slidell of Louisiana. I described their seizure, their subsequent detention at Fort Warren, their release, and, finally, their arrival at their original destinations in the two European capitals — London and Paris — there to represent the Confederacy.

The present narrative has in it not a few of the elements which enter into works of fiction; and, on behalf of the Confederacy, it was John Slidell who at that juncture arranged the diplomatic program about to be described. Such being the case, it is historically interesting, in view of what subsequently occurred, to recall the impression once made on his contemporaries by Mr. Slidell; for, so highly developed was his faculty of political management supposed to be, he was popularly regarded as little short of a magician. This impression was shared also by those exceptionally competent to form opinions on that head. For instance, in his publication, *My Diary, North and South*, W. H. Russell thus describes a social call at New Orleans, May 24, 1861, immediately after the fall of Fort Sumter. He says:

> In the evening I visited Mr. Slidell, whom I found at home with his family. . . . I rarely met a man whose features have a greater *finesse* and firmness of purpose than Mr. Slidell's; his keen grey eye is full of life, his thin, firmly-set lips indicate resolution and passion. Mr. Slidell, though born in a Northern state, is perhaps one of the most determined disunionists in the Southern Confederacy; he is not a speaker of note, nor a ready stump orator, nor an able writer; but he is an excellent judge of mankind, adroit, persevering, and subtle, full of device, and fond of intrigue; one of those men, who, unknown almost to the outer world, organizes and sustains a faction, and exalts it into the position of a party — what is called here a "wire-puller." Mr. Slidell is to the South something greater than Mr. Thurlow Weed has been to his party in the North. . . . Mr. Slidell and the members of his family possess *naiveté*, good sense, and agreeable manners; and the regrets I heard expressed in Washington society, at their absence, had every justification.

This was written in May. Six months later Mr. Slidell emerged into world-wide notoriety, and Russell, then still sending his "Special Correspondent" letters to the *Times*, thus referred to him immediately after the *Trent* affair, the

letter, written in Washington, appearing in the *Times* issue for December 10th:

> Mr. Slidell, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in New Orleans, is a man of more tact and he is not inferior to his colleague, Mr. Mason, in other respects. He far excels him in subtlety and depth, and is one of the most consummate masters of political manœuvre in the States. He is what is here called a "wire-puller," — a man who unseen moves the puppets on the public stage as he lists — a man of iron will and strong passions, who loves the excitement of combinations, . . . and who in his dungeon [at Fort Warren], or whatever else it may be, would conspire with the mice against the cat sooner than not conspire at all. . . . Originally a northern man, he has thrown himself into the southern cause and staked his great fortune on the issue without hesitation, and with all the force of his intellect and character.

Commenting on the above, I thus expressed myself in the paper on the *Trent* affair:

> Slidell, on the other hand, was considered one of the most astute and dangerous of all Confederate public characters. An intriguer by nature, unscrupulous in his political methods, he . . . was generally looked upon as the most dangerous person to the Union the Confederacy could select for diplomatic work in Europe. The first object of the envoys was to secure the recognition of the Confederacy.[1]

In the present study my purpose is to describe, in the light of material to which access has since been obtained, the work done by this master of political management, this diplomatic magician, during the eight months immediately succeeding his arrival in Europe. The narrative, an extraordinary one, involves, as I shall show, the crisis of our Civil War. Well-designed, the scheme — plot, it cannot properly be termed — at one time seemed almost certain to prove a triumph of diplomatic art. In the event it failed, and failed utterly; but its failure was due to a combination of circumstances highly improbable of occurrence, and quite beyond the control of Mr. Slidell. Not long surviving the cause he had furthered, Mr. Slidell died in exile. No biography of him has since been published, and his papers, like those of his colleague in

[1] *Proceedings*, XLV. 40.

the Senate and Chief in the Confederate State Department during the Civil War, Judah P. Benjamin, have been destroyed. In his share in what then occurred, however, so far as the record survives, I find nothing provocative of censure, nothing which an opponent would be justified in stigmatizing as otherwise than in accordance with the accepted rules of the game. On this point my judgment is also worth something; as, first so to do, I have been privileged to read the confidential correspondence between him and Mr. Mason.

July, 1863, witnessed the Gettysburg struggle and the fall of Vicksburg. That month, consequently, is by general historical consent looked upon as marking the climax and turning-point of the War of Secession. Perhaps it did; but it may none the less fairly be questioned whether for sympathisers in the cause of the Union, the previous September did not furnish occasion for a deeper solicitude. In it the crisis became acute; and, until the ensuing July, it continued to be so.

To summarize briefly the course of events, it will be remembered that in August, 1862, the great Union advance inaugurated, East and West, in the preceding February, had spent its force; and, in Virginia, ceasing to be aggressive, it was thrown back to such an extent that Washington, and not Richmond, stood in danger of hostile occupation. At the same time, the European situation was far from satisfactory. Not only was the Confederate cotton campaign in progress, but every indication favored for it an early and successful issue; and that issue involved nothing less than the outcome of the struggle. Was Cotton not indeed King? This had, in the summer of 1862, become a world question; and the machinery and life incident to and dependent upon the cotton production and the cotton textile industries, whether in Great Britain, on the continent, or in Asia, were disorganized. The social unrest and economical suffering, necessarily incident to a commercial confusion literally world-wide, were at their height. This condition of affairs was, moreover, by common consent, attributed to the American War. The blockade of the Southern cotton-shipping ports by the National Government of the United States was accepted as the obvious cause of ills and disturbances in Hindustan and China no less than in Lancashire.

The question of foreign action in some form, bearing on this situation — whether an offer of mediation, or through the formal recognition of the Confederacy as a member of the family of nations, or through a refusal farther to recognize the blockade — now presented itself. It had been in the air since the commencement of the struggle. Indeed, weeks before the attack on Fort Sumter, M. Mercier, the French Minister in Washington, had become so convinced that a permanent separation, South from North, was impending and inevitable, that he had even gone so far as to suggest to Lord Lyons that it was desirable that he, the British Minister at Washington, acting in connection with the representative of France, should be clothed with discretionary power to recognize the Confederacy. This was in March.[1] The conviction further on assumed in Mercier's mind the shape almost of an obsession;[2] and, naturally, it colored his official dispatches, operating immediately on the minds of the Emperor and his advisers in potent furtherance of the programme which had early outlined itself in Mr. Slidell's busily scheming brain. Indeed, that program may be said to have originated with the French representative; for, in April, 1862, Mercier obtained a permit to visit the Confederate capital. Judah P. Benjamin was then acting as the Confederate Secretary of State, and with him, Creole Senator from Louisiana up to the previous February, the French Minister had, during their common residence in Washington, held social relations of a peculiarly friendly character. Lord Newton, in his *Life of Lord Lyons*, says of Mercier in this connection, "after the manner of French diplomatists of the period, he could not resist the temptation of trying to effect a striking *coup*."[3] Whether such was or was not his moving impulse, Mercier had concealed from Lord Lyons his project until it was too late to endeavor to dissuade him from it. Indeed, he was bent upon it. More cautious in his disposition than his colleague, Lord Lyons apprehended that in going to the Confederate capital at that time he was "as likely to get himself into a scrape as to do anything else." And it so turned out. It was an officious

[1] Newton, *Life of Lord Lyons*, I. 34.
[2] *Ib.*, 90.
[3] *Ib.*, 82; *Lyons to Russell*, April 14, 1862.

act, characteristic of the man and of the imperial diplomatic service.

Mercier got back on the 24th of April.[1] He returned more than ever persuaded that a restoration of the Union was impossible;[2] that unless the Powers of Europe intervened the war would last for years; that in the end the independence of the South would have to be recognized; that the evils incident to a cotton shortage would meanwhile be intensified; and that, in view of these conditions, the Governments of Europe should be on the watch for any favorable opportunity of exerting themselves in such a way as to end the war. His dispatches would in this connection be of great historic value; and, at some future time, will probably be accessible. At present, however, they are buried in the archives of the French Foreign Office; but the Minister of course freely communicated his views whether to the Emperor personally or to his official superior in the department of the French Foreign Affairs. Those views also, it so chanced, chimed in most opportunely with the plans of the Emperor in connection with the Mexican enterprise on which he was at the time fully embarked. Napoleon III, therefore, was under every inducement to exert himself actively and openly to bring the proposed intervention about.[3] A little later, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, was in England, and the Emperor then sent him a telegram desiring him unofficially to ascertain whether the British Government did not think the time had come for recognizing the South. This was in July. Thouvenel replied that from conversations which had already taken place between him and Lord Palmerston, and from the language which the Premier had just used in Parliament, it did not seem to him expedient to press the matter further at that time.[4]

The course of ensuing events must next be noted in close connection with military operations then going on both in the United States and in Mexico. The reverses to the Union arms which marked the months of July, August and early

[1] *Lyons to Russell*, April 25, 1862.
[2] See Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*, 288.
[3] Rhodes, IV. 94.
[4] Walpole, *Twenty-five Years*, II. 55.

September, 1862, were already foreshadowed. On the 18th of July, it was reported in London and Liverpool that McClellan's army either had surrendered or was on the point of capitulation.[1] Under pressure of disaster, a military reorganization in face of a victorious opponent had become a necessity. So General Halleck, called from the West to Washington, superseded at the seat of government McClellan, his senior in commission. General Pope had already been put at the head of a newly organized force, intended to act in cooperation with the Army of the Potomac, but wholly independent of it. The succession of military disasters was thus provoked, which, a few weeks later, resulted in the Union forces being driven or withdrawn from Virginia soil. On the 29th of July, moreover, to the unconcealed satisfaction of Parliament as well as a large preponderance of the English press, the *Alabama*, eluding the customs officials, got to sea. It was in position to begin its work, the character of which was well and generally understood. A British-built, British-armed and British-manned Confederate commerce-destroyer had been let loose on the American merchant marine.

The second French expeditionary force to Mexico was in course of active preparation. The Emperor had been advised by the commander of the first force, sent out a year before, that in point of discipline, organization and morale, the French were so superior to the Mexicans that he (Gen. Lorencez) felt able to "assure the Emperor that at the head of six thousand men [he] would undertake to become complete master of Mexico." Thus officially informed, Louis Napoleon, constitutionally a dreamer, was imbued with a belief that it was his mission to establish in West Indian waters a firm government, which "shall give to that Latin race beyond the ocean its ancient strength and power."[2]

From Gibraltar to Kronstadt, all Europe was intently following the above course of events. Thus, through a wholly fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, Mr. Slidell found himself in that situation for which Nature had especially designed him. The atmosphere was one of intrigue, and every condition of the environment, whether in France, in England,

[1] Adams, Ms. Diary; *Mason to Slidell*, July 18, 1862.
[2] Martin, *Maximilian in Mexico*, 107, 108.

in Mexico, or in the Confederacy, invited manipulation. He was also in fairly close personal touch with the Emperor, at that time looked upon as the European Sphinx, and himself the busiest schemer of the day. About the middle of April the Confederate Commissioner had with him a personal interview, of which Slidell sent to Mason the following account:

> My interview lasted seventy minutes (one hour, ten minutes); he was particularly gracious, I may even say cordial. I had expected him to be reserved, taking little part in conversation, making or suggesting questions and replying briefly. Far from this he talked freely, frankly, and unreservedly, spoke in the most decided terms of his sympathy and his regret that England had not shared his views. He said that he had made a great mistake in respecting a blockade which had for six months at least not been effective, that we ought to have been recognized last summer while our ports were still in our own possession. He spoke freely of the Mexican question and the probability of its soon bringing him into collision with the United States, that the treaty with Mexico if ratified by the Senate, would place them inevitably in a hostile position towards him. He asked if he offered mediation how the question of boundaries could be settled? What we would insist on? I said that we would insist on all the States where a majority of the people had already determined by their votes to join our Confederacy, leaving the people of Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland to decide further — such as whether they could or would associate their fortunes with ours. He expressed his regret that he had not been able sooner to see me and on parting said that he hoped for the future I should have less difficulty in seeing him.
>
> On the whole he left on my mind the impression that if England long persists in her inaction he would be disposed to act without her, although of course he did not commit himself to do so. He said that he had reason not to be wholly satisfied with England, she had not appreciated as she should have done his support in the *Trent* affair. There is an important part of our conversation that I will give you through Mr. Mann. On the whole my interview was highly satisfactory.[1]

At this time a sharp personal stimulus was administered to Mr. Slidell's activities. The surrender of New Orleans to the Union fleet under command of Admiral Farragut took place

[1] *Slidell to Mason*, April 20, 1862.

April 26. Immediately on receipt of the news of this event in Paris, Slidell wrote to Mason that in an interview with M. Thouvenel, the Foreign Secretary, he had frankly admitted that this occurrence "would be most disastrous, as it would give the enemy the control of the Mississippi and its tributaries, that it would not in any way modify the fixed purpose of our people to carry on the war even to an extermination. He [Thouvenel] said that was the opinion of everyone here."[1] Referring to the effect of the capture on his personal circumstances, Slidell added in the same letter: "The taking of New Orleans cuts me off from all resources while the war lasts, and that will probably be very many months. Under other circumstances, I should not care about receiving anything from Richmond. This is now to me a matter of consequence."[2]

Slidell's line of diplomatic activity was now clearly defined. Aware that concurrent action with Great Britain was fundamental in the policy of the Second Empire, Slidell's purpose was to make the most effective use possible of France to influence Great Britain in favor of a joint European recognition of the Confederacy, and, if possible, of intervention in the blockade. This failing, he further hoped so to commit Napoleon through his Mexican enterprise that, in case of a failure to bring about concurrent action, the independent recognition of the Confederacy by France would become for the Emperor a logical necessity, implying the presence of a formidable fleet in the waters of the Gulf, "strong enough to keep [that coast] clear of every Federal cruiser." Such a naval armament had in fact already been provided as a necessary adjunct to the Mexican outfit. As Slidell now expressed it to Mason, "I shall be *very much* surprised and disappointed if the Emperor do not take the matter in hand on his own hook." This was written August 3. Three days later, on the 6th, Slidell further wrote to the same effect. Referring to a discussion which occurred in the House of Lords two days previous, in the course of which Earl Russell, being questioned, had made certain statements, Slidell thus expressed himself:

[1] *Slidell to Mason*, May 19, 1862.
[2] *Slidell to Mason*, May 14, 1862.

I think that it may now be assumed that England will not move, and I can only account for the inaction of the English Ministry on the hypothesis that they desire to see the North entirely exhausted and broken down, that they are willing in order to attain this object to suffer their own people to starve, and [themselves to] play the poltroon in the face of Europe. [Russell's] answer must have been given without any consultation with this Government. If I am right in this opinion, the Emperor has been treated with a rudeness approaching to indignity, which will make him the better disposed to pursue his own policy without consulting England. If he do, Russell's prompt reply ought not to be regretted. France will for us be a safer ally than England.

With this program rapidly assuming shape in his mind, on July 17 Slidell had submitted to the Emperor a direct and definite proposition, which was also a little later communicated in writing to Thouvenel, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. This proposition was based on formal instructions drawn up by Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, at the time of Mercier's visit to Richmond. Benjamin's instructions ran in part as follows:

It is well understood that there exists at present a temporary embarrassment in the finances of France, which might have the effect of deterring that government from initiating a policy likely to superinduce the necessity for naval expeditions. If, under these circumstances, you should after cautious inquiry be able to satisfy yourself that the grant of a subsidy for defraying the expenses of such expeditions would suffice for removing any obstacle to an arrangement or understanding with the Emperor, you are at liberty to enter into engagements to that effect.[1]

Slidell, accordingly, construing his instructions broadly, now proposed to Louis Napoleon that, in return for Confederate recognition, France was to receive in bales of cotton what amounted to the equivalent in cash of a hundred million francs, together with most favorable tariff arrangements; and, so far as Mexico was concerned, an immediate alliance offensive and defensive was to be arranged.[2] This was in every way an opportune as well as tempting inducement; and the Emperor encouraged the Confederate representative by assuring him

[1] April 12, 1862. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 229.
[2] *Slidell to Benjamin*, July 25, 1862.

that he, the Emperor, had moved in the matter, and was exerting himself to bring about combined action by European powers. A diplomatic intimation meanwhile shortly after reached Mr. Slidell to the effect that it was undesirable the special inducements held forth should come to the knowledge of the English Government;[1] and, accordingly, when Slidell confidentially communicated with his London colleague on this topic, he did not fail to intimate to him that the existence of an understanding so markedly advantageous to the French Government had best not reach those the Emperor proposed to have associated with him in the contemplated movement. It was presumably at this stage of proceedings that the telegraphic message from the Emperor personally to Thouvenel, already referred to, was sent.

Thus Slidell was putting in most effective diplomatic work, and the tide not only seemed to be setting, but, from all directions, actually was setting in favor of the Confederacy, and that strongly. On the 7th of August Parliament was prorogued, and the Government, relieved of its presence for some months to come, felt comparatively free. The situation in Lancashire was, however, most disturbing. It even threatened to get beyond all available means of relief, and not impossibly of control. The market was in a condition of unprecedented excitement, for American cotton was quoted at thirty pence per pound, while great uneasiness was felt because of a belief that the next steamer from America might not improbably bring news of the Confederates being in Washington. In such case, as the result of some European offer of mediation, a speedy recognition of the Confederacy was anticipated, and Liverpool might find itself flooded with cotton arrivals. The most prudent and the most daring were equally at a loss. The suffering in the Lancashire districts was at the same time rapidly intensifying. The number of those either actually paupers or dependent upon others for relief was mounting up at the rate of approximately a thousand each day; and it was reported that as compared with the previous year there had been an increase of over 113,000 persons in receipt of parochial relief, or some 263 per cent. In five manufacturing centres, 32,718 operatives were reported as working short time, while

[1] *Slidell to Mason*, July 30, 1862.

33,651 were wholly unemployed; 14,530 only were working full time. The weekly loss of wages in those five unions alone amounted to £27,430.[1]

In view of these facts and the situation thus set forth, the minds of both Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell naturally a little later on turned to the question of policy as respects the American conflict. Was not the time actually come, or at least probably at hand, when a new attitude should be assumed? If so, what form should it take? Should the coöperation of other European powers be invited? And, so far as France was concerned, the intimations, direct and indirect, semi-official and unofficial, received first through Mr. Lindsay and later through M. Thouvenel, bore fruit.[2] As Palmerston expressed it, "France, we know, is quite ready, and only waiting for our concurrence."[3] So far as the cause of Confederacy was concerned, all the indications were favorable.

Lord Palmerston accordingly now broached the subject in characteristic fashion to Earl Russell; and the two, as the result of an interchange of views, agreed on both the expediency and nature of ministerial action looking, as respects the American conflict, to a radical change of policy. This subject, however, elsewhere discussed,[4] is familiar history, and I have no new facts now to present in connection therewith. I shall not, therefore, encumber our *Proceedings* with what would at best be only a useless repetition. At this juncture Lord Palmerston was at Broadlands, his home in the South of England. Earl Russell was at Gotha, Germany, in attendance on the Queen, who had left England in the closing days of August. She, recently widowed, was in a state of great mental depression. When not absorbed in a sense of bereavement, her mind was occupied with family and strictly domestic affairs; for the marriage of the Prince of Wales, now arranged, took place some months later.

The proposed change of policy, based on a tender of friendly mediation to the parties to the American conflict,

[1] *Index*, I. 354.

[2] *Slidell to Mason*, August 6, 1862; Butler's *Benjamin*, 299.

[3] Walpole's *Russell*, II. 362.

[4] *Life of C. F. Adams* (Am. Statesmen Series), chap. XV; *Studies, Military and Diplomatic*, 400–412; *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity*, 97–106. See, also, Rhodes, IV. and, generally, the researches of Callahan, Latané and others.

decided on by the two ministers had been officially communicated to the Queen, and she had assented thereto. In doing so she had merely expressed a wish that Austria, Prussia and Russia should be consulted before action was taken. It was, however, well understood that the counsels of no one carried greater weight in the mind of the Queen than those of King Leopold of Belgium; and King Leopold was at this time writing personal letters to the Emperor urging him to use every exertion to cause England to join in a recognition of the Confederacy, or take any other course likely to put an end to the American struggle. The Confederate agents naturally set much store on the influence thus brought to bear in their favor.[1] As Mason expressed it to Slidell, "You know, I suppose, the great and affectionate respect of Queen Victoria for her uncle." So it only remained to bring the matter before the Cabinet for its approval; and that approval seems to have been assumed as of course. The importance of the action proposed was fully realized, and, in order to give proper attention to it, the Foreign Secretary now left Gotha, returning to England and his Downing Street office. Getting there about the 22d of September, the next two weeks were utilized by him in the preparation of an elaborate Cabinet circular, in furtherance of the program agreed upon between himself and the Premier. He was relieved as respects attendance on the Queen by Lord Granville, then President of the Council. In the confidential circular he now drew up the Foreign Secretary submitted to his colleagues the question whether, in the light of what had taken place in America and the conditions of distress prevailing throughout the manufacturing districts of England and France, it was not the duty of Europe "to ask both parties, in the most friendly and conciliatory terms, to agree to a suspension of arms for the purpose of weighing calmly the advantages of peace" — and so forth and so on.

Harmless, and even philanthropic and benevolent, in aspect and tone, this was in fact a most insidious, not to say hypocritical, proposition; for it was an initial step — the entering wedge. The national government, it was perfectly well known, would reject the offer. If, then, the Confederacy signified its acceptance — what was the next step to be? Of course, rec-

[1] *Slidell to Mason*, October 29; *Mason to Slidell*, October 31, 1862.

ognition; to be speedily followed by a joint intervention, English and French, at least to the extent of a refusal to recognize further the blockade. Europe was to the last degree benevolent; but it wanted cotton, and proposed to get it. Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell knew just as well what the game they were playing meant, as did James M. Mason and John Slidell, when they put the Emperor up to playing it. Meanwhile, this attitude and style of utterance were in no way characteristic of either Palmerston or Russell — the somewhat cynical bonhommie of the one or the curt downrightness of the other. But it is always to be remembered that John Bull was then, in contemplation of our most unfraternal strife, indulging in one of his most unctuous, Pharisaic moods. Happily forgetful of Burgos incidents, in his Peninsular Wars, and of more recent Hindoo, Sepoy-suppression methods, he could not find words adequate to the expression of the horror felt over the unchristian, not to say ungentlemanly, way in which we were conducting ourselves and hostilities in America. "History afforded no example," etc., etc., etc. Snivelling and with upturned eyes, Russell and Westbury now recorded their sense of the "horrible atrocities" which marked the course of a war which "may become worse than any we have yet heard of in barbarism and atrocity." The Chadband, I am-better-than-thou, element in the British make-up was unmistakably and, to Americans, most unpleasantly in evidence. On the other hand, the calm and self-contained Lyons was at this time absent from his post and temporarily in England, having left in charge of the legation at Washington a Mr. Stuart, "a strong partizan of the South." And Mr. Stuart, as the record shows, vied with Mercier in his obsessions as respects mediation and recognition. A most unhappy substitute for Lyons, this gentleman was now advising the Foreign Secretary and Cabinet that the general aspect of things in America was, as the result of the military reverses then sustained by the Union Army in Virginia, fast ripening for mediation and peace. There were, in short, more hopeful indications of returning sense; and he was almost convinced that any proposals which Great Britain might now make in concert with France, if moderately and courteously worded, would, after a certain amount of threats and howling by the violent portion of the press, be favor-

ably received by a majority of the public. And so, expressing himself in harmony with such suggestions direct from the scene of conflict, the Foreign Secretary oiled his entering wedge with language most moderate and courteous. Altogether, it was, for John Russell, quite a model of Pharisaic unctuosity.

Next to Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell, Mr. Gladstone was the most influential member of the ministry then in office. Consulted as to the change of policy proposed, he gave to it his emphatic approval. It wholly coincided with the views he at that time entertained. The cry of distress coming up from the cotton-spinning districts appealed to his strong humanitarian sympathies. He, moreover, like Lord Palmerston, and indeed the great mass of European observers and supposed authorities, was fully convinced that a re-establishment of the American Union was impossible, as well as from every point of view undesirable. Finally, by a subtle process of reasoning always characteristic of him and them, Mr. Gladstone, in common with a large number of his countrymen, had most conveniently persuaded himself that the immediate victory of the slave-owner would surely result in the ultimate downfall of slavery. He had also conceived an idea that the Northern States could be reconciled to the severance of the South by the friendly acquisition of the Canadas and the other British North American continental possessions; to which arrangement, as Mr. Gladstone was then inclined to think, no sound objection existed. More than thirty years later, reverting in a spirit of unsparing self-examination to what now occurred, he wrote: "I really, though most strangely, believed that it was an act of friendliness to all America [to cause the North] to recognize that the struggle was virtually at an end." [1]

The concurrence of Mr. Gladstone in the proposed program apparently made the assurance of its adoption doubly sure; for, as Lord Granville had a few months before, and in another connection, written to Lord Canning, "He [Gladstone], Johnny [Russell], and Pam [Palmerston] are a formidable phalanx when they are united in opposition to the whole Cabinet in foreign matters." Not only was this so, but in the present case, so far as sympathy with the struggling and now apparently victorious Confederacy was concerned, a large majority of the Cab-

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, II. 81.

inet were with "the formidable phalanx." So Granville, an experienced judge of Cabinet situations, looking upon the conclusion as foregone, wrote to a colleague, "I suspect you will settle" in the way proposed; "it appears to me a great mistake." [1]

For weeks the tension had been on the steady increase. Something of a decisive character must, it would seem, soon occur; and, on each side, the representatives of the contending parties were preparing for an immediately impending crisis. Mr. W. S. Lindsay, a member of Parliament representing Sunderland, was throughout the conflict a warm English supporter of the Confederate cause. His personal relations with the Confederate commissioners were so close as to be almost intimate. He in June brought forward a motion that in the opinion of the House of Commons the time had come when "the propriety of offering mediation with a view to terminating hostilities between the contending parties [in America] is worthy of the serious and immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government." After consulting with Disraeli, Roebuck, and other leading Conservatives and Liberals, as well as with Mason and Slidell, Mr. Lindsay had in July concluded that conditions were ripe for pressing his motion.[2] Thouvenel, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, was then in London.[3] Why was he there? Slidell, writing at this juncture from Paris, assured Mason, as the result of a "long, interesting and satisfactory interview with the Emperor" that "things are right in France." He further told Mason that he had received the Emperor's approval of a formal demand for immediate recognition, to be simultaneously made by himself in France and by Mason in England.[4] Mason in reply wrote: "I am happy to say that the rout before Richmond has had the happiest effect here in all quarters, and things look well for Lindsay's motion tonight." He added: "We have rumors today coming through the bankers that McClellan's army had capitulated, he escaping in a gun-boat."[5]

The debate on the motion took place on the evening of the 18th. Concerning it Mr. Lindsay had a month before written

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, I. 442.
[2] *Mason to Slidell*, July 11, 1862.
[3] *Ib.*, July 13, 1862.
[4] *Slidell to Mason*, July 16, 1862.
[5] *Mason to Slidell*, July 18, 1862.

as follows to Mr. Mason: "Lord Russell sent to me last night to get the words of my motion. I have sent them to him tonight, and I have embraced the opportunity of opening my mind to his Lordship. I have told him that I have postponed my motion in courtesy to him — that the sympathy of nine-tenths of the members of the House was in favor of immediate recognition, and that even if the Government was not prepared to accept my motion, a majority of votes *would* be obtained within the next fortnight." He added: "I further told his Lordship that recognition was a *right* which no one would deny us the form of exercising. That the fear of war if we exercised it was a delusion. That the majority of the leading men in the Northern States would thank us for exercising it, and that even Seward himself might be glad to see it exercised so as to give him an excuse for getting out of the terrible war into which he had dragged his people."[1] The debate[2] closed with a speech from the Premier, after which, at his suggestion the motion was withdrawn. Of what Palmerston said on this occasion Mr. Adams the next day wrote: "It was cautious and wise, but enough could be gathered from it to show that mischief to us in some shape will only be averted by the favor of Divine Providence on our own efforts. The anxiety attending my responsibility is only postponed." A few days later Mr. Adams further wrote: "The suspense is becoming more and more painful. I do not think since the beginning of the war I have felt so profoundly anxious for the safety of the country." Then, on the 29th of September: "For a fortnight my mind has been running so strongly on this, night and day, that it seems almost to threaten my life."

In view of the emergency possibly impending, Mr. Adams had weeks before written home asking from Secretary Seward specific instructions for his guidance if what he apprehended should occur. Those instructions he had in due time received; they were explicit. They were also characteristic. The despatch in which they are imbedded, prolix and Sewardesque, is also otherwise curiously suggestive. Suffice it to say that, in its essential passages, carrying the standard entrusted

[1] *Lindsay to Mason*, June 18, 1862.
[2] *Index*, I. 214; 3 Hansard, CLXVIII. 549.

to him high and with a firm hand, the American Secretary in that hour of darkness, defeat and discouragement bore himself in a way in which his country may take pride. Fifty years later the concentrated excerpts read well. The despatch was in part as follows:

If the British government shall in any way approach you directly or indirectly with propositions which assume or contemplate an appeal to the President on the subject of our internal affairs, whether it seem to imply a purpose to dictate, or to mediate, or to advise, or even to solicit or persuade, you will answer that you are forbidden to debate, to hear, or in any way receive, entertain, or transmit any communication of the kind. You will make the same answer whether the proposition comes from the British government alone or from that government in combination with any other Power.

If you are asked an opinion what reception the President would give to such a proposition, if made here, you will reply that you are not instructed, but you have no reason for supposing that it would be entertained.

If contrary to our expectations the British government, either alone or in combination with any other government, should acknowledge the insurgents, while you are remaining without instructions from this Government concerning that event, you will immediately suspend the exercise of your functions. . . . I have now in behalf of the United States, and by the authority of their chief executive magistrate, performed an important duty. Its possible consequences have been weighed, and its solemnity is therefore felt and freely acknowledged. This duty has brought us to meet and confront the danger of a war with Great Britain and other states allied with the insurgents who are in arms for the overthrow of the American Union. You will perceive that we have approached the contemplation of that crisis with the caution which great reluctance has inspired. But I trust that you will also have perceived that the crisis has not appalled us.[1]

With these ringing instructions before him, Mr. Adams now awaited the outcome he was powerless in any material way to affect. Meanwhile, acting under a proper sense of diplo-

[1] So far as is ascertainable never made public in full, the body of this despatch of August 2, 1862, is to be found in *Messages and Documents*, 1862–1863, Part I, 165–168. The passages quoted were there omitted, and were first printed as from Ms. by Rhodes (IV. 342–343) in 1899, and by Frederic Bancroft in his *Seward* (II. 294–296) in 1900.

matic restraint, he did what was in his power to do. He communicated the tenor of his instructions to W. E. Forster, a member of Parliament and stanch friend of the Union, who held confidential relations with Mr. Milner-Gibson, a member of the Cabinet. Mr. Forster expressed the opinion that the Government should be made aware of the nature of these instructions before it further committed itself; but what action, if any, he took to that end does not appear. It is, however, in no way an unreasonable historical assumption to suppose that the intimation thus given reached its intended Cabinet destination. If so, it could not have failed to convey to the minds of those responsible for the policy about to be pursued its ultimate possible consequence in the matter of American *Alabamas*. Both Lord Palmerston and Earl Russell also retained vivid personal recollections of 1812.

The special Cabinet meeting was called for the 23d of October; to all outward appearance and in all human probability that was the fateful day; the ordeal must then be faced. The course of events was arranged. As it rested in the mind of the Foreign Secretary, it began with an innocent-looking proposal of a cessation of hostilities; friendly offices in the way of mediation were next to be extended; with a recognition of the Confederacy in reserve, should this offer be declined. So far as the American minister was concerned and the course by him to be pursued in the contingency now arising, the instructions of the Secretary were explicit. They covered the ground.

The momentous 23d of October came and passed. Upon it, so far as the outer world was advised, nothing happened. The unexpected had again occurred.

What had taken place? Why was the carefully prepared program, so far-reaching, so world-momentous, suddenly, quietly, postponed — ostensibly abandoned? It is a curious story — that which I am now about to tell. But I must preface it with an acknowledgment — an acknowledgment amounting almost to a recantation. Not pleasant to make, it none the less illustrates somewhat strikingly, I think, the force, in historical narrative as well as in political and religious discussion, of Cromwell's famous remark to the Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh Castle: "I beseech you, brethren,

to think it possible that you may be wrong." I in this case confess to having heretofore been wrong — to having reached erroneous conclusions. Not only did I misinterpret the course of events, but I attributed motives to individuals which I have since seen cause to believe did not influence them, or, in any event did not influence them to the extent I assumed.

Following such authorities as were then accessible, and drawing from them inferences inherently probable, if not manifestly logical deductions, I attributed what now occurred to an indiscretion on the part of one member of the English Cabinet. Through that indiscretion he put himself in the power, so to speak, of a chief who felt no good-will towards him. The offending Cabinet member was Mr. Gladstone; the chief was the Premier, Lord Palmerston. It was, as I saw it, a Cabinet collision between two very eminent public characters, in which one availed himself of an opportunity to assert his authority and to secure an advantage over the other. In what now ensued I stated that "the hand of the Premier was on the political lever," and that he had in the outcome caused a somewhat forthputting subordinate to realize that he was not yet master. To this Cabinet controversy I attributed a fortunate delay of action on an issue of international policy which, occurring at a most critical period, led to far-reaching results.

In arriving at this conclusion, moreover, as I have said, I merely made use of the material at my disposal, relying upon the evidence of those who, it might naturally be assumed, were best and most correctly informed.

In the light of new material contained in recent publications, and more especially from information derived from unpublished English sources, access to which has recently been given me, I now find myself compelled to the conclusion that I was mistaken in both my statements and my inferences; that, in short, the causes to which I attributed important political action in no way, or only in very slight degree, affected it or the course of events.

There was, I am now satisfied, no collision at this time between the Premier, Lord Palmerston, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone. The utterances of Mr. Gladstone were, it is true, most indiscreet and politically "inconvenient"; but I am satisfied the Premier took no offence at

them, and that the relations between the two throughout the time in question were, if not actually friendly, yet courteous and thoroughly considerate. Thus the historical situation I at Oxford somewhat dramatically pictured has since, so to speak, gone to pieces on my hands. So to-day and here, I propose to set forth the facts as I now find they really were, substituting for what I have heretofore said explanatory of the mystery a more common-place, but certainly, I must admit, a more natural as well as satisfactory solution. It has the advantage, too, of being historically correct.

I will now proceed to state what actually did occur; though, in so doing, I upset not only the inferences to be drawn from my predecessors in the line of narrative, but also the conclusions and statements of other members of my own family directly at the time concerned, who naturally would be assumed to have been peculiarly well informed.

This acknowledgment of error duly made, I return to the narrative — my revised explanation of the British Cabinet mystery of October, 1862. It was, it will be remembered — for dates in this connection are all-important — the 23d of October that had been assigned for the special Cabinet meeting to consider the change of policy proposed. Now it so chanced that sixteen days before, on the 7th of that month, Mr. Gladstone delivered himself of that famous Newcastle speech, still remembered, in which he declared that Jefferson Davis had "made a nation," and that the independence of the Confederacy and dissolution of the American Union were as certain "as any event yet future and contingent could be." That speech, a marvel of indiscretion — or, as Mr. Gladstone himself subsequently expressed it, "a mistake of incredible grossness" — though at the moment it caused in the mind of Mr. Adams a feeling akin to dismay, in reality went far towards working a favorable solution of the problem which so deeply concerned him. At a very critical moment complicating a delicate Cabinet situation, it prematurely precipitated action.

Speaking for himself — "playing off his own bat," as Lord Palmerston would have expressed it — Mr. Gladstone had foreshadowed a ministerial policy. The utterance was inspired; in venturing on it Mr. Gladstone unquestionably sup-

posed, as he had good cause to know, he spoke the minds of both Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell. In fact, writing to him in his familiar way two weeks before the Newcastle occasion, Lord Palmerston had thus outlined the proposed change of policy:

It seems to Russell and me that the time is fast approaching when some joint offer of mediation by England, France, and Russia if they would be a party to it, might be made with some prospect of success to the combatants in North America, and Russell is going to instruct Cowley by a private letter to sound the French Government as to their willingness to agree to such a measure if formally proposed to them. Of course, no actual step to such effect could be taken without the sanction of the Cabinet. But if I am not mistaken, you would be inclined to approve such a course.

The Proposal would naturally be made to both North and South, and if both accepted we should recommend an armistice and cessation of Blockades with a view to negotiations on the basis of separation. If both declined we must of course leave them to go on; if the South accepted and the North declined we should then, I conceive, acknowledge the Independence of the South. But, we ought, Russell and I imagine, to declare the maintenance of our neutrality even in the case of our acknowledging the Independence of the South. Ld. Lyons would be going back towards the middle of October, and his Return would be the fitting opportunity for such a step if determined upon. It looks as if matters were rapidly coming to a Crisis and perhaps we may have to make the move earlier than the middle of October. A great battle appeared by the last accounts to be coming on. If Maclellan is badly defeated the Federal Cause will be manifestly hopeless, if Jackson should sustain a serious reverse he will be in a dangerous Position so far North and cut off from his supplies. But a few days will bring us important accounts.

Palmerston then added the following significant intimation, bearing more particularly upon the topics on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer would presumably dwell:

I saw the other day that you are going to have some great dinner given you in the early part of next month. I hope the Chancellor of of the Exchequer will not be too sympathizing with the Tax Payer, nor tell the Country that they are paying too much taxation, have too large Establishments, and ought to agitate to bring the House of Commons and the Government to more economical ways and

habits. These topics suit best Cobden and Bright and their followers.

The principle of the so-called "collectivity" of the British Cabinet has been often discussed, and the rule is well established that ministers are in no wise free to put forward each "his own views at large public meetings and elsewhere." As Lord Palmerston a few days later wrote to Clarendon, referring to Gladstone's Newcastle speech: "A minister, whether speaking in or out of Parliament, ought to confine his remarks to the past and the present, and to steer clear of the future, unless he is authorized to announce the result of some Cabinet decision."[1] Now, in this case, no Cabinet decision had been reached; nor, if it had been reached, would the public announcement of it have been committed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would have fallen within the province of either the Foreign Secretary or the Premier. As it was, a premature announcement from an unauthorized source precipitated something bearing a close resemblance to a Cabinet crisis, and, so far as the schemes of the Confederate Commissioners and the French Emperor were concerned, furnished a fresh illustration of the truth of Robert Burns's familiar aphorism as respects the fate not seldom befalling even the best-laid plans.

The ministerial situation then existing needs here to be understood, and has constantly to be borne in mind. The Palmerston-Russell Cabinet, so called, had been formed in June, 1859. The Premier, born in October, 1784, was then in his seventy-fifth year. Earl Russell, his colleague in the ministry and associate in its formation, was sixty-six. The House of Commons was very evenly divided. The previous government — that headed by Lord Derby, with Mr. Disraeli as its leader in the Commons — had, as the result of an appeal to the constituencies, been turned out of office by a majority of thirteen only on a division numbering 638 members. Under these circumstances the two leaders jointly responsible for the new government, had sought to combine in the Cabinet representatives of all shades of Liberal principles. The result was a body of exceptional ability, but composed of men by

[1] Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 267.

no means always concurrent in their opinions, or harmonious in action. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were not in general harmony was well known in ministerial circles. On the contrary, Lord Palmerston disliked and habitually thwarted Mr. Gladstone; and Mr. Gladstone instinctively distrusted Lord Palmerston. So far did this go that the two had, a year before the time in question, been "in violent antagonism" on financial propositions. Lord Granville, himself a member of the Cabinet, had informed a correspondent: "For two months Gladstone had been on half-cock of resignation. . . . Palmerston has tried him hard once or twice by speeches and Cabinet minutes, and says that the only way to deal with him is to bully him a little; and Palmerston appears to be in the right." To the same effect Bright had then written to Cobden: "Gladstone has been in a painful and critical position; from day to day it has been doubtful if he could remain under a leader who has used him so treacherously." This referred to the Premier's characteristic action in procuring the defeat in the Lords of Gladstone's bill repealing the Paper Duties. Then, the next year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had countered on the Premier by incorporating this measure of repeal in the Budget, and so compelling its passage by the Lords.

A species of Cabinet *modus vivendi* was then arrived at, and had since been more or less observed; but the two men were by nature antagonistic. Built on wholly different models, they were, to use the Italian expression, constitutionally *antipatica*. Palmerston was indisputably old; Gladstone, a man of fifty-four, was in the full maturity of his great powers. His star was looming large in the Parliamentary heavens — distinctly in the ascendant. One competitor only, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, could challenge prospective leadership with him.

Of Lewis something must here be said, for at a most critical juncture for us — that now under consideration — he was a vital political factor. A man of marked individuality and great force, Lewis temperamentally appealed to Palmerston. Though very differently constituted, the two men got on together. Lewis had himself been Chancellor of the Exchequer in Palmerston's previous ministry (1856–1857), and had then

won the confidence of the House of Commons. In the debate on the Budget he had introduced, he successfully withstood the combined attacks of both Gladstone and Disraeli. In fact, the rise of Lewis in parliamentary estimate had been as marked as it was rapid. Later, on the formation of the Palmerston-Russell government, he had yielded precedence to Gladstone, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lewis accepting the less considered positions, first of Home Secretary, and then (1861) of Secretary for War. He is described by Sir Spencer Walpole, who spoke with personal knowledge, as being without the imagination which attracts attention or the eloquence which commands it, but as having knowledge, ability and judgment. Thus his temperament, Walpole further adds, made him a power in the Cabinet; and, though it procured him little or no notice in the country at large, won for him the respect of the Commons. In the House he was regarded as one of the few men who might possibly in the not remote future preside over the fortunes of the country.[1] Palmerston, though still vigorous, must, it was obvious, soon pass from the stage. With him also were to go both a generation and a political system — the generation of Castlereagh, Wellington, Melbourne and Peel, and the system of ministerial government which had grown into acceptance through the working of the Reform Act of 1832 — a transition system based on a species of equilibrium attempted between a reformed House of Commons on the one side and an hereditary Chamber of Peers on the other. This system had, with more or less success, served its purpose through the life-time of a generation; but, in 1862, manifestly antiquated, it no longer worked in reasonable harmony with existing conditions, social and industrial. It was, therefore, generally accepted that, with Palmerston gone, a drastic constitutional revision would be in order and inevitable. The leadership would then go to younger men, and either to Gladstone or to Lewis; and Palmerston, it was well understood, favored the latter. So far as was in his power, he designated Lewis as his residuary ministerial legatee. But this arrangement, if in any degree practicable, was made impossible by the premature and altogether unexpected death of Lewis on April 13, 1863 — only six months after the occur-

[1] *Twenty-five Years*, I. 74.

rence of the events now under consideration. It was probably then that Palmerston, reading the future not incorrectly, had been heard to say: "Gladstone will soon have it all his own way; and whenever he gets my place we shall have strange doings."[1] Meanwhile in the closing months of 1862 Lewis was still alive; and Palmerston, so to speak, held the fort. As between him and Gladstone, it was a case of armed Cabinet observation.

Under these circumstances the Chancellor of the Exchequer had in the autumn gone on what proved to be a sort of triumphal political progress through the northern counties. Surprising even him by its manifestations, it amounted to a popular ovation; and, not unnaturally, his colleagues, especially his chief, took cognizance of it. Suddenly, in course of it, came the highly sensational and quite uncalled for utterance on the American situation, then the foremost topic in the public mind. From his long-subsequent published diary entries, it appears that what Mr. Gladstone there said was no hasty, impromptu, dinner-table utterance; it had, on the contrary, been as he thought, carefully considered. The inference appears to be unavoidable. In taking such a course, and committing his colleagues as well as himself by his utterances, Mr. Gladstone, as a member of the Government, spoke with a purpose; but that purpose was not distinctly apparent at the time, nor has the mystery since been satisfactorily explained. A momentous utterance, Mr. Gladstone himself afterward referred to it as "an error the most singular and palpable." Lord Morley in his *Life* (II. 79), plainly puzzled, says that it was "a great mistake . . . of which [Gladstone] was destined never to hear the last." Thirty years later Gladstone himself wrote — "This declaration [was] most unwarrantable to be made by a minister of the crown with no authority other than his own. . . . The fortunes of the South were at their zenith. Many who wished well to the Northern cause despaired of its success. The friends of the North in England were beginning to advise that it should give way, for the avoidance of further bloodshed and greater calamity. I weakly supposed that the time had come when respectful suggestions of this kind, founded on the necessity of the case, were required by a

[1] Trevelyan, *Bright*, 344.

spirit of that friendship which, in so many contingencies of life, has to offer sound recommendations with a knowledge that they will not be popular." (II. 81.)

I have heretofore, and recently at Oxford, thought to account for this Newcastle utterance upon an hypothesis which I am now satisfied is untenable. I reasoned as follows: Mr. Gladstone was familiar with the mental processes and political methods of his official chief. He was also deeply interested after his own fashion in the proposed change of policy as respects the United States; hence it is not unfair to surmise that the Chancellor of the Exchequer suspected that, for reasons presently to be considered, the Premier's mind and purpose as respects the proposed change of policy were less clearly assured than had at first been the case, or than his colleague thought desirable. As matter of fact, considering the thing from a ministerial and parliamentary point of view, Palmerston had really begun to entertain grave doubts as to the tactical wisdom of the proposed move. Subsequently as the result of much self-communing, Gladstone came to the conclusion that it would be well, if possible, to force the hand of his Chief, thus assuring the action which seemed under the circumstances, highly desirable. This "forcing-the-hand" historical hypothesis I now find myself compelled to abandon. While, so far as Palmerston and his subsequent action are concerned, inconsistent with the record since come to light, it does injustice to Mr. Gladstone. My reasons for coming to this conclusion I shall presently set forth; meanwhile, on the other hand, I was not without both plausible evidence and apparent authority for reaching and stating the earlier conclusions just referred to. As an illustration of erroneous historical inference the story will bear telling.

Two writers, both men of judgment and enjoying access to the most reliable sources of information, had expressed themselves on this head. Sir Spencer Walpole, the biographer of Earl Russell, says that Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle declaration "was so inconvenient" that "Lord Palmerston sent for Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and told him that if he [Sir George] did not reply to Mr. Gladstone, it would be necessary for him [the Premier] to do so himself."[1] To the same effect

[1] *Twenty-five Years*, II. 57.

but in language far stronger, Mr. Henry Adams wrote: "Gladstone, October 7, tried to force Palmerston's hand by treating the intervention as a *fait accompli*. Russell assented, but Palmerston put up Sir George Cornewall Lewis to contradict Gladstone and treated him sharply in the press. . . . Never in the history of political turpitude had any brigand of modern civilisation offered a worse example [than that offered by Gladstone on this occasion]. The proof of it was that it outraged even Palmerston, who immediately put up Sir George Cornewall Lewis to repudiate the Chancellor of the Exchequer, against whom he turned his press at the same time. Palmerston had no notion of letting his hand be forced by Gladstone."[1]

Relying on these authorities and drawing natural inferences and obvious conclusions from certain undisputed data, in my Oxford Lectures and elsewhere I attributed to the Cabinet situation just described a greater influence on the turn of events than correctly belonged to it. I said: "The hesitation and postponement brought about by Lord Palmerston in consequence of Mr. Gladstone's Newcastle speech thus saved the [American] situation." Undoubtedly the Newcastle utterance, and its reception by other members of the ministry as well as by the Premier, did exercise an influence, and a not inconsiderable influence, on the policy subsequently decided upon and pursued; but more recent investigation in unpublished material, combined with new light from printed sources, clearly shows that this influence was not so altogether controlling as I had inferred. It certainly did not operate in the way, nor altogether through the channels, my authorities had indicated. The Premier did at the time express himself decidedly, though with no indications of a ruffled temper, as to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's indiscreet and highly "inconvenient" utterances; but, on the other hand, it is not clear that he sent for Lewis, or imposed on him the function of a reply. In fact, it would appear he had no occasion so to do. Lewis was apparently quite ready to take action on his own part. It is to be borne in mind that it was now Autumn — the British vacation period. Parliament was not in session; the Queen was in Germany; the members of the

[1] *Education of Henry Adams*, 136, 140.

Cabinet were scattered. Most of them were in the country, for the shooting season was on; some few of them only were at their offices. Lord Palmerston was in the South of England, at Broadlands; Lewis was in Wales, at his country home.

Our knowledge of what took place is thus derived chiefly from newspaper columns and such of the private letters then exchanged as have since chanced to appear in the numerous memoirs of the public characters concerned. It thence appears that the proposed change of policy outlined in the memorial of the Foreign Secretary of October 13 had been matter of serious consideration with certain members of the Cabinet; and this almost from the moment it had been agreed upon by the "two ancient masters," as in familiar correspondence Palmerston and Russell were not over-respectfully designated by their associates. Palmerston, moreover, had especially requested Earl Russell to inform the Duke of Newcastle. The head of the Colonial Office, Newcastle, as such, was interested in a change of policy which obviously and deeply concerned Canada. Inasmuch as Lord Granville was now in attendance upon the Queen at Gotha, and her mental condition, though not openly discussed, was well understood, he also had to be advised; for, as Mason, the Confederate commissioner in London, about this time wrote to Mr. Hunter, the Confederate Secretary of State, "It is said that [the Queen] is under great constitutional depression and nervously sensitive to anything that looks like war." Much apprehension was in fact then felt lest she "lapse into insania."[1] There is at this stage of developments no indication whatever, in the letters of Granville or in the other correspondence come to light, of any further exercise of influence by the Queen or of consideration paid her. Directly or indirectly, she nowhere appears as a factor in the situation. Granville, however, in reply to the intimation conveyed him, wrote, under date of September 27, 1862, a detailed letter to the Foreign Secretary, in which he set forth the reasons why he considered it "premature to depart from the policy which has hitherto been adopted by you and Lord Palmerston, and which notwithstanding the strong antipathy to the North, the strong sympathy with the South, and the passionate wish

[1] Mason, *Life of Mason*, 264, 315.

to have cotton, has met with such general approval from Parliament, the press and the public."[1] Russell also now received a letter from Lewis, in which strong ground was taken against the change of policy proposed. These letters Russell, immediately on their receipt, forwarded to Palmerston, who wrote back, October 2, admitting that he had found in them much matter for serious consideration. It was at this date, therefore, and in consequence of these letters, that doubts as to the expediency of the course agreed upon seem first to have entered into the mind of the Premier.

It was still five days before Mr. Gladstone delivered himself at Newcastle. In view of the proposed demonstration there, Lord Palmerston had written (September 24) to Gladstone, the letter already referred to, and from which extracts have been given. The next day, Thursday, September 25th, Gladstone replied by a missive marked "Private," written from Hawarden Castle. In it he expressed himself as glad to hear what the Premier had told him, and further went on to say that he, for two reasons, desired prompt action on the lines indicated. First, the rapid progress of the Confederate arms threatened, in his apprehension, to raise other very serious difficulties. His chief reason, however, for desiring that there should be as little delay as possible in deciding upon the proposed change of policy was next given as follows: "The population of Lancashire have borne their sufferings with a fortitude and patience exceeding all example, and almost all belief. But if in any *one* of the great towns, resignation should, even for a single day, give place to excitement, and an outbreak should occur, our position in the face of America, and our influence for good might be seriously affected; we might then seem to be interfering with less of dignity on the ground of our immediate interests, and rather in the attitude of parties than as representing the general interests of humanity and peace."[2]

Up to this point, therefore (Thursday, September 25), the two men were in complete accord on the question under consideration. It was seven days later (October 2), and five days before the Newcastle speech (Tuesday, October 7) that the Premier, in consequence of the letters forwarded

[1] Fitzmaurice, *Granville*, I. 442. [2] *Gladstone Papers*, Ms. I. 73.

to him by Russell, began to waver in his conclusions. News of the battle of Antietam had reached England on the 26th of September, the day following Gladstone's acknowledgment of Palmerston's letter, in which acknowledgment allusion had also been made to the "rapid progress of the Southern arms and the extension of the [American] area of Southern feeling." There is no indication of any further exchange of letters at this juncture, or that any intimation reached Gladstone of the change of heart which Palmerston was experiencing. The methods and language of the Premier towards him both then and later were altogether courteous and conciliatory; and, so far from evincing any hard feeling because of the Newcastle indiscretion, as late as October 12 — five days after Gladstone had compromised himself and the Ministry — Palmerston wrote from Broadlands to Russell in London as follows: "It is clear that Gladstone was not far wrong in pronouncing by anticipation the national independence of the South."

The sensation following the Newcastle utterance was immediate and profound. Jefferson Davis, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had declared, had made a nation; the independence of the Confederacy was as assured as was possible for a thing to be which was in a degree still future and contingent. All the world took it to mean that the government was about to recognize the Confederacy; the market for cotton and for cotton textiles was thrown into doubt, and uncertainty still further disturbed a trade already in a condition of direst confusion. Orders were countermanded; the price of the raw material was seriously depressed. Moreover, large interests did not now want to have the war brought to a close, and made known their objection to any change of policy. Mr. McHenry in his "Statement of Facts" says that he was "an eye-witness to this procedure," taking it upon himself to assure the English public that, whatever change of policy might be agreed upon, the South was in no position to "deluge" the European market with cotton. To the same effect, Mr. Mason, a local manufacturing magnate, assured the Lancashire men that they had been needlessly terrified "by that bugbear" of "American cotton at this moment shut up, while any mail might bring news in consequence of which four million bales would be let

loose upon Manchester like a deluge." The speaker, however, at the same time took occasion pointedly to deprecate "the language which had been used by men in high position in this country with respect to the prospect of the duration of this war."

Under such circumstances, Gladstone, realizing the falseness of the position into which he had got himself, framed a form of reply, disclaiming responsibility for the various inferences drawn from his language; and this disclaimer, which, as Morley says, was couched "in phrases that justly provoked plain men to wrath," Gladstone sent to the Foreign Secretary, with a request that he would transmit it to his (Gladstone's) private secretary, to be made public use of by him as one acting under instructions. This Russell did, at the same time advising Gladstone that in the Foreign Secretary's opinion the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in what he said at Newcastle, "gone beyond the latitude which all speakers must be allowed. Recognition," Russell added, "would seem to follow, and for that step I think the Cabinet is not prepared."[1] A similar disclaimer was sent by Gladstone to the Premier. This was prior to October 20. If anything further now passed between Palmerston and Gladstone, it has not come to light. But on the 20th Lord Palmerston did write to Lord Clarendon, who at this time acted as a sort of mutual friend or convenient political intermediary, commenting adversely on Gladstone's utterances.[2] This, however, he did without any indication of temper or of a serious taking of offence.

The utterances of the press have next to be taken into consideration, for two metropolitan papers at least — the *Times* and the *Post* — were looked upon as inspired.[3] The *Times*, in its issue of October 9, referred editorially to the Newcastle

[1] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, II. 80. [2] Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 267.

[3] "It became tolerably clear to me [by October 13] that Mr. Gladstone had been expressing his individual opinions, and giving loose to his personal sympathy with the chief of the rebels, whilst his course was regarded by several of his colleagues as transcending the line of policy formerly agreed upon at the time of their dispersion for the summer. The first public indication of this took the shape of an informal notice in the *Globe*, an evening newspaper professing neutrality in our struggle, and occasionally used for that reason to express official opinions, which, not without a little sharpness towards Mr. Gladstone, drew a clear line between him and the ministry in regard to the sentiments in his speech." *Adams to Seward*, October 17, 1862. *Messages and Documents*, 1862–63, Part I, 221.

speech, but commented upon it in no unfriendly tone. An explanation of Gladstone's language was found in "the warmth of his feeling" and "his readiness of speech." The following day it again referred to the speech, treating it as equivalent to a governmental decision. A strange silence then ensued, Delane, the editor, apparently sharing in the indecision of the Premier. This continued until November 13, when the paper came out with strong editorial approval of the Cabinet's rejection of the mediation proposed. Meanwhile, the *Post*, currently supposed in well-informed London circles to be the more direct organ of the Premier, at the time of its delivery reported Gladstone's speech in full, but made no editorial comment upon it until October 13. It was then most complimentary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking with laudation of the general results of his triumphal northern tour, but refraining from reference to American affairs. In pursuing this course, it seems to have reflected what was passing in the Premier's mind; but at last, on the 21st, there appeared an editorial sharply criticising Gladstone as a minister altogether too ready to speak about Cabinet matters.[1] The letter of the same date from Palmerston to Lord Clarendon would seem to indicate that this editorial was very directly inspired. The mind of the Premier was becoming clear as to the course now proper to be pursued; but, so far as Gladstone is concerned, there are no indications of resentment.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis enters at this point upon the stage, as the controlling Cabinet factor. What actuated Lewis does not clearly appear. In the language already quoted, Sir Spencer Walpole asserts that Palmerston sent for Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and told him that "if he [Sir George] did not reply to Mr. Gladstone, it would be necessary for him [the Premier] to do so himself." Lord Morley in his *Life* of Gladstone says that "a week after the deliverance at Newcastle, Lewis at Lord Palmerston's request, as I have heard, put things right in a speech at Hereford." The issue of the London *Daily Telegraph* of more than forty years afterwards — as late, in fact, as October 24, 1908 — contained a communication relating to what now occurred. Referring to

[1] The editorial reflected also on Lewis for his speech of October 4, though not in so severe terms.

Gladstone's Newcastle utterance, the writer, evidently well informed in a general way, speaks of it as

> a striking attempt by an individual minister to force the hand of the Cabinet by a public declaration. Four members — Sir George Lewis, Mr. Milner-Gibson, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Villiers — were vehemently opposed to any change in the policy of strict neutrality. Lord Palmerston kept his own counsel, with a view of holding the Cabinet together, but was generally supposed to sympathise with the Southern States. The ill-considered language and conduct of Mr. Gladstone caused great indignation. . . . A few days afterwards the four ministers to whom we have alluded [Sir George Lewis, Mr. Milner-Gibson, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Villiers] each received a note from Lord Palmerston, asking them to call and see him half an hour before the Cabinet Council, which had been specially convened. Two of these have described the interview to the writer of this letter. When they met, Lord Palmerston told them, to their astonishment, that he entirely agreed with them, and charged Sir George Cornewall Lewis then and there to go down to his constituents in the Radnor Boroughs and in the name of the Government practically repudiate the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Palmerston added that, if this were not done, he would announce at the meeting of the Cabinet the resignation of the Government. Lewis consented. His measured and sober repudiation of Mr. Gladstone produced a great sensation.

I do not vouch for the authenticity of this statement. Evidently written from recollection of occurrences and conversations long passed, it is certainly inaccurate in many essential respects. None the less, it has significance as confirmatory of what is asserted or implied by both Walpole and Morley. It at least shows the general prevalence of a tradition and an historic understanding in quarters otherwise well informed. The intimate correspondence of Sir George Lewis with Lord Clarendon does not reveal any allusion to such a conference, or to any such mission imposed upon Lewis. On the contrary, judging by the letters in Maxwell's *Life of Clarendon*, and by those in other collections which I have been privileged to consult, it would be distinctly inferred that, so far as Sir George Lewis was concerned, nothing of the sort described had ever taken place. Apparently, Lewis acted upon his own judgment and motion; and at a later day Lord Palmerston unquestion-

ably intimated in a letter to Clarendon that the Hereford speech was open in some degree to the criticism which had been expressed on Gladstone's utterance at Newcastle.[1]

Assuming, therefore, that Lewis now acted in the way he did upon his own initiative, the question next naturally arises — What led him so to do? Was he, as the expression then went, a "friend of the North"? Did he sympathize with the anti-slavery feeling, and take action accordingly? Nothing appears which would lead to an assumption that such was the case. On the contrary, as Morley points out, Lewis in 1861 used language of characteristic coolness about our Civil War. "It is," he wrote, "the most singular action for the restitution of conjugal rights that the world ever heard of." And again, "The Northern States have been drifted, or rather plunged, into war without having any intelligible aim or policy. The South fight for independence; but what do the North fight for except to gratify passion or pride?"[2] Was he then actuated by an unworthy jealousy of a colleague, who had replaced him as Chancellor of the Exchequer? and did this feeling lead him to an outspoken hostile expression? This, however, was distinctly not characteristic of the man. Lewis had Character. But he and Gladstone, though the latter also had Character, were not sympathetic. Lewis was an uncommonly level-headed man; of a judicial turn of mind; calm, clear and courageous, he seems never to have hesitated to express himself, always, however, soberly and in a way indicative of thought. There could not consequently have been much close sympathy between him and Gladstone, a man influenced by fervor, and subject to what can best be described as moments and even periods of cerebral exaltation. Gladstone's Newcastle utterances, though at the time, as he thought, well considered, were, there can be little question, largely attributable to impulse. He sympathized deeply and acutely with the Lancashire suffering. It appealed to him. He was also fully persuaded that the North was carrying on a hopeless struggle. He so expressed himself. Lewis, on the other hand, was otherwise-minded; but both his attitude and utterances at this juncture bear marks of conviction. They are those of a public-spirited minister, weighing considerations calmly, with

[1] *Clarendon*, II. 267. [2] Morley, II. 84 *n*.

a view to action on grounds which would bear examination. It would seem as if he did not propose to have the government of which he was a member swayed by authority or unduly influenced by a "phalanx" of colleagues, no matter how "formidable," or to what degree reinforced. Accordingly, whether induced so to do by the Premier or acting on his own initiative, he thus, on October 14, a week after Gladstone's speech at Newcastle, expressed himself at Hereford:

> Everybody who read the accounts in the newspapers of what was doing in America could see that although there was a war between these two contending Powers, it was a war which was as yet undecided — a war which was waged on the part of the Northern States for the purpose of restoring the States to the condition of union they were in before the war began; and on the part of the Southern States a war to establish their independence. But the war must be admitted to be undecided. Under such circumstances, the time had not yet arrived when it could be asserted in accordance with the established doctrines of international law that the independence of the Southern States had been established.[1]

The matter did not end here. Only the day before Sir George Lewis expressed himself at Hereford, Earl Russell had circulated his "confidential memorandum." Three days later, October 17, Sir George sent out a counter-memorandum in reply to that of Earl Russell. The memorandum, likewise confidentially addressed to his colleagues of the Cabinet, was elaborate. In it he expressed himself even more explicitly than at Hereford. This paper has as yet never seen the light. Though important in itself, especially to American writers, and illuminative as to conditions then prevailing in Great Britain, it is too long to be given here in full. It ends, however, with the following expression:

> Every friend of humanity must wish that this disastrous and sanguinary war should be brought to a speedy termination. Every person who believes that it must terminate, sooner or later, in the independence of the Southern States, must desire to see that independence recognized at an early period. Every person who sympathizes with the distress of the Lancashire operatives must wish that the ordinary trade in cotton with the Gulf States should be re-established. But, looking to the probable consequences of

[1] The London *Post*, October 16, 1862.

this philanthropic proposition, we may doubt whether the chances of evil do not preponderate over the chances of good, and whether it is not

> Better to endure the ills we have,
> Than fly to others that we know not of.

Copies of both memoranda were sent to Lord Palmerston, also to Lord Clarendon. From the former nothing, so far as is known, was elicited. The comments of the latter were however, truly edifying. He characterized the position of Earl Russell as "idiotic" — one in which he presented

> our face gratuitously to the Yankee slap we should receive. We have not yet recognized the Southern States (whose independence is a *fait accompli*, whatever may be said to the contrary), because it is not our interest to quarrel with the North; and we submit to great privations, because it is our policy to remain neutral, and not because we doubt the utter inability of the North to impose its yoke again upon the South. The French, who have no such fears about a quarrel with the North, have long since thought that the time was come for recognizing the South, and they would have done so if they had not been restrained by deference to our wishes and interests. [1]

In thus expressing himself, Clarendon did but echo the conclusion then generally accepted by those recognized as leaders of both political parties — those looking to Lord Derby for guidance and those led by Palmerston, The *Saturday Review* was a free journalistic lance, with pronounced "governing class" views. Referring to the Newcastle utterance, the *Saturday Review* now voiced the prevailing belief of Court, Aristocracy, Army and Navy, no less than that of the Street as well as Parliament. "We did not," it contemptuously and characteristically said, "need a Cabinet Minister to tell us, what all who possess even the most elementary acquaintance with passing events in America have known for more than half a year, that the independence of the Southern States is an accomplished fact, nor does it become one whit more an accomplished fact by the circumstance of Mr. Gladstone's announcement."

The English situation as it then existed not only as respects Sir George Lewis but also as respects Lord Palmerston, the

[1] *Clarendon*, II. 266.

members of the Ministry and the members of the press, cannot, however, be fully understood without taking into account the letters signed "Historicus," at this time appearing in the columns of the *Times*. "Historicus," as was already well known, was merely the newspaper *nom de plume* of Mr. William Vernon Harcourt, subsequently distinguished in public life, but then a rising young man of thirty-five. Harcourt's relations with Sir George Lewis were of the closest character, for in November, 1859, he had married Lewis's step-daughter, who was also Lord Clarendon's niece. A man of great ability, incisive style, and masterful disposition, young Harcourt was applying himself to problems of international law. In common with every one else, deeply interested in the international aspects of the American struggle he now contributed a series of letters to the London *Times*. These at the moment attracted much public attention, and upon them his subsequent reputation was based. He unquestionably set forth in those letters the conclusions reached as a result of frequent and familiar discussion with both Sir George Lewis and Lord Clarendon. Subsequently (1863) published in pamphlet form, in the preface to the publication Harcourt makes a reference to the "great events which are rending to pieces the entrails of America, and agitating to its inmost core the mind of Europe." In the first of these communications, referring to the Hereford speech, "Historicus," speaking manifestly by authority, says: "The position insisted upon by Sir G. C. Lewis seems to have been much misunderstood by those who have criticised his doctrine. He is supposed to have maintained that England would not be entitled to recognize the Southern Confederacy until the Federalists had previously done so. But the Secretary of War is far too accurate a thinker and speaker to have laid down any such doctrine. The rule he propounded was precisely that acted upon by Mr. Canning in the case of the South American Republics, viz., that where a doubtful and *bona fide* struggle for supremacy is still maintained by the Sovereign power, the insurgents *jam flagrante bello* cannot be said to have established a *de facto* independence." He then goes on as follows; setting forth in clear and forcible language the correct rule of international law:

As far, then, as any practical rule can be deduced from historical examples it seems to be this — When a sovereign State, from exhaustion or any other cause, has virtually and substantially abandoned the struggle for supremacy it has no right to complain if a foreign State treat the independence of its former subjects as *de facto* established; nor can it prolong its sovereignty by a mere paper assertion of right. When, on the other hand, the contest is not absolutely or permanently decided, a recognition of the inchoate independence of the insurgents by a foreign State is a hostile act towards the sovereign State which the latter is entitled to resent as a breach of neutrality and friendship. The true rule is that laid down in the old distich. Rebellion, until it has succeeded, is Treason; when it is successful, it becomes Independence. And thus the only real test of independence is final success.

He concludes as follows:

Yet if we are to mediate, it can only be by urging some plan which we approve. What is that solution of the negro question to which an English Government is prepared to affix the seal of English approbation? If the combatants settle the question for themselves, we can accept the result, whatever it may be, and however little we may approve it, without responsibility. If the matter is to be negotiated through our mediation, we must lend our moral sanction to the settlement at which we assist. There are many things which we cannot help, but there are some things with which it were wise to have nothing to do. And to this latter category I venture to think most eminently belongs the definition of that permanent line of demarcation which must, no doubt, one day separate the Slave from the Free States of America.

So far as sympathy was concerned, the feeling then entertained by Sir George Lewis and Lord Clarendon is probably not incorrectly mirrored in the following extract from a subsequent communication of "Historicus" to the *Times:*

Is there any man so sanguine as to hope that the end of this business is to be the extinction of slavery? But, if not, are we to become the virtual guarantors for its security? To my mind, in the one word "slavery" is comprehended a perpetual bar to the notion of English mediation as between the North and the South; a bar to amicable mediation, because it would be futile; to forcible intervention, because it would be immoral. Shallow and inexperienced observers may suppose that English opinion has undergone a revolu-

tion on the subject of slavery. It is true that the English public has been revolted by the insincerity and hypocrisy of Northern politicians on this question. We have seen through the cant by which political capital has been manufactured out of a great cause; but, on the true merits of the question itself, I believe the convictions of the English people to be wholly unchanged. It is my firm persuasion that there is no sentiment more deeply rooted in the conscience of the nation than the abhorrence of the principles and practice of that which is called in the South "the peculiar institution," but which in England we know by the more straightforward name of "negro slavery." If we refuse to become the dupes of Northern insincerity, we are equally determined not to make ourselves the abettors of Southern iniquity. A joint mediation, involving the settlement of this question, would practically place our honour in the hands of our copartners in the intervention. We might find ourselves placed in a position in which it would be equally difficult to advance with credit or retire with safety. Yet any administration, which should compromise the character of England in a cause for which she has encountered so many sacrifices, would make a fatal and inexcusable mistake.

The foregoing extracts from the letters of "Historicus"[1] probably set forth clearly and correctly the considerations which

[1] The letters of "Historicus" afford excellent reading even now, fifty years after their appearance in the columns of the *Times*. They foreshadow the subsequent parliamentary eminence of the writer. Throughout he evinces a mastery of his subject, an incisiveness of utterance, and a freedom in the expression of opinion distinctly refreshing. His comments, for instance, on what are known as the "standard authorities" on principles of international law, in no way lacking in clearness, will bear reproduction.

Of Hautefeuille's treatise he says: "For contempt of the existing code of international law, for intrepidity in the misrepresentation of history, for audacity of paradox, this ingenious speculator is without his equal, even in the modern license of coxcombical jurisprudence. I can concede to M. Hautefeuille everything except the title to originality. . . . I have no hesitation in saying that, of all treatises on this subject which have ever come under my notice, it is the most inaccurate and the most unreliable that is anywhere extant. I think I am not putting the case too high when I say that on any given point the presumption is that the propositions which will be found to be laid down by M. Hautefeuille are not only not the law, but are the exact reverse of the established law of nations."

Of Phillimore he next writes: "The recent work of Dr. Phillimore is a useful compilation, in which, however, amidst the heterogeneous pile of indiscriminate and undigested material, in which the good, bad, and indifferent is garnered up with laborious impartiality, an inexperienced reader is not unlikely to lose his way. It is a digest of opinions and authorities, rather than a scientific disquisition, on the topics to which they refer. When I turned over the pages of Dr. Phillimore's book, I confess it was with the confident expectation of

actuated Sir George Lewis and others in regard to the struggle then going on in America. They looked upon it as useless and bloody, and considered the independence of the Confederacy an accomplished fact. Only a question of time, they saw no good reason for involving Great Britain in a conflict the outcome of which was apparent and any participation in which could result only in an indefinite war-expenditure, and incidental injury to British commerce and mercantile marine impossible of forecast or estimate.

Returning now to the course of events in October and November, 1862, while, so far as is known, the Premier preserved the discreet silence incident to a strict neutrality in this conflict of Cabinet memoranda and Newcastle-Hereford clash of policies, his next step was characteristic — almost delightfully characteristic of the man and of the English political methods of the period.

The Palmerston-Russell ministry held office by a somewhat uncertain tenure through the silent acquiescence of a large element in the ranks of the Conservatives, who recognized in the Prime Minister one of themselves. The head of the firm was accepted as a species of compromise; and it was tacitly understood that, exceptional conditions and issues being allowed for, Palmerston would now remain in office as long as he lived; Russell was a different proposition. The

finding the unauthorized crotchet of M. Hautefeuille either scouted with the brief contempt of which Wheaton thought it worthy, or, at least, disposed of upon the clear authorities to some of which I have referred you. But what was my astonishment — I will add my regret — to find that, so far from condemning this monstrosity, Dr. Phillimore actually approves and adopts it!"

Where a contributor to a newspaper deals with English and French authorities in this masterful manner, it is safe to assume that he would hardly evince much respect for the law enunciated by Secretary Seward. Such is the case. In another letter contributed to the *Times* "On the Affair of the *Trent*," Mr. Vernon Harcourt, as he then was, expressed himself as follows: "Mr. Seward 'trusts that he has shown that the four persons who were taken from the *Trent* by Captain Wilkes and their despatches were contraband of war.' This confidence expressed by the American Secretary of State can only be founded on the assumption that all the persons to whom his argument is addressed enjoy the same ignorance of the elements of international law with which he himself rests so abundantly satisfied. . . . The great maritime nations of England and France cannot afford to have the leading principles of international law confounded by the loose inaccuracies of Mr. Seward. They cannot suffer their trade to be embarrassed and their interests compromised by the American navy acting upon instructions of which every line is a blunder."

Premier appreciated the situation, and, holding further Parliamentary reform in abeyance on the one hand, on the other he did not advocate a really aggressive foreign policy. As respects America, his sympathies were with the South; but, as to slavery, he was committed to the other side. The United States he looked upon as a species of present international nuisance and prospective danger; Democracy was an altogether evil thing. The nuisance, he wished to see abated; the evil thing was working out its natural results, so bringing itself into world-wide disrepute. And this it was doing, now! Lancashire was manifestly a temporary ill; the question of cotton supply would, if let alone, settle itself. So, wily in his ways, the Premier had recourse to the "mutual friend"; he wrote to Clarendon to sound Derby.

This Clarendon did, and the response was satisfactory.[1] Derby told Clarendon that he had been constantly urged "to go in," as he expressed it, for mediation and recognition; but had refused so to do on the ground that any action would merely irritate the North without advancing the cause of the South, or procuring a single bale of cotton. Clarendon then added that Derby, without professing an opinion, said that "the recognition of the South would be of no benefit to England unless we meant to sweep away the blockade, which would be an act of hostility towards the North." This "mutual-friend" illumination reached Palmerston some ten days after Gladstone had delivered himself of his Newcastle utterance, and nearly a week before the date assigned for the Cabinet meeting. Meanwhile, the news from America was of an uncertain nature, and, probably, for that reason disappointing so far as Palmerston was concerned. He had hoped for a decisive Confederate success; but the reports indicated Lee's withdrawal again into Virginia. The Confederate aggressive movement had come to an end; its clutch at Washington had failed. Altogether, it was a highly mixed situation; and the Premier was more and more besieged by doubt.

The members of the Cabinet were meanwhile reaching various individual conclusions. Indications were not lacking that the Foreign Secretary was annoyed both by Gladstone's premature utterance on the one side, and by Lewis's attitude of

[1] *Clarendon*, II. 267.

aggressive opposition on the other. Yet the Hereford speech and the subsequent confidential "memorandum" would, if anything, have seemed to confirm the Foreign Secretary in his advocacy of mediation. He was irritated at this pronounced inroad on his province.[1] But all idea of recognition had been dismissed. What he seems now to have aimed at was simply an altogether non-committal tender of good offices — quite a different thing! To this the original more aggressive program had been reduced.

The remaining members of the Cabinet were influenced by various considerations. As representing Canada, the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, advocated delay. With winter impending, he evidently felt no inclination to renew the activities of the *Trent* excitement period of the previous year, including its movement of troops, supplies, etc., to Canada. There was also an element in the Cabinet, consisting, as already mentioned, of the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Milner-Gibson, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Villiers, pronouncedly in sympathy with the national government, or "the North," as the National and Union side to the struggle was always designated. As already pointed out, Mr. Milner-Gibson, in close sympathy with the Bright-Cobden political element, and, in fact, its representative in the Cabinet, not improbably constituted a convenient medium of communication for Mr. Adams' friend, Mr. W. E. Forster. Thus, as time passed, the Premier became satisfied that the majority of those composing the Cabinet, on general principles inclined strongly to sympathize with the South, were distinctly averse to any immediate change of policy. The perturbation of the cotton market, as respects both textiles and raw material has already been referred to; and now not without reason, the City was nervous. At just that time, the *Alabama* was playing havoc with the American commercial marine,[2] incidentally illustrating for the benefit of Lloyd's the inconveniences in possible wars of modern commerce-destroyers. In the event of hostilities the boot might not impossibly be found transferred to the other leg; for, on the high seas, the Americans were apt pupils. So, while as a result of a changed policy, the blockade

[1] *Clarendon*, II. 266.
[2] *Message and Documents*, 1862-63, Part I. 206.

would assuredly be broken and cotton released, this might well be brought about at the risk of losses in comparison with which that resulting from a cotton shortage was not to be considered. Rather than incur it, would it not be better, because less costly, to board indefinitely all the unemployed of Lancashire in the most expensive hotels of Manchester and Liverpool? And this view of the case Richard Cobden thus put with characteristic bluntness: "I will venture to say, that it would be cheaper to keep all the population engaged in the cotton manufacture — ay, to keep them upon turtle, champagne, and venison — than to send to America to obtain cotton by force of arms. That would involve you in a war, and six months of that war would cost more money than would be required to maintain this population comfortably for ten years." [1] Nothing in any way adequately compensating for the risks run by a change of policy was thus in sight. Moreover, so far as the ultimate issue of the American struggle was concerned, the concurrence of opinion was distinct that Gladstone had not overstated the case. The Premier, and both Clarendon and the French Emperor used respecting it the same expression — the independence of the Confederacy was "*un fait accompli.*" It was merely a question of time, involving the effusion of a certain amount of blood, chiefly Irish and German, in addition to that of the same strains which had already been so profusely and, as most thought, so needlessly, and even wantonly spilled. After all, Gladstone had voiced it not incorrectly: "We know quite well that the people of the Northern States have not yet drunk of the cup — they are still trying to hold it far from their lips — which all the rest of the world see they nevertheless must drink of." [2]

[1] Cobden, *Speeches*, II. 469.

[2] "The commissioners and the principal agents of the Confederate States in England had opportunities for learning the feelings of different members of the Government, and of prominent men in both of the great parties, with a very near approach to certainty. I shall not be guilty of the indiscretion of classifying the Cabinet by name, but I may say that it was a common belief among the representatives of the Confederate States that two members [Russell and Gladstone] of the Ministry, at least, were very favorable to the South, and that still another [Palmerston] would have been disposed to give some support to certain members of the House of Commons who wished to bring in a motion for the recognition of the Government at Richmond, if he had not been impressed with the belief

As it reached him day by day, this general do-nothing response on the part of the members of the Cabinet undoubtedly affected the mind and purpose of the Premier. Though quite ready to yield to the pressure in favor of mediation, and, later on, even of recognition, Palmerston no longer felt the confidence and buoyancy of his earlier years. Old, and conscious perhaps of being a bit weary, he in those October days of 1862 had cause to appreciate a ministerial situation concerning which he thus at a subsequent date and on another occasion wrote to Earl Russell: "As to Cabinets, if we had colleagues like those who sat in Pitt's Cabinet, or such men as those who were with Peel, you and I might have our own way on most things; but when, as is now the case, able men fill every department, such men will have opinions and hold to them." [1] Lewis certainly now held such opinions, nor was evidence lacking that he proposed to "hold to them." Palmerston thus saw no sufficient reason for action. If it involved a ministerial break, the government was not strong enough to stand a break. And later Clarendon wrote Lewis: "Your speech at Hereford was nearly as effective in checking the alarm and speculation caused by Gladstone's speech, as your memorandum was in smashing the Foreign Secretary's proposed intervention." [2]

Though the Foreign Secretary must by this time have realized that in the Cabinet there was much opposition to his proposed change of policy, however chastened, and that the Premier was wavering even as to that irreducible minimum, Russell went ahead on the path outlined in his memorandum. The call had gone out for the Cabinet to meet on the 23d. The proposition that it was the "duty of Europe to ask both parties, in the most friendly and conciliatory terms, to agree to a suspension of arms" was to be considered. Lord Lyons was then in London, and had postponed his departure for Washington until after the proposed meeting. In constant communication both with Russell and with Palmerston, he no doubt freely expressed his views, always conservative, as to the course to be pursued; but, so far as he was concerned,

that the separation of the States was final, and that it would be both unnecessary and impolitic for the Government to give undue offence or encouragement to either of the combatants." Bulloch, *Secret Service*, II. 4.

[1] Ashley, II. 438.

[2] October 26. Maxwell, *Clarendon* II. 266.

no record of what then took place has been preserved, or, at least, as yet made public.

Mr. Adams, meanwhile, purposely delayed seeking an explanation. When at last, however, he did request an interview, Russell named for it the afternoon of October 23, the very day the morning of which was assigned for the momentous Cabinet meeting. The interview was interesting; to Mr. Adams intensely so. He referred to the Newcastle speech, and made no secret of the uneasiness it had caused him. In reply, Earl Russell vaguely stated that Mr. Gladstone's utterances had been much misunderstood; and he referred to subsequently written explanatory letters of his colleague, which, however, had in every way failed to explain. He added, in true diplomatic parlance, that while it was not for him to disavow anything on the part of Mr. Gladstone, he had no idea that, in saying what Mr. Gladstone had said, there was a serious intention to justify any of the inferences, drawn therefrom as to a disposition in the government to adopt a new policy. This was in itself going very far; but Russell added, the intention of the Cabinet still was to adhere to the rule of perfect neutrality, and to let the American struggle come to its natural end without the smallest attempt at interference, direct or otherwise. He could not, however, say what circumstances might occur from month to month in the future. Mr. Adams then inquired, somewhat categorically, whether he was to understand the Foreign Secretary as saying that no change of policy was now proposed. To this Earl Russell gave his assent.

It was all very curious; for, only an hour or so had passed since Earl Russell had asked those composing a part of the Cabinet to authorize a change of policy, and his colleagues, or those of them then present, had, under the lead of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, evinced a distinct disinclination to accede to the suggestion. Lord Granville was absent; but the Duke of Newcastle and Sir George Grey had joined in support of the position taken by Lewis. No formal action was taken at this gathering.[1] Palmerston was at Broadlands, and his staying there was significant. The Premier absenting himself, no action could be taken. In the aimless, informal discussion

[1] Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 265.

Russell and Gladstone stood alone. No Cabinet was held,[1] and consideration of the business for which those present had been specially summoned was postponed *sine die!*

Morley afterwards, in his *Gladstone*, called attention to the fact that the Foreign Secretary did not, in his conversation with Mr. Adams, after those at the meeting had dispersed, construe strict neutrality or continuance of the existing policy as excluding what diplomatists call "good offices." It was a nice distinction, and widely at variance with the program originally arranged by the two "ancient masters"; but it served to meet present exigencies. So Mr. Adams contented himself with an expression of great relief that Lord Lyons was to return to America, to which was added a hope that he would long continue there. To this the Foreign Secretary seems to have yielded a silent assent. Meanwhile, as Russell perfectly well knew, the question of abstention from interference of any character was not settled on that October 23. And, only the day following, Gladstone circulated a rejoinder to Lewis, insisting again on the duty of England, France and Russia to intervene by representing "with moral authority and force the opinion of the civilized world upon the conditions of the case."[2] At the same time Russell transmitted to the Premier at Broadlands a communication marked "Confidential" in which, referring to the memorandum of Sir George Lewis, of the 17th, he said: "The basis of any negotiation for peace is a matter to be seriously considered by the European governments. Whenever the question is considered by the Cabinet I shall be prepared to state my views upon that head."[3] Nothing, therefore, was as yet concluded. A few days later, indeed, on the 7th of November, Sir George Lewis submitted a final and most elaborate paper, which, marked "Confidential," was printed for the use of the Cabinet. In it both the principles and the precedents involved were discussed in detail. A combination of brief and treatise, it is suggestive as to authorship. My own impression is that, prepared by Harcourt, it was presented as a Cabinet memorandum by Lewis — of course in his own name![4]

Though the attitude of the Emperor was well understood,

[1] Maxwell, II, 265.
[2] *Gladstone Papers*, I. 113.
[3] Morley, *Gladstone*, II. 84.
[4] *Gladstone Papers*, II. 2–69.

the situation was complicated by his Mexican enterprise. From this the English had withdrawn. The bearing upon it of the American conflict was, however, obvious; and, naturally, the British government felt no disposition to be made use of in furtherance of Napoleon's Latin-American projects. Up to this time, therefore, the Slidell program was in abeyance; his inducements to action had not materialised, and, moreover, the Emperor had evinced a distinct reluctance when further action had been suggested. He did not care to subject himself to a chance of further rebuff.[1] Accordingly the English ministry had received no official offer or communication from France upon this question; but the attitude of the Emperor was understood. Now, October 28, the Emperor gladdened Mr. Slidell's heart by advising him of the desire he felt to bring about, with England's aid, an American armistice, and of the active steps he was about to take to that end. He proposed to communicate on the subject with various European powers, including Great Britain. In view of advices from America, the hour seemed at last to have surely come.[2] His message looking to such action was, however, not officially presented to Russell until November 10, though he had known the general character of the proposed measure from Cowley's letter of October 31. The following day, November 11, the question of mediation was again submitted by the Foreign Secretary to the Cabinet, formally convened.

This meeting the Premier attended. It so chanced that both Gladstone and Lewis have left reports of what occurred. Gladstone wrote: "I am afraid we shall do little or nothing in the business of America. Both Lord Palmerston and Russell are *right*." Of what occurred at an adjourned meeting held the next day, he reported: "The United States affair is ended, and not well. Lord Russell rather turned tail. He gave way without resolutely fighting out his battle. Palmerston gave to Russell's proposal a feeble and half-hearted support. . . . However, though we decline for the moment, the answer [to

[1] Walpole, II. 55.

[2] *Slidell to Mason*, October 29, 1862. For Slidell's report to Benjamin of his interview with Napoleon on October 28, see Richardson, II. 345. Rhodes (IV. 346) gives the date incorrectly as October 22, deriving it from Bigelow, *France and the Confederate Navy*, 126. The error has been a source of confusion to historical writers.

the French Emperor] is put upon grounds and in terms which leave the matter very open for the future."[1] Lewis's report is more specific. Addressed to Clarendon, it was given in a letter of the same date as the adjourned Cabinet meeting. He told how the Foreign Secretary had opened the meeting by stating that the French Ambassador had called on him the previous day and had read him a despatch from his government, proposing that Russia and England should join with France in a request to the two American belligerents to suspend hostilities for six months, both by sea and land. No terms of pacification were suggested, and no offer of mediation made. Russia, it appeared, had declined to be a party to this proposed joint representation, but was prepared to support it through her Minister at Washington, provided so doing would not cause irritation. For reasons which he then proceeded to give, the Foreign Secretary advised that the proposal of France should be accepted. Lewis thus goes on:

> Palmerston followed Lord John, and supported him, but did not say a great deal. His principal argument was the necessity for showing sympathy with Lancashire, and of not throwing away any chance of mitigating [the condition of affairs there existing.]
>
> The proposal was now thrown before the Cabinet, who proceeded to pick it to pieces. Everybody present threw a stone at it of greater or less size, except Gladstone, who supported it, and the Chancellor [Westbury] and Cardwell, who expressed no opinion. The principal objection was that the proposed armistice of six months by sea and land, involving a suspension of the commercial blockade, was so grossly unequal — so decidedly in favour of the South, that there was no chance of the North agreeing to it. After a time, Palmerston saw that the general feeling of the Cabinet was against being a party to the representation, and he capitulated. I do not think his support was very sincere: it certainly was not hearty. . . . After the Cabinet had come to a decision, and the outline of a draft had been discussed, the Chancellor uttered a few oracular sentences on the danger of refusing the French invitation, and gave a strong support to Lord John.[2]

"I think," Lewis significantly added in closing his letter, the Foreign Secretary's "principal motive was a fear of displeasing France, and that Palmerston's principal motive was a wish to

[1] Morley, *Gladstone*, II. 85. [2] Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 268.

seem to support *him*. There is a useful article in to-day's *Times* throwing cold water on the invitation. I take for granted that Delane was informed of the result of the Cabinet." Unquestionably, Delane had been informed; but, not without reason, did Slidell, on hearing of what had taken place, write to Mason: "Who would have believed that Earl Russell would have been the only member of the Cabinet besides Gladstone in favor of accepting the Emperor's proposition?" [1]

Thus as respects the Slidell program "the game was up," temporarily at least, and it was necessary "to take another tack." Acting as a government, the British Ministry had evinced a decided indisposition towards any change of policy involving a possible concurrence in the promotion and forwarding of the Emperor's Mexican venture. This also in direct disregard of the expressed recommendation of Premier, Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of these three the veteran and altogether wily Premier at the moment probably looked upon the Cabinet action thus taken with entire complacency; in fact, had, to a large extent, engineered it. The officious and aggressive Chancellor of the Exchequer had been forced to submit to a distinct rebuff. His position was in truth humiliating. Generally recognized as being so, it was so recognized by no one so much as himself. This was to Palmerston undoubtedly an outcome of the complication not otherwise than gratifying. Meanwhile, he, in all probability, like Gladstone, regarded the proposed action as merely deferred — probably for a fortnight, perhaps for a month. But whether the postponement was for a greater or less period, the end he regarded as inevitable. The independence of the Confederacy was assured; the American Union was severed; or, as Lord Derby put it a little later on, "The restoration of the Union, as it formerly existed, is the one conclusion which is absolutely impossible." Thus, hugging themselves in this conviction of the sure occurrence of what they all most wished to see, they awaited the speedy arrival of the inevitable. Palmerston was outspoken in his belief. "As to the American War," he now characteristically wrote to Clarendon, "it has manifestly ceased to have any attainable object as far as the Northerns are concerned, except to get rid of some more thou-

[1] *Slidell to Mason*, November 28, 1862.

sand troublesome Irish and Germans. . . . It must be owned, however, that the Anglo-Saxon race on both sides have shown courage and endurance highly honorable to their stock."

The same belief obtained in France. The Emperor did not hesitate to express his firm conviction that the independence of the South was "*un fait accompli.*" He would have liked to shape his course accordingly. Up to this time, however, his action had been hampered by complications in Italy. Since the Summer of 1861-1862, Napoleon III had been anxious to withdraw the French garrison from Rome. He hesitated, however, in so doing because of his fear of losing the support of the clerical party in France. Count Cavour had died June 6, 1861. As a consequence thereof, a year later the Italian complications had become serious. The integrity of the Papal States was threatened. Rome, and Rome only, was to be the capital of a United Italy. Napoleon sought to arbitrate between the Pope and Victor Emmanuel. Suddenly, in July, Garibaldi had left Sicily with a body of revolutionary volunteers and openly marched on Rome. The Italian Government interfered to stop him, and the affair of Aspromonte occurred, August 27. In it Garibaldi was wounded and captured. So far as the Confederacy was concerned, to such a degree did these events complicate the situation that Slidell wrote to Mason, August 6: "Garibaldi's recent movements in Italy are exciting a good deal of alarm here and may I fear do us harm. I wish that he may be taken at sea and sent to New York." On the 20th of the same month he again wrote, "The affairs of Italy are giving great uneasiness and with all the Emperor's desire to get rid of his English commitments he can do nothing until Garibaldi is disposed of." Finally, October 17, Slidell wrote, referring to the change of Ministry which had arisen out of these complications. "There has been the devil to pay here about the Roman question and for the time our question has been lost sight of." On this issue a change of French Ministry now took place. Drouyn de Lhuys succeeding M. Thouvenel in the Foreign Office. Slidell presently undertook to resume the negotiations initiated with M. Thouvenel, but found his successor wholly uninformed as to what had taken place.

Meanwhile, the second Mexican expedition having now

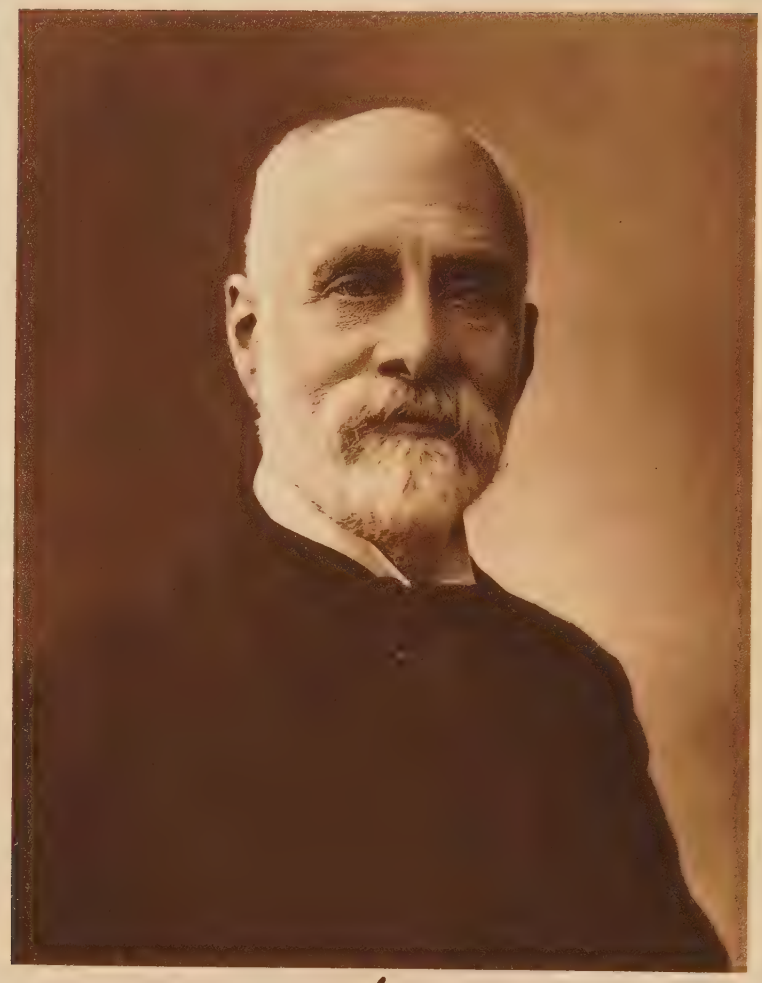
started to its destination, and the Italian complications being temporarily, at least, adjusted, the Emperor, in view of what had occurred in London at the meeting in Downing Street on the 23d of October, submitted the proposition for joint action simultaneously to the Foreign Offices of St. Petersburg and London. Into its reception by the Russian Foreign Office, and the attitude there assumed in regard to it there is no occasion here to enter. The comment of the English Minister at St. Petersburg will suffice. He wrote: "I think that the proposal of M. Drouyn de Lhuys is very repugnant to the Prince [Gortchakoff] and that he would be happy to elude and defeat it in any way which would put the Russian Government in a favorable light before the Northern Federation." Such being the case, and the suggestion of a joint offer of mediation being declined by Russia, the only question now in any doubt was whether the Emperor, in view of his expanded Mexican enterprise, could be induced to proceed independently. As respects Great Britain Mr. Slidell felt no confidence. He had diagnosed the situation there not incorrectly. Nevertheless, he had to await the action of the Ministry on Napoleon's formal suggestion. This was presented with the result which has been described.

Such on November 11, 1862, was the situation of affairs in Europe as respects some form of interference in the American conflict, whether through intervention, recognition, an offer of mediation, or simply a proffer of friendly offices looking to a temporary cessation of hostilities. No action could be agreed upon. Meanwhile at that very time (November 5), exactly seven weeks after the battle of Antietam, McClellan had been removed from the command of the Army of the Potomac. No one of recognized capacity or who commanded confidence whether at home or abroad had been found to replace him. Under these circumstances, not unjustifiably pinning their faith on the vigorous lead of Lee and "Stonewall" Jackson, Palmerston and Louis Napoleon, as well as Messrs. Mason and Slidell waited for something speedily to happen; and within the period commonly assigned therefor, something did happen! — but not what either Palmerston or the French Emperor had anticipated. At that critical juncture, and by the merest chance as to time, one of the great events of the nine-

teenth century took place in America. On September 22, while the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary were corresponding with a view to the early recognition of the slave-holding Confederacy, the coming Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln had been announced. That African servitude was an issue in the American struggle was no longer possible of denial; and it presently became apparent that the newly assumed attitude of the national administration could not be ignored. The success of the Union cause from that time meant the freedom of the slave.

Mr. HART, a Corresponding Member of the Society, read a paper on "Frauds in Historical Portraiture, or Spurious Portraits of Historical Personages," illustrated by lantern slides. He showed how early so called portraits had been misnamed through fraud, accident, or mistake, and with the development of portrait-painting spurious presentments have grown. He showed a number of American portraits which have long been accepted on tradition or supposedly good evidence, but which careful investigation has shown to be wrongly named, or openly borrowed from some other portrait, or founded upon no possible resemblance to the subjects. Such spurious portraits exist of Columbus, Roger Williams, William Penn, Patrick Henry, a number of the Presidents, and some Signers of the Declaration. An engraving of Lawrence's Mrs. Siddons masquerades as one of Eleanor Custis, and one of Asher B. Durand as Bolivar. He made a plea for the investigation of claims made for a portrait before accepting tradition and possibly perpetrating an error.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. MOORE, NORCROSS, LONG, SANBORN, and GREEN.



Sincerely Yours

Thornton K. Lothrop

MEMOIR

OF

THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP

By JOHN TORREY MORSE, Jr.

Thornton Kirkland Lothrop came from New England stock of the best old-fashioned sort, which signifies, of course, an ancestry generously besprinkled with "ministers of the gospel" or "divines," as the nomenclature then was. The Rev. John Lothrop, born in 1588 in Yorkshire and a graduate of Queens College, Cambridge, took orders in the Established Church of England, but later separated from that church, and was imprisoned and afterward banished by Archbishop Laud for heretical and seditious preaching. Crossing the Atlantic, he came first to Scituate, and later assisted in establishing the First Church of Barnstable. From this independent Christian and good sample of the early colonists there came in the fifth generation John Hosmer Lothrop, a graduate of Yale in 1789. He took to wife Jerusha, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Indians, who achieved notable success in that difficult task, and who died in 1808. A brother of this lady was the Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, Doctor of Divinity, and one of the more distinguished among the presidents of Harvard College. In 1816 this gentleman adopted one of his sister's children, Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, then "on the verge of thirteen" years of age. As an inmate of the "semi-monastic institution" which was the home of the bachelor President, and as his nephew, the lad inevitably passed into Harvard College, graduating in the class of 1825. Of course he chose the church for his career, and with youthful promptitude engaged himself in 1826 to Mary Buckminster. When he dutifully and timidly confided to Dr. Kirkland the interesting condition of his heart,

that gentleman "with a beautifully grave and serious manner" said: "I have known all the Buckminsters; they are a remarkable family; but I think Mary has a combination of qualities that makes her superior to all the others." The commendation was not immoderate; for we all knew, in the days which are now becoming "the old days," that "brains went with the Buckminster blood," and Mrs. Lothrop had so full a share of the heritage that it was said that her husband's parishioners were quite as well pleased to hear the sermons which she wrote as those which he wrote,— a jest which he would not have resented. The writer well remembers her, as a very lame lady walking with a crutch, but full of energy, vivacious, kindly and very much liked.

The young clergyman had his first call to a parish in Dover, New Hampshire, and a few months later, on June 3, 1829, the marriage took place. On June 3, 1830, Thornton Kirkland Lothrop was born. In 1834 the clergyman received and accepted a call from the Brattle Square Society. So the family moved to Boston and took up their residence at the parsonage house, number 42 Court Street. The church was hard by on Brattle Street, bearing like a breast-pin the cannon ball which had been shot into its tower at the time of the siege of Boston. The imperious exigencies of the ready-made clothing trade have long since caused the demolition of the church; and shops and offices have succeeded the library and parlor of the clergyman.

The local aspects and influences which shaped the first notions of life for the boy Lothrop should be noticed. The Boston of those days was greatly different, not only in aspect, but in moral, social and intellectual characteristics, from the populous, rather provincial and commonplace, and very heterogeneous city of today. Though at that time not far removed from the earlier stage of "ye olde town of Boston," yet in its just proportion to the great world it was more important then than it is now. It was occupied, owned and controlled by people of New England blood, largely descendants of the colonial Puritans,—a homogeneous society, intellectual, enterprising and at least respecting, if not always practising, morality. The great factories, chiefly for cotton cloth, which have since made New England such a hive of manufacturing

labor, were then really an infant industry, and far the larger part of the leading men in the coast cities and towns were still engaged in foreign commerce with every part of the world. In ten minutes Lothrop could pass from his father's house to the midst of the shipping quarter, to North Street and Ann Street, and all the labyrinth of streets and lanes connecting with the wharves crowded with great sailing ships. Many of the young lads made long voyages to the most distant countries, sometimes as "supercargoes," sometimes even in command of ships, and brought back marvellous tales of strange lands, perils and adventures, so that by what he heard and by what he saw the Boston boy realized vividly that the world was big and varied and picturesque and well worth learning about. In fact, he had to learn whether he would or no, for never elsewhere has education been more highly valued than it was then in Boston. Lothrop heard on every side, from everybody, in school time and vacation, that his first duty was to acquire knowledge. There was a carnival of intellect. Boston has been living ever since upon the reputation inherited from those still famous writers who were then creating a brilliant literature. Religion and theology too were very live interests, and discussion and opinions ranged over all the long road which had at one extremity the stern Calvinistic doctrines of Jonathan Edwards and at the other the benign if somewhat vague teachings of the new school of religious "philosophy," as it was called. Also the campaign for humanity which culminated in the Emancipation Proclamation was being carried on with an ardor furious in itself and exciting fury of opposition. To this last-mentioned topic the attention of Rev. Dr. Lothrop's children was very forcibly drawn in the spring of 1854 by the riots attendant upon the rendition to servitude of the escaped slave Anthony Burns. The Court House, which was the scene of attack and defence, and at the door of which an assailant was struck dead, was hardly a stone's throw from the parsonage, so that the incident inevitably sank deep into the memories of these youthful neighbors of the exciting contest.

Do I seem to be giving too long a paragraph to this sketch of a time and place? I think not. All these things deeply affected the lad of those days; all these subjects Lothrop heard talked

about with strenuous interest at every mealtime, by all the frequenters of his home. Even if he had been much less thoughtful than he was he could not have escaped the pervading activity nor have grown up narrow or ignorant or indolent of intellect amid such variety of stimulation. In point of fact he so responded to these formative influences, and became so much the direct product of them, that all his life long there were plainly to be perceived in him the traits which grew from this early training.

The best schooling was then to be had at the Boston Latin School, of which the head master was Epes Sargent Dixwell, a gentleman and a famous teacher. Lothrop entered this school in 1840 and remained there until he was fitted for Harvard College, which he entered as a member of the class of 1849. Of his undergraduate career no incident is remembered save that he was rusticated, for no moral offence, but because he was a principal participant in the kindling of a bonfire within the sacred precincts of the Yard. During this exile he was an inmate of the household of the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and doubtless was under quite as good intellectual and moral influence there as he would have been at Cambridge. Without any great effort he fulfilled well his college duties, graduating close to the upper end of his class in rank and close to the lower end in age; for he was the third scholar and the youngest member save one. He was elected to be Secretary of the Class, and held the office so long as he lived. It was wisely appreciated that to enter at once upon the study of the law, which he had chosen as his profession, would lead to his being launched in practice too early for making a successful start. Accordingly he disposed of two years by keeping school in Philadelphia. This school keeping was so much the custom in those days that even undergraduates were often granted an extension of the regular six-weeks vacations in order thus to aid their incomes. After this he returned home, took up the study of law and was in due course admitted to the bar. In those days young men, even with the best preparatory training and the most useful family backing, generally had to go through a period of weary waiting for clients. An experienced old merchant did not much care to be "advised" by a youngster of twenty-

two or twenty-three years, even though the lad had read a parcel of law books; and there were then none of those big law firms such as nowadays absorb and utilize any one who offers himself. The youth who was trying anxiously to "get a start in business" used then to do copying for the seniors, to take evidence in court, even to run errands, and felt very important when he was sent to the police court in charge of the case of some penniless client. Lothrop in his initial years could hardly have entirely escaped this prevalent condition, though he cleverly succeeded in reducing its disagreeableness to a minimum. In 1854 he obtained "desk room," as was the custom then, at 30 Court Street, in the office of Mr. Charles B. Goodrich, one of the seniors of the profession, of high repute and much learning, of an ingenious turn of mind, and not meagrely endowed with some of those eccentricities rife at the bar in those days and which supplied plentiful humorous anecdotes to the legal brethren. There was no partnership between them, but Goodrich evidently liked Lothrop and brought him into many cases, and the two stayed together until 1857, when Lothrop said that he thought that he had learned enough to set up for himself. So they parted company, though remaining ever the best of friends.

About this time the "Gray Building," so called, was built in Court Street, on the very site of the parsonage where Lothrop had lived until the pressure of advancing business had induced the family to remove, in the autumn of 1855, to a house in Chestnut Street. The rooms in this new office building were large, cold and cheerless, lighted by huge glass windows, and so garishly unlike the dingy chambers wherein most Boston lawyers then dispensed their learning in dusty, old-world fashion, that "Numbers 42–44" were at first dubiously regarded as rather vulgar. Yet some good men took quarters there, — among them John Lowell, Judge Josiah G. Abbott, Francis E. Parker, Edward Bangs, and others. Mr. Lowell and Mr. Lothrop occupied adjoining rooms, up one flight, on the front. To them, or rather to Mr. Lowell, I came as a student in the summer of 1860, a very "green" young graduate. Mr. Lothrop made upon me a very strong impression, of which I think that a fairly vivid and accurate memory remains with me, though allowance must be made

for the reaction of his high finish upon my crudity. For he certainly was very finished, very mature both in mind and manner, for a man only thirty years of age. Already he was dignified in his bearing, self-possessed, having himself perfectly in hand always. He especially impressed me by his air of cool and well-considered self-assurance — which word is by no means to be construed as a euphemism for conceit; for I do not mean that at all, but rather wish to say that he seemed to have looked over the field of life with such a shrewd and intelligent judgment as is very unusual in a young man. Apparently he had already made up his mind what were the real prizes, those best things which were worth persistent effort; and having carefully measured himself he felt confidence that he could, and resolution that he would, attain those prizes, those best things. He did not, in fact, overrate either his opportunities or his equipment. His intellectual outfit was of the best, with apparently a natural aptitude for legal lines of thought; he had been a faithful student of his profession, and in an ambitious way, — that is to say, his preparation had evidently not been with the idea of resting content with an ordinary bread-winning practice, but had been conducted with the higher purpose of fitting himself for that business which has to do with the principles of the science and with questions of importance. By his nature he was well-bred, with a tendency to be fastidious; he was courteous in his manners, though somewhat inclined to a certain aloofness; careful of his dress and personal appearance; a gentleman in his underlying qualities as much as in all externals. "Down town" he was industrious, punctual, business-like, with that indescribable but very valuable atmosphere of success which surrounds some men and does much to ensure that which it indicates. Accordingly, when he now started wholly upon his own independent account, he had not to wait long before acquiring a practice which, if not quite extensive, was certainly of good quality, and before also securing therewith a valuable appreciation of his abilities and prospects on the part of his brethren of the bar.

His choice of friends, as I then observed it, was characteristic; he did not seek indiscriminate and general popularity, but cultivated a small circle of the best, whom he desired to keep and in fact always did keep as attached intimates.

There was John Lowell, his office mate, a graduate of the class of 1843, therefore a few years his senior, one of the kindliest of men and ablest of lawyers, with as clear and subtle an intellect as there was at the bar; Francis E. Parker, of the class of 1841, a scholar in classics and in literature, of keen wit more than a little caustic withal, the best "chamber counsel" of his day; Horace Gray, of the class of 1845, whose astonishing capacity for the acquisition of legal knowledge raised him to the Chief Justiceship of Massachusetts and to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States; Edward Bangs, of the class of 1846, a very attractive gentleman and a lawyer of the first rank;—these for the elders, to whom are to be added more especially from among Lothrop's own classmates Col. Charles R. Codman and Hon. Martin Brimmer. These men were his daily associates, and those who can remember the society of the times know that no better list could be made.

In 1859 he was a member of the State House of Representatives, a position which was then considered to be a desirable episode in the career of a young lawyer. I do not learn that he played any conspicuous part there, and he developed no taste for political life, not even seeking re-election. But this, of course, is not to say that he lacked interest in public affairs; on the contrary, his interest and his knowledge were great and his feelings and convictions were strong. When he was a young man and the Free-Soil party was formed, he became an ardent member of it, and was very outspoken in the expression of his views, quite undeterred by any consideration as to the policy of proclaiming doctrines which were especially unpopular in the circle of his acquaintance. He used to tell a little anecdote in this connection. He was one day sitting in his office in consultation with that personage who is of such momentous interest to every young lawyer, his "first client." While they were in mid-colloquy the door opened and there entered an old gentleman of his acquaintance, a person of high repute and influence in the upper circle of Boston society. The visitor said curtly: "Young man, I came only to say to you that if you continue to utter your political sentiments as you are doing, you may as well abandon all hope of professional success in this city"; and having discharged this ominous sentence, he withdrew as abruptly as he had come. Mr.

Lothrop, somewhat taken aback, half expected to see his client take up his hat and follow the indignant intruder, but was relieved to have him say, "Well, I don't believe you will lose any business for that reason;" whereupon the consultation was resumed. Early in the Civil War a combination of social and political conditions in Boston led to the establishment of the Union Club. The declared purpose of the organization to promote the Union sentiment and advance the Northern cause insured at the outset a very noteworthy membership roll, so that the Club became at once powerfully influential in the direction of patriotic politics, and also gathered the most agreeable society in the town. Mr. Lothrop was one of the founders of the Club, and by his tact, energy and social influence contributed largely to securing this brilliant success. A staunch Republican at the time of the Cleveland-Blaine campaign, he found himself invincibly reluctant to support the party ticket, and equally unwilling to ally himself with the Mugwumps. Unable conscientiously to assist in the election of either candidate, he refrained from voting, as did so many other good men of his calibre and way of thinking. Throughout his life it may be said that his conversation on political questions was interesting far beyond the ordinary.

In April, 1861, Hon. Richard H. Dana was nominated by President Lincoln as U. S. District Attorney for the Massachusetts District, was confirmed by the Senate, accepted the post and entered upon his duties on the 26th day of that month. He at once invited Mr. Lothrop to take the position of First Assistant in the office. For several years Mr. Dana had been in partnership, as senior, with Mr. Parker, and of course he knew Mr. Lothrop well; he now extended the invitation under no other influence than his desire to secure the best possible lieutenant, inasmuch as it was already visibly probable that for a while government attorneys were likely to have more work in point both of quantity and importance than had heretofore fallen to the office. Such soon turned out to be the case, though at first there was familiar business along the old lines. For example, an early matter was the last slave-ship case ever tried in a court in this country. The writer took evidence for the prosecution at this trial, and the horrible recital of barbarities towards the negroes, framed

in a hideous setting of drunken orgies with fights and delirium tremens among officers and crew, brings a shudder even now when the memory is more than half a century old. Conviction was secured, though at the outset it had been regarded as hardly possible. The first questions growing out of the Civil War arose soon afterward, when the State and War departments began to make arbitrary arrests of citizens at the North, who were supposed to be disaffected or actually bringing aid and comfort to the rebels. The famous Prize Causes did not come to the front until somewhat later, since such litigation required a period of deliberate incubation.

When Mr. C. F. Adams was writing his very admirable life of Mr. Dana — one of the most delightful biographies ever written in this country — he asked Mr. Lothrop to give him an account of the work in the District Attorney's office during the war. The request came to Mr. Lothrop in Europe, at Interlacken, where he had nothing save his memory to rely upon, in 1890, concerning matters occurring in 1861–65. He sent, however, in response a long and careful reply, quite striking as a model of clear and condensed statement of law points as well as of facts. It was also a very modest document, in which everything of importance done in the office was attributed to Mr. Dana, the writer choosing by a short and unassuming reference to his own functions to picture his duty as simply that of keeping the road cleared of all annoying interruptions, so that his chief could devote himself wholly to the nice and difficult questions presented by the peculiar and anomalous condition of a war conducted against enemies occupying the inconsistent rôles of belligerents in the technical sense and of rebels. The Prize Causes were, says Mr. Lothrop, "wholly and peculiarly Mr. Dana's"; and doubtless this was substantially a just attribution, although it was well known that Mr. Dana relied much upon his conferences with his colleague. The small credit which Mr. Lothrop takes to himself must be enlarged by the fair inference which is to be drawn from his statement that, "when he [Dana] resigned he had the satisfaction of knowing that, although no addition had ever been made to the number of his assistants, the whole work of the office in the busiest times had been done without the employment in a single instance of any additional counsel or any

professional aid from outside." The "satisfaction" justly to be derived from this reflection should really have been felt by Mr. Lothrop, whose toil had won it. In fact, the achievement was the more creditable to him, because during the latter part of the period Mr. Dana's time, thought and interest had been almost wholly absorbed by the preparation of his edition of Wheaton's *International Law*. In order to let this work go smoothly and rapidly forward, Mr. Lothrop discharged pretty much all the duties of the office, without public recognition of the fact. The legal fraternity, however, necessarily knew what was going on in the office, and it is certain that at the expiration of his term Mr. Lothrop carried out with him a greatly enhanced reputation among his fellow lawyers. Mr. Dana very gracefully indicated his own appreciation of what had been done for him, by giving to Mr. Lothrop a silver cup, bearing the inscription: "In grateful remembrance of the past four years."

Before going into the District Attorney's office, Mr. Lothrop had formed a partnership with Robert R. Bishop, a younger man than himself, then just beginning practice, later a judge on the bench of the Superior Court. By this very competent gentleman Mr. Lothrop's private business had been as well cared for as the business of one man can be cared for by another in so personal a relationship as that which prevails between counsel and client. In 1865, not far from the time of Mr. Lothrop's return to private practice, his friend John Lowell received his appointment to the bench of the U. S. District Court. So the firm of Lothrop and Bishop were able to occupy the old rooms, and found abundant business to satisfy their ambition.

In 1866 Mr. Lothrop married Miss Anne Hooper, daughter of Samuel Hooper, a rich and enterprising Boston merchant and a member of the National House of Representatives, succeeding Mr. Appleton in that position in 1861 and holding it until his death in 1875. This modest lady will not wish to be spoken of, especially to be praised, in this memoir; yet she ought to submit to a brief sentence, for she contributed much, very much, to the picture which these pages have to present. She proved herself a woman of such exceptionally clear insight, sound judgment and high ideals that she became a very help-

ful and sustaining adviser for her husband in all his activities. Such a comrade at his side through life meant so very much to him that the omission to say this little but important word would mean the production of only a mutilated sketch.

An early consequence of the alliance of Mr. Lothrop with the Hooper family was that he was for a time, somewhat unfortunately as it turned out, deflected from his professional career. The history of the Eastern Railroad has not always been one of altogether uninterrupted tranquillity and financial prosperity. During several years before and after Mr. Lothrop's marriage his father-in-law was much interested in the corporation, and soon insisted that Mr. Lothrop should take a place on the board of direction. This step, by itself, might have been well enough; but as merely a first step it was more serious. A little later Mr. Hooper began to urge him to take the presidency, and towards these solicitations Mr. Lothrop was very wisely inclined to be much less complaisant. The obvious fact was that he was wanted not for smooth sailing, but rather as a captain in troubled waters; there were problems and difficulties. He had had no training to fit him for the headship of a railroad corporation, nor probably was he conscious of any undeveloped fitness or taste for it; neither had he any ambition leading him in that direction. He was naturally loth to interrupt his professional career, wherein he was succeeding so well. His wife, too, wisely dissuaded him. But on the other side there came a sense of duty; his father-in-law, having a high opinion of his abilities, pressed him hard, needed an able coadjutor, had no son then living, no one else to whom he could well turn. So Lothrop generously yielded to persuasion and took the place. Most men who are busy in active affairs set their hands at least once in their lives to some experimental undertaking which proves disappointing. This railroad presidency was the instance, the only instance in Mr. Lothrop's long life, of this sort of mistake. He held the place for no very long time — about fourteen months, I think — working hard and conscientiously according to his wont, and achieving at least two transactions of permanent value to the road. But the work was even less to his taste than he had feared to find it and separated him from the practice of his profession more than he had expected

it to do. It wore upon his health and spirits. So, to his own great relief and with the warm approval of his friends, he withdrew as soon as he could, but only to appreciate that he had been so taxed that in order to regain health and strength he must have a long recess from labor. This complete break he obtained by travelling in Europe.

When he came home, in 1877, he took up again his practice at the bar, where his business had to be in great measure reconstructed; for the clientele of a lawyer is not an established possession which can be laid down and resumed at will; it grows slowly and is easily lost. Especially is this so in the case of one who, being removed from the necessity of gaining his livelihood, may be suspected of indifference to persistent work. Therefore the rapidity with which Mr. Lothrop reestablished his business was flatteringly significant of the esteem in which his capacity was held. In point of quantity he soon had enough to do, in point of quality he had the best — as indeed it seemed always his way to have the best of everything. The best of everything except physical health, for he was never robust, and now again after a few years of work at the bar he had to break off and go away to take care of himself. It was provoking, for he was making, or rather he had made, so high a reputation that he was recognized as one who in due time would be an aspirant for the somewhat vague but very distinguished title of "Head of the Bar" of Massachusetts. Foreign travel is a great pleasure but the sacrifice of the prize of one's ambition is a larger price than Lothrop would ever have voluntarily paid for it. But health is a more powerful consideration, and he was aware of the overruling necessity; so he left his office and started upon an absence which endured longer than he had anticipated, for two full years. After his return in 1883 he made no serious effort again to enter into active life. He was no longer young, and it seemed hardly worth while to try to gather up the broken threads a third time, especially in the absence of financial necessity for so doing. On the whole, it cannot be said that his decision was a mistake. In this country there is no lack of men of affairs in any department or profession, but there has never yet been any superfluity in the class of cultivated gentlemen of high ideals and good example.

It is a part well worth the playing before our people. It was being played by Mr. Lothrop's classmate and friend, Martin Brimmer, and everyone felt that he was doing good service thereby. Henceforth Mr. Lothrop took a like place. It did not, however, mean a life of idleness on his part. In his make-up there was a New England vein of activity, a taste for doing something real and definite, a conscientious ambition to be busy and useful in the human hive; so he still found things to do, only being for the future master of his occupations instead of having his occupations masters of him.

The most important official position which he filled was that of a member of the State Board of Health. Dr. Henry P. Walcott, the distinguished Chairman of that Board, writes: "His connection with the State Board of Health was one of great usefulness to the State and, I think, of much satisfaction to him, as it was to all his associates. When Governor Robinson in 1886 practically allowed me to nominate the members of the reconstructed Health Board, I thought it a great piece of good fortune when Thornton Lothrop came upon the board. He served for two years, took a very active part in the manifold interests of the board, and gave it all the benefit of a very acute legal mind. His relations with the members were cordial, and they parted from him with regret."

For many years he was a trustee of the Boston Athenæum, serving "as a member of three important committees having to do with literature, art and administration." Well informed as to the affairs of the library, he "had clearly defined views" and spoke with much influence "in the discussion of difficult problems."

In April, 1889, he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

He was also a trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital for a period of about eighteen years — a position which he did not accept as merely honorary; on the contrary, he became keenly interested in it and put into it efficient and constant work.

He was also a member and for some years a vice-president of the Society of the Cincinnati. His right to membership was derived from his missionary ancestor, Kirkland, who had been chaplain of a brigade during the Revolution. This post involved more labor than might be supposed; for the

Massachusetts Chapter has always scrutinized with especial care the credentials of applicants for membership, and Mr. Lothrop was very painstaking in these investigations.

He was for many years a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

From 1897 to 1909 he was a trustee of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, appointed on behalf of the Athenæum. In 1903, in the absence of Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, he filled that gentleman's place upon the Building Committee, charged with the duty of arranging the plans for the new building. In the prolonged and important discussions which took place concerning that difficult business he played a very active part.

From December 1, 1897, until October 7, 1903, he was president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In 1904 he was elected vice-president and held the office to the day of his death.

In 1858 he became a member of the Provident Association, of which his father had been one of the founders. He was a member of the Finance Committee and of the Board of Managers and was still a vice-president at the time of his death, so that his service covered a term of more than half a century.

He was for several years a member of the Corporation of the Institute of Technology. Prof. James M. Crafts, for some time president of the Institute, writes that he was "particularly active and judicious as a member of the Committee on Nominations"; also that he was very active and influential in the negotiations then in progress for effecting an alliance between the Institute and Harvard College. For taking this important step the time had not quite come; but the efforts then made seem now about to bear their good fruit.

For twenty years he was secretary of the famous Wednesday Evening Club. In his seventieth year the club presented him with a silver cup, copied from a design of Albrecht Dürer, but with the difference that it was surmounted by the figure of an old-time Puritan holding a wine-glass.

In 1885–86 the serene and peaceful current of his life, with its sufficient interests and not excessive intrusion of labor, was interrupted by two winters of strenuous conflict. His summer

residence was in that quarter of Beverly known as Beverly Farms, and in or about the year 1884 a neighbor of his conceived the project of setting off the Farms village as a separate town. He pleasantly assured Mr. Lothrop and me that we were "gentlemen of leisure" and "just the men for the job." With scant foresight we yielded to his cajolements and set about our arrangements. Mr. Lothrop was commander-in-chief; I was aide-de-camp. We engaged as our legislative counsel Mr. Frederick H. Williams, a young lawyer, astute and energetic, and who proved a very efficient manager. Against us the anti-division forces were led by Hon. John I. Baker, the "King of Beverly," as experienced a politician as there was in the Commonwealth, seconded by very able and resolute lieutenants. We made our campaign as best we knew how in 1886 and went down in an utter defeat. But collecting our wits, we saw that we had underestimated our job. Wiser by this experience, we promptly set about an energetic and widespread canvassing, designed to forewarn the members of the next legislature that they would be convened for the express purpose of dividing Beverly. We were so successful that when the members came together, everyone knew that "Beverly Division" was to be the winter's work. Even so, the contest far outstripped all forecasts; very bitter the hostility soon became; old friendships were severed; rifts were opened even in families; outrageous charges were brought, and were believed too, betwixt worthy and respectable citizens hitherto good friends. Through the winter ran the feverish conflict, with no repose, no assurance as to the result. When at last the poll was taken, "division" was carried ever so narrowly first in the House and then in the Senate. The usual manœuvres for a renewal of the struggle were tried, but in vain; we held our majority, and the battle seemed over. Thereupon Mr. Lothrop, who had been awaiting this consummation, sailed with his family for Europe. He would not have done so had he known that the worst fighting was yet to come, inaugurated by a motion for an investigation upon charges of corruption. With this, however, this narrative has nothing to do; suffice it to say that ultimately "Division" again won in the legislature, but Governor Ames, instructed by his leaders that it would be "bad politics" for

him to sign the bill, slew it by his veto. Happily the keen animosities of that fierce campaign are long since healed, its calumnies are buried in oblivion, and the final outcome is as it should be, that a great contest has left no small enmities. Assured of this present honorably amicable condition, I have felt that the story should be told because of certain qualities of Mr. Lothrop's which were brought into strong relief by it. With unlimited admiration I observed his thoroughness in preparation, the comprehensiveness with which he surveyed the whole field, without neglect of details, his clearness in presentation, his shrewdness in anticipating the tactics of opponents, his resourcefulness in jeopardy and his presence of mind in a crisis. Best of all was his morale; he fought *hard*, but always with rigid regard for the rules of fair combat. He understood that a struggle signified to hurt and to be hurt, and he was ready for each part alike. He was a gallant comrade, staunch and trustworthy. Mr. Williams and I both emerged from the stress feeling for him a personal loyalty which might be called affection. As for the people of the Farms, they looked up to him then, and remember him now, with a fealty quite touching.

In July, 1888, there were printed for private distribution one hundred copies of *Some Reminiscences of the Life of Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, edited by his son, Thornton Kirkland Lothrop*. "The manuscript of my father's Reminiscences," he says, "fills more than two thousand pages." The printed volume occupies only two hundred and sixty-six pages. Those who have done work of this kind know that it is not such a simple matter as it may seem to the uninitiated, to hand over to the printer a pile of sheets which someone else has taken the trouble to write. Selection and revision involve labor, and especially there is needed good judgment,— good social judgment as well as good literary judgment. For these Diaries and Letters and Reminiscences, filled with familiar names, recent memories, anecdotes still warm and incidents only half forgotten, bristle with opportunities for unfortunate blundering, to say nothing of the danger of being led by filial piety into tediousness. Such opportunities and such dangers were avoided in this case with excellent tact, and the well-managed volume presents a lively picture of days even now almost

remote. It goes to sustain the cruel truth that these "printed, not published" books, so provokingly difficult to lay hands upon, are apt to be the most entertaining.

I think that it was in or about the winter of 1894–95 that I urged him to write for the American Statesmen series a Life of William H. Seward, and certainly I had to do a great deal of urging. It was not that the labor was too great, or that it was uncongenial; but it was diffidence which stood in the way of his assent. He honestly distrusted his capacity for the task, and much pressure was necessary to persuade him that it lay well inside the horizon of his powers. Later during the progress of the book, when we were in somewhat frequent conference as to various matters involved, I could have appreciated his disinclination, if it had been based on the ground of so much work! For his thoroughness in preparation would have astounded the average author. He not only ransacked authorities, but he gave infinite careful thought to all the questions, positions, conclusions with which he had to deal. Points in possible controversy received such exhaustive consideration as goes to the making of a lawyer's brief in an important case. He did not mean to write a line which he could not stand by. In the matter of literary finish too he was most painstaking and fastidious, never content until he had his general form and each individual sentence in just the shape which he could approve. He feared — unduly, as I insisted with him — that he had been allotted a dry subject, and he sought anxiously to overcome this drawback. The ultimate result of all this study and toil was that the volume, when it was published in 1896, was a masterpiece of historical work. It was gratifying too for me to know that, in spite of his initial reluctance, he had found his labor so interesting that he seriously considered a much more ambitious enterprise of the like kind, which, however, he never actually prosecuted.

Mr. Lothrop was of scholarly tastes and acquirements; if not quite what is strictly called a learned scholar, he was well read and used books with the ease and skill of one familiar with them. Very susceptible to the enjoyment of pure literature, and familiar with the classics, ancient and modern, he yet seems to have read chiefly to acquire knowledge. The books which filled to the ceiling the room in which he sat indicated his ten-

dency to take them as tools for useful work. They were of the kind to serve some purpose, to give information as to events, past or present, and the doings of men in the active world. Since he was gifted with a strong memory, such reading as this made his mind a well-stocked arsenal of knowledge, with the result that he was very agreeable in conversation, as well as very formidable when he had occasion to sustain any point in controversy. He took a keen interest, increasing as his own sons grew up and went to Harvard College, in the new educational theories which were displacing the old régime at that ancient but no longer conservative seat of learning. Well content to see the Faculty abandon its once prominent function as a Board of Police, also to see an intelligent measure of elasticity introduced into the curriculum, he was yet outraged at the carnival of license and laziness which marked the earlier years of the new departure,— a condition which in time was brought within reasonable bounds, but only through the slowly learned lessons of hard experience. He stood among those who clung to the classical ideas; he did not willingly consent that the old-time "liberal education," which for generations had been the distinction of his class, should be thrown upon the rubbish heap by the excited band of votaries of science. With his usual thoroughness he very accurately gathered his facts as to precisely what was going on at Harvard, and welcomed every opportunity to discuss the subject. His associations being chiefly with college men, it naturally followed that his words often fell upon good ground, and thus he exercised a considerable, though indirect, influence. According to the shrewd suspicions of his friends, the fact that he himself was not made a member of either of the governing boards was attributable to his being so notoriously "on the other side."

The interests and occupations which have been described, sprinkled amid the daily pleasures of a social life among good friends and neighbors, filled up many years not otherwise especially eventful, until symptoms of the final break-down in health began to show themselves. Then ensued a lingering and distressing illness, which sadly taxed his courage and constancy, until death came as a release, on the second day of November, 1913.

Such, so far as I have been able to draw it, not in the spirit of eulogy, but aiming only at a fair and truthful presentation, is the narrative of Mr. Lothrop's life and the picture of his qualities; — a man of fine natural parts conscientiously developed, of high ideals and irreproachable character, a hard worker to the limit of his physical strength, a leader in his profession, rendering his full share of gratuitous public service, esteemed and respected by all with whom he came in contact. If it be asked how it came about that such a citizen passed through life without being called to any high office or coupling his name with any distinguished public achievement, the explanation is to be found partly perhaps in himself but very largely in circumstances. He was never infected by the common desire to be conspicuous. He could certainly have succeeded in politics, but he had little taste for that pursuit, and could never have brought himself to seek and to ask, and to plunge into the scramble for office or preferment. Probably no ambition outside the limits of his chosen profession held any temptation for him. A high place in the judiciary, State or national, he might have considered favorably, had the offer of it come to him, and in such a post he would unquestionably have won great distinction. But here circumstances interfered, especially the interruptions caused, first by the experiment of the railroad presidency, and later by the much more serious withdrawals which he was obliged, and was also entirely able, to make in order to care properly for his health. So he lived and died simply a gentleman in private life. Yet was it not well so? Of good judges we have enough, of politicians a great surplus; but of cultivated gentlemen we have a supply much smaller than is desirable. One need not be very aged to remember a word which, as then used in its better sense, was of very honorable import, but which, being ill construed by the malicious, has now become taboo. If I may venture, reverting not without some timidity to this past significance of the word, to employ it once more, I should say that Mr. Lothrop had in him much of the aristocrat. In these days, when the already present democracy is rapidly yielding place to the onward pressing proletariat, perhaps such an example as he presented may arouse some misgivings among thoughtful people as to the desirability of the final and indiscriminate extermination of

his class. If it should prove erelong that he was a fine example of a social condition which is departing, it will be all the more interesting to preserve a record of his doings and his traits.

JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Mr. ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Corresponding Secretary reported the list of donors since the last meeting, making special mention of the gift of the recently published *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* by Dr. Emerson, and of a file of twenty-seven bound volumes of the *Commercial Bulletin*, 1859–1901, given by the publishers, Curtis Guild and Company.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the purchase of eighty-five medals, tokens, and badges; and gifts:

From George H. Lincoln, of Providence, of a framed lithograph of Edmund Winchester, after a painting by Chester Harding.

From Edward Lind Morse, of a photograph of Samuel F. B. Morse's picture of the House of Representatives at Washington, 1823, now in the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington.

From Albert N. Blodgett, of three wrought iron nails taken from original timbers in King's Chapel many years ago at the time of making extensive repairs; also, on deposit, by him, a cane made from a piece of an oak timber from the building.

From Henry H. Fay, a photograph of a portrait of Daniel Webster, painted by James Frothingham about 1833, and given by Webster to Dr. Cyrus Perkins.

From the children of Mrs. Harriet Jackson Morse a collection of more than fifty silhouettes made early in the nineteenth century. A number are of public characters of the day, and some members of this Society. A few may be named: Rev. William E. Channing, John and Charles Lowell, Rev. Jedidiah Morse, Rev. John S. Popkin, Daniel Appleton White, Dr. John T. Kirkland, Dr. John Codman, Isaac P. Davis, Ebenezer Rockwood, and Jonathan Jackson. In this connec-

tion mention may be made of a similar collection of "shades" in the possession of our colleague Charles P. Bowditch.

Mr. NORCROSS then made the following statement:

In April, 1838, a box containing matrices for types, formerly the property of Benjamin Franklin, was presented to the Society, through Isaac P. Davis, by William J. Duane.[1] In connection with a volume, about to be issued by the Grolier Club, on issues from Franklin's press at Passy, the box was examined and found to have the following written upon the cover by Duane:

PHILADELPHIA, Nov'r 4th, 1834

This case and its contents belonged to Dr. Benjamin Franklin. Believing that any articles, once the property of so distinguished a son of Boston (especially if connected with the art of printing) must be acceptable to some one of the public institutions of that city, I respectfully request Isaac P. Davis, Esq., to deposit this case and contents wherever he may suppose it will be acceptable and carefully preserved.

W. J. DUANE.

The attention of Mr. Luther S. Livingston, the author of the Grolier volume, and of Mr. Bruce Rogers, who was superintending the printing, was called to this relic, probably the only well-authenticated remains of Franklin's types. At Mr. Rogers' request the matrices were sent to the Riverside Press, and castings made. A set of the cast letters is now given to the Society by Mr. Rogers, and a page of printed impressions from these types — thirty pieces in all. Mr. Rogers notes that the paper label on the box, "VIII. Paragon Italique [*rubbed*] Matrices," describes a font of type other than that now in the box. The matrices were doubtless of French make, but no mark indicates the founder.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Chester Noyes Greenough accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and one from George Peabody Wetmore accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Miss Mary L. Hall, of Dorchester, three volumes of letters. One relates to the ministry of Rev. Nathaniel Hall, Jr., ordained in 1835 as colleague pastor with the Rev. Thaddeus

[1] *Proceedings*, II. 38.

Mason Harris over the First Congregational Church in Dorchester. His ministry lasted forty years, until his death in 1875. Two volumes comprise the letters relating to his son, Henry W. Hall, adjutant of the 51st Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, killed in the action at Kenesaw Mountain, Georgia, June 27, 1864. The volumes include his letters from the time of entering the service, April, 1861, to his death, and the tributes paid to his memory by friends and comrades. The collection is a notable record of patriotic service and sacrifice.

From Dr. William L. Richardson, a number of printed notices, circulars, programs, price-currents and letters, from 1789 to 1831. They make an addition to the Society's collection of material which, seldom preserved at the time, has now become a rarity.

From Judge Robert Grant, the manuscript diary of his great-grandfather, Hon. Jonathan Mason, of a journey to Savannah, Georgia. This account was communicated to the Society in March, 1885, by Dr. Ellis, and printed in full in 2 *Proceedings*, II. 5. In making the gift Judge Grant writes: "As your archives seem to be the natural depository for a manuscript of this sort, the identity of which might easily be lost in course of time, I send it to the Massachusetts Historical Society with my compliments, as a gift without reservation."

The Society has purchased two documents of unusual historical value, being the instructions given by Governor Vane and Lieutenant Governor Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., in July, 1636, for treating with the Pequots. The effort to preserve peace failed, and the Pequot war followed. The two documents, obtained from two sources, are written by Vane and signed by both Vane and Winthrop, and were communicated to the Society in 1833, by William T. Williams, of Lebanon, Conn., and of the Trumbull connection.[1]

Joseph Grafton Minot was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary presented the following vote, which was adopted:

Voted, That the Manuscript volumes and letters of Lieut. Col. Charles B. Fox, given to the Society in 1898, with the condition that "they should not be accessible to the public during

[1] They are printed in 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, III. 129.

the lifetime of any of those who took part in the events described — that is until 1915" — be further withdrawn until the year 1930, and that in the interval they shall be accessible to individuals only by consent of the members of Col. Fox's family.

Mr. STORER spoke on

THE ADAMS COLLECTION OF COINS.

It gives me much pleasure to report upon the recent gift of the superb Adams collection of coins. That I have not done so before is to be explained by the labor involved in identifying and classifying some 10,000 coins. The collection was started by John Quincy Adams and has been largely increased by his son Charles Francis Adams, and grandson Henry Adams, the donor. The period of greatest activity in collecting seems to have been about 1864.

After final elimination of duplicates I find that there have been added to our cabinet 5375 coins of which 1950 are ancient and the rest modern. Of these 273 are gold and the rest about equally divided between silver and the baser metals. Apparently it was the aim of Mr. Adams to form a collection fairly representative of the numismatic science throughout the ages, rather than to specialize in any particular field, as is more apt to be the practice of modern numismatists. As a result Mr. Adams seems to have paid especial attention to securing fine representative pieces. I have examined many collections but have seen few containing so little "trash" or so few counterfeits. There are barely half a dozen of these in the entire collection, and I have no doubt Mr. Adams acquired most of them knowingly, merely to have something to show in the place of the possibly unattainable original.

That in this great collection there should be only 149 pieces to be added to our Americana, the matter in which this Society is especially interested, is to be explained by the fact that we already have the wonderful Appleton collection of exclusively Americana (3546 pieces), consequently a very large number of the Adams Americana were already in our cabinet. These duplicates have been sold or exchanged to advantage, and Massachusetts pieces bought with the proceeds. For instance, I sold a dollar of 1795 for more than $100.

I have arranged upon the table a few of the more striking pieces, and I think they will repay a passing glance, even if one is not interested in what to me is a very fascinating hobby.

1. First I show what is probably the oldest coin in the collection, a stater of Aegina, dating 700 to 550 B. C.

2. A tetradrachm of Athens, 590 B. C. Note the archaic type of rude workmanship, contrasting strongly with the exquisite work of the period of the highest development of Greek art as shown in the coins of Syracuse.

3. BACTRIA, about 100 B. C. Interesting as showing the curious shape of these coins.

4. CORINTH. Drachma 300 B. C. A very beautiful coin.

5. EGYPT. An octodrachm of Arsinoe II, 285 B. C. This is an imitation, the original being unattainable.

6. A tetradrachm of Ptolemy XIII, 68 B. C. The series of Alexandrine coins are interesting chiefly on account of the almost endless varieties of initials and monograms, representing the cities they were coined at or the names of magistrates or engravers. In this connection it is interesting to reflect on the criticism made when Mr. Brenner put his initials on the Lincoln penny issued in this country a few years ago. In deference to the clamor of popular ignorance the initialed cents were soon withdrawn yet the practice of signing an artist's work has been in constant use for some 2000 years. Mr. Forrer of London is completing a work of five fat volumes on artists' signatures on coins and medals.

7. MACEDON. A stater of Philip II, 357 B. C.

8. A tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, 334 B. C. This series offers even more bewildering complications of initials and monograms than the Egyptian coins.

9. PARTHIA. A five tetradrachm of Mithridates II, 123 B. C.

10. SELINUS. A superb tetradrachm of 425 B. C.

11. SYRACUSE. A dekadrachm of the period of the very highest art. 300 B. C.

12. ——— 50 Litrae. A picked specimen from a great European collection.

There are 580 Greek coins in the collection, representing 140 cities and states.

13. ROME. As libralis.

14. ——— Quadrans.

15. ——— Sextans. These extraordinary pieces, dating about 500 B. C., are interesting as showing the first attempts at coined money by the Romans, many years after Greece had a highly-developed coinage.

16. In the collection there is a very rich series of Roman family coins (some 450), of which I show only one as a sample, that of the Julian family. There are 133 families represented.

17. We have over 1300 Roman imperial coins, ranging over 154 emperors. I show only a gold coin of Valens.

18. Coming to the modern coins a few may be of interest such as a Bogota doubloon.

19. MEXICO. A dollar chop-marked for circulation in China. Every merchant through whose hands it passed stamped it with his guarantee of weight.

20. UNITED STATES. A California $10 piece of the Miner's Bank.

21. ——— $10 of 1803.

22. CHINA. This curious piece of so-called knife money dates from about the beginning of the Christian era. This is the finest specimen I have ever seen.

23. SIAM. This quarter tical is another of the curiosities of coinage. It is of recent date.

24. AUSTRIA. There is a fine series of old Austrian Thalers, of which the one I show of Pfirt, 1555, is a good example.

25. Mr. Adams gathered a very complete series of French coins. I show a mouton d'or of Jean II, 1350.

26. ——— a 40 franc piece of Napoleon, 1812.

27. ——— a 5 francs of Louis Philippe, 1830.

28. The GERMAN series is very rich. I show a medal of Brandenburg of 1700.

29. ——— a Thaler of Stollberg of 1572.

30. Mr. Adams paid especial attention to ENGLAND, having some 900 coins of that country. I show a penny of Ethelwulf, 836.

31. ——— a noble of Edward III, 1327.

32. ——— a noble of Henry VI, 1422.

33. ——— a sovereign of Edward VI, 1547.

34. ——— three pounds of Charles I, 1642.

37. ——— the very rare Pontefract siege piece of 1648.

38. ——— a very rare Cromwell crown of 1658.

39. An Indian medal of 1714. This is probably the greatest rarity in the entire collection, being as far as I know unique in silver. Mr. Betts, in his American Colonial History as Illustrated by Medals, did not know of it and there is no copy in the British Museum. These medals were struck for distribution to the American Indians as rewards, and are very rare even in copper.

40. PARMA. 1815. 40 lire.

41. RUSSIA. 12 rubles, 1831, platinum. These pieces are interesting in that owing to the great increase in the value of platinum they have practically all been melted down. For instance, the face value of this piece is $4.80 but the bullion value is about $30.

42. ——— Beard money. This curious piece was issued in connection with the ukase abolishing beards as a facial adornment some two hundred years ago. The reform was very short lived.

43. TURKEY. A gold piece.

From the coins I have shown it will be seen how widely representative the collection is. I hope that in time we shall have some method of displaying them that is better than the present one of packing them away in drawers. I will add that of the 10,000 coins I have identified all but some 100, and I have hopes that eventually I shall puzzle out even them.

Mr. JUSTIN H. SMITH read a paper on

GREAT BRITAIN AND OUR WAR OF 1846–1848.[1]

In 1846 England still entertained, no doubt, a smouldering resentment against this country for having dared to become independent, and she observed with jealousy the rapid growth of the republic in population, wealth and commercial importance. The existence of slavery here counted against us, too; the dis-

[1] The MS. documents cited may be found as follows: 1 McLane to Polk, Polk Papers, Library of Congress; 2 McLane to the Secretary of State, archives of State Dept.; 1 Bancroft, Bancroft Papers, Mass. Hist Soc.; 2 Bancroft, to the Secretary of State, archives of State Dept.; Correspondence between the British government and Bankhead, British minister to Mexico, Foreign Office Papers, Public Record Office, London; correspondence between the Mexican government and Murphy, its diplomatic agent at London, archivo de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Mexico.

position in certain States to repudiate bonds largely held in Great Britain and their tardiness in paying interest were perhaps even more serious; and the descriptions of this country put forth by certain literary visitors, who made themselves merry and popular at our expense, assisted to discredit us. In June, 1846, our State Department was informed by Minister McLane — with some exaggeration, one desires to believe — that all the sympathies of England, public and private, were against us; and that a deep-seated dislike, "amounting almost to hate of our people, of our country and of our Institutions," was universal there. Moreover, for a number of direct reasons also England could not view our war with Mexico dispassionately.[1]

In the first place it grew out of the annexation of Texas, and Texas was a harrowing subject at London. The rebellion of that country had not pleased the British. Being creditors of Mexico to a very large amount, they did not like to have the assets of their debtor thus reduced in value; and they hoped for some time that on one basis or another Texas would return to the mother-country. Then they hoped to see her vast and fertile area become an adequate source of raw cotton, and relieve them of a hateful dependence upon the United States. They planned also to use Texas, through the abolition of slavery there, as a weapon against the labor system, exporting power and general prosperity of this country; and above all they were determined that our territory, population and wealth should not be enhanced by the acquisition of that magnificent domain. All the diplomatic resources of Great Britain were exerted to defeat the project of annexation; strenuously and repeatedly she urged Mexico to recognize the Texan republic so as to encourage the strong sentiment in favor of permanent independence which existed there; and she stood ready to oppose the United States forcibly in this cause provided she could have the support of France. In every one of these aims, however, she met with signal defeat; and she was not well qualified by temperament or experience to accept with equanimity that long series of disappointments.[2]

[1] *N. Y. Herald* (Editorial), June 8, 1844. 1 McLane (received June 21, 1846).

[2] J. H. Smith, *Annexation of Texas* (see Aberdeen, Bankhead, Elliot, England, Pakenham, Palmerston, Slavery and Smith in the Index).

For a more practical reason also the outbreak and continuance of our war against Mexico could not fail to excite chagrin at London. England was unwilling that Mexico should challenge this country single-handed. Lord Aberdeen, her Minister of Foreign Affairs, informed our representative that he had "uniformly counselled the Mexican authorities to an amicable adjustment of their difficulties with the United States"; and this statement is confirmed by an examination of the instructions given to Bankhead, the British diplomatic agent. October 1, 1845, he was directed to avert the war; the following month he was told that in the opinion of the Foreign Office it was "highly desirable" that Mexico should come to an agreement with us "as soon and on as good terms" as she could; and about a year later, October 31, 1846, he was instructed to urge the policy of making peace at once on whatever basis the United States would accept.[1]

Bankhead for his part was cordially in sympathy with the desire of his government. As early as September, 1845, he called on the Mexican Minister of Relations and expressed the opinion that Mexico ought to settle with the United States. The next month he wrote to the British minister at Washington that he had endeavored to promote peace between the two nations and hoped his colleague would do the same; and in April, 1847, he reported that he had exerted himself anew to impress upon the Mexican government the wisdom of this policy.[2]

"I have no doubt," wrote McLane to our Secretary of State in 1845, "that the counsels of this government, if they interfere at all, will be employed to prevent it [*i. e.*, war between the United States and Mexico], from an apprehension of the advantages the United States might derive from it." The danger particularly in view was that of our acquiring California; and in November, 1845, the Mexican agent at London reported that Aberdeen's mind was actually "tormented" by schemes to keep that invaluable territory from our grasp. Besides, a war against this country was sure to impoverish Mexico, make her less valuable as a customer and reduce her ability to

[1] (Counselled) 2 McLane, No. 50, May 29, 1846. To Bankhead, Nos. 34, 36 of 1845; No. 13 of 1846.

[2] Bankhead, No. 94 of 1845. Id. to Pakenham, Oct. 16, 1845: F. O. Papers, Pub. Rec. Off. Id., No. 46 of 1847.

pay the English bondholders. The fate of Mexico, observed the London *Spectator*, "is inseparably identified with that of a vast amount of British capital." [1]

At the same time England was largely responsible for the war. For one thing her newspapers and periodicals did much to push Mexico on and persuade her that a contest in arms with this country could be ventured without undue risk. Their disdainful abuse of us, for example, was both stimulating and encouraging. In September, 1845, the London *Times* declared there was "great danger" that the following words of an old English writer would be verified in the United States: "No arts, no letters, no society, and, what is worst of all, continual feare and danger of violent death, and the life of man solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short." A few months later it represented our government as "a polity corrupted in all its channels with the foulest venality," described the "imperial pretensions of our Cabinet" as "reëchoed by a vast populace in a nasal jargon compounded at once of bad grammar and worse principle," and declared that even the Englishmen who believed in popular rights turned from us with "indignant scorn." Commenting on Polk's Inaugural Address the same journal remarked: It shows "the unblushing impudence which belonged to his predecessors, and which we had fondly imagined that no one else could rival;" following this up by observing, with reference to the President's annual Message, "His pyramid of mendacity is bombproof"; while the *Morning Post* compared the same message, so far as it dealt with Mexico, to the thief who pretends you have trod on his toe, and then "empties your pocket while he blackens your eye." [2]

More definite encouragement of Mexico was not lacking. The United States will back down; there will be no war, predicted the *Morning Herald* in January, 1846; and after hostilities had continued for some time in spite of this opinion, the London *Examiner* represented the Americans as eager to get out of the scrape. Anyhow, urged the *Times*, Mexico had less to risk by engaging in the struggle than by acquiescing in the annexation of Texas, which would show, if not resisted,

[1] 2 McLane, No. 5 of 1845. Murphy, No. 17, res., of 1845. *Spectator*, Sept. 26, 1846.

[2] *Times*, Sept. 23, 1845; Jan. 26, Dec. 31, 1846. *Post*, Dec. 31, 1846.

that she was unable to defend herself. War, said that journal again, was "clearly the duty" of Mexico, since "It is now proved that no consideration of prudence, justice or good faith can restrain them [the United States] from seizing or acquiring the possessions of contiguous states." The difficulties we should encounter in fighting Mexico were distinctly pointed out by the *Times*: "The country, the climate, the season, the ambushed enemy, the irregular movements of partisan corps, and the enmity of the Spanish and Indian races" toward us; the want of water, local supplies, roads and beasts of burden; the roving privateers, and the possibility that our slaves might be roused against their owners. Moreover, the Mexican correspondent of the *Times* announced in its columns, "The Mexican troops are superior to those of the United States"; and the editor added later that the title *General* was "legitimately common to the greater portion of the respectable male population of the United States." *Britannia*, a periodical of considerable importance, even outdid this excellent jest. The United States, it said, is full of "majors who serve out beer, and colonels who rub down the heels of one's horse, brigadiers driving stage-coaches, and generals with the pen behind their ear"; and, in a more serious vein, stated authoritatively that "America, as an aggressive power, is one of the weakest in the world." What, indeed, could be expected of a nation that had chosen "that Napoleon of the backwoods," as it described Polk, for President.[1]

Captain Elliot, British minister to Texas, who travelled extensively in the United States and could be regarded as an expert on the subject, reported to his government: "If the war should be protracted and carried on across the Rio Grande I believe that it would require very little skill and scarcely any exposure of the defending force to draw the invading columns well forward beyond all means of support from their own bases and depots into situations of almost inextricable difficulty." The more United States volunteers, the greater the difficulty and danger of entering Mexico. "They are very spirited and

[1] *Herald*, Jan. 17, 1846. *Examiner*, Dec. 22, 1846. *Times*, April 15, Sept. 10, 1845. (Difficulties) *Times*, June 11, 1846; *Standard*, June 10, 1844. (Troops) *Times*, July 5, 1845. (General) *Times*, March 27, 1847. *Britannia*, Jan. 10, 1846; Feb. 15, May 3, 1845.

effective in their particular mode of fighting, which is by skirmishing with the rifle, but they could not resist artillery and cavalry in a Country suited to those arms, they are not amenable to discipline, they plunder the peasantry, they are without steadiness under reverses, they cannot march on foot, and are in no way comparable to the Mexican forces for rapidity of movement or sustaining continuous fatigue on the hardest food"; and regulars would hardly be more effective, for the United States possesses no aptitude or sufficient means for regular military invasion. During the spring of 1845 Elliot visited Mexico, and no doubt he expressed his views to the Mexican officials whom he met there on singularly intimate terms.[1]

Under such circumstances, as the *Times* remarked, there seemed to be "strong reasons" for doubting whether the Americans would succeed, should hostilities be undertaken. Our operations would be at best, said the editor, "utterly uninteresting and inglorious," like "the disgusting details of the Indian war in Florida"; and indeed they would probably end in defeat, for "bluster does not win battles, though it may begin brawls." At the very worst, observed the London *Standard*, the Mexicans would have it in their power to make the conflict "obstinate and tedious"; and, since the United States had no financial credit, of course it could not carry the burden. Such an outcome would be the more probable because, as the *Times* insisted, the war would not be a national affair but the measure of a party possessing a bare majority, and a measure "odious" to a "large and enlightened minority in the best States," who would be unwilling to support aggressive hostilities in the interest of slavery.[2]

A like sense of righteousness might be expected to coöperate with Mexico from beyond the sea. All Europe, said the London *Morning Chronicle*, must consider the war "an insulting and illegal aggression." "We distinctly recognize," announced its neighbor, the *Morning Herald*, "the claim for assistance which Mexico has upon the civilized world." Sooner or later, threat-

[1] Elliot to Aberdeen, New Orleans, July 3, 1845: F. O. Papers, Pub. Rec. Off. (Visited) J. H. Smith, *Annexation of Texas*, 413, 423.

[2] *Times*, May 14, 1846; Sept. 1, 1845; June 1, 1846. *Standard*, Aug. 12, 1845. *Times*, April 15, 1845.

ened the *Times*, with an air that meant very soon indeed, the United States must expect that punishment which would await the same excesses in Europe. And at all events, whichever side might have the heavier battalions, and whether help could be expected from abroad or not, Mexico was counselled to make a desperate resistance. In the case of an invasion, argued *Britannia*, "the soldier is a soldier no more; he is a burglar, a robber, a murderer"; and should foreign troops invade England, "No quarter!" ought to be the cry. That was a hint sufficiently broad. Mexico, added that periodical, is "the very country for the guerilla"; and while privateering is in general to be condemned, the Mexicans may rightfully adopt that method of warfare against the United States.[1]

Even officially England aided in bringing on hostilities. The Mexican agent at London reported that "at bottom Aberdeen would be glad to have this war take place and prove favorable to us." So far as the first portion of this announcement is concerned we know that Murphy was mistaken, but his government did not. At another time the same agent wrote that His Lordship was reflecting on "a thousand ideas" in the hope of finding a way to aid Mexico. The Oregon question was now at an acute phase; and, as McLane informed our President, the "aim" of the British government was to keep our difficulties with Mexico unsettled to await the end of her negotiations on that difficult matter. The effect of such a situation upon a touch-and-go people like the Mexicans, who were born gamblers, is too obvious to require explanation. When war seemed almost inevitable both to England and United States as the result of an apparent deadlock in those negotiations, the Mexicans could hardly be blamed if they considered it a practical certainty and acted accordingly. To pursue thus and see the newspapers pursue a policy tending to bring about results which it thoroughly dreaded, must have been peculiarly galling to the British government; the well informed editors and public men shared of course in its irritation; and the general public, though not aware of the causes, felt their effects.[2]

[1] *Chronicle*, May 30, 1846. *Herald*, June 24, 1846. *Times*, Dec. 15, 1845. *Britannia*, Jan. 3, June 5, 1847.

[2] Murphy, Nos. 9 (Aug. 1), 17 (Nov. 1) of 1845. 1 McLane (received June 21, 1846). A comparison of the British and Mexican documents bearing upon

Under such circumstances one could hardly look for cordial appreciation of our achievements. Lord Aberdeen told our minister frankly that he himself "could not be expected to contemplate with any pleasure the disastrous injuries the war might be expected to inflict upon the Mexican government and People." Commercial circles at London showed a prompt and general unfriendliness toward the United States, reported McLane; and a glance at the press will enable us, bearing in mind the citations already offered, to judge how the editors and presumably the public felt. The wish to see this country fail begat more children than even Santa Anna was reputed to have, and a queer brood they were, — with limbs at all angles and features out of true. Taylor's victories on the Rio Grande, in the second of which Arista's force was almost pulverized, attracted little attention; but after a while the London *Times* remarked, "No hostile army has been really beaten." Monterey was a city of stone houses, forming a continuous wall along the streets; but the same journal described our capture of it as merely occupying "a town of log-huts." That paper continued to regard the Mexican war as "a border squabble," "ridiculous and contemptible," "justified by hypocrisy," "carried on with impotence" and sure to end "in some compromise more humiliating to the United States than to Mexico." "The Americans who have to conduct this most wearisome of wars," it amused itself by remarking further, "are least of all nations competent to the task. They have no army, and have constitutional objections to raising one. They have no money, and are resolutely determined to find none. They have no General, and have just agreed [by defeating Polk's plan to have Benton placed at the head of our forces] never to have one." "The military tactics of the Americans," remarked the *Examiner* at the same stage, "have displayed an equal want of talent and of purpose"; and its fair colleague, *Britannia*, exclaimed: the hostilities against Mexico are "at once wretched and ridiculous. . . . So much for the boasting of Jonathan!" With unwinking and unsuspecting humor the *Times* commented thus on Taylor's success at Buena Vista: "Beyond the fact that the Americans undoubtedly beat off, though from a strong position, a force

the mission of Slidell shows that the Oregon difficulty had a most important and perhaps decisive influence in causing our war with Mexico.

nearly quadrupling their own, they seem to have no great grounds for triumph." In fact they were now "worse off than ever"; and the Mexicans had nothing to do but "to sit still and be sulky."[1]

Scott fared no better than Taylor at the hands of these far-seeing critics. His bombarding Vera Cruz was characterized as "revolting," as an "infamy," as "one of the most atrocious and barbarous acts committed in modern times by the forces of a civilized nation," as "degrading to mankind." Somehow the *Times* was decent enough to publish a reply, which said: "The first broadside of Lord Exmouth's guns at Algiers destroyed a greater number of unoffending, unarmed people than the bombardment of Vera Cruz," and pointed out that Scott had to be humane to his own troops, whom delay would have exposed to the yellow fever. Of course the writer might have added that an assault would have caused immensely more bloodshed than did the artillery fire.[2]

According to the *Times* the hope of marching to Mexico City was "the mere dream of an ignorant populace"; while the more prudent *Chronicle* termed it "about as visionary as that of Napoleon upon Moscow." "There is but one thing we know of," added the *Chronicle*, "that is more difficult than for the United States army to get to Mexico, and that would be to get back again to Vera Cruz." When the Americans at Cerro Gordo pushed through a mountain gorge which, in all the wild fighting of the Mexican revolutions, had been deemed impassable, and stormed a double line of entrenchments, defended with infantry and artillery, on a mountain side that a tourist can hardly climb, the *Chronicle* itself had to admit that our courage was "unquestionable"; but it made up by adding, "Both [the Mexican and the American] armies partake pretty considerably of the nature of mobs." Scott's victories of Contreras and Churubusco were viewed by the *Times* as more likely than otherwise "to raise the confidence of the Mexicans," and the editor announced that our general, after these disastrous triumphs, was "much more likely to capitulate" than to capture Mexico.

[1] 2 McLane, No. 55 (June 18) of 1846. *Times*, Nov. 9, 1846; Jan. 1, Feb. 18, Mar. 15, 1847. *Examiner*, Dec. 22, 1846. *Britannia*, Feb. 20, 1847. *Times*, April 20, 26, 1847.

[2] *Times*, May 10, 12, 1847.

"The position of the American army in Mexico is perilous," announced *Britannia* at this juncture, and the invasion of that country "a great mistake"; how are the Americans going to get out of it? The actual capture of Mexico was viewed as only one misfortune more. "The Americans have played out their last card," announced the Thunderer, "and are still as far as ever from the game." Worse yet, they are about to crown their outrages: the churches will be plundered by the American government; and "when churches are ransacked will houses be spared? When saints are despoiled will citizens be spared?"[1]

Still, the brilliancy of our victories, the general good conduct of our troops and our liberal treatment of neutrals had their effect. Even the press, though deeply committed against us, revealed some glimmerings of this fact. After the capture of Mexico a gentleman writing from that city was permitted to say in the *Times*, that during the recent battles "the Americans behaved, on the whole, exemplarily"; and the *Examiner* admitted that British traders were "quietly sharing with the Americans the profits of Mexican subjugation." From the reports of our ministers one obtains a much more adequate view. After the battles on the Rio Grande McLane reported that the gallantry and discipline of our troops and the magnanimity of Taylor and his army had "served to inspire a respect for our country and our cause which was not felt before, and which nothing less could have produced." Bancroft, who succeeded McLane, stated that the capture of Vera Cruz and Ulua and the victory at Cerro Gordo totally changed the complexion of European opinion about this country. After the battles of Contreras and Churubusco the same minister wrote to a friend: "You should be here to see how our successes have opened the eyes of the Old World to our great destinies"; and when the fighting was over he said to Polk that the valor of our troops had raised our character throughout Europe. In England a particular consideration doubtless had weight. General Scott received a very handsome note from the commander of the British fleet off Vera Cruz and from

[1] *Times*, Aug. 31, 1846. *Chronicle*, March 6, June 1, Sept. 30, 1847. *Times*, Sept. 30, 1847. *Britannia*, Oct. 9, 1847. *Times*, Dec. 2, 1847; Jan. 4, 1848.

a son of Sir Robert Peel, who was aboard one of the vessels; and Robert Anderson, afterwards the hero of Fort Sumter, recording these incidents in his diary observed: When our arms do something glorious, "jealousy, for the moment, is conquered by pride," and the English feel that after all we are flesh of their flesh. Indeed, Lord Palmerston himself spoke most warmly to Bancroft of our victories as illustrating the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon.[1]

The terms of the treaty of peace were received in England without serious protest. Texas to the Rio Grande was of course ours. Nobody expected anything else. As early as October, 1846, Palmerston had notified Mexico that she would have to abandon her claim to the Nueces boundary. California also seemed a legitimate acquisition. Due warning of such a result had been given. In May, 1846, when Aberdeen expressed to McLane the hope that "no idea of conquest might be entertained," our minister, while stating that we harbored no such design, added that "it was at present not easy to foresee all the consequences of a war which Mexico had so wantonly provoked, and in which the United States had so much injustice and so many wrongs to redress." Aberdeen's anxiety to avert the conflict in order to prevent our getting that territory is fairly good evidence that he expected us, in the event of triumph, to annex it. Early in December, 1846, Bancroft assured Polk that the English had looked upon our taking it as a matter of course. Five months later, in fact, he said that England was preparing to hear of our negotiating for half, two thirds or all of Mexico, and that Lord Ashburton said to him: "You are the Lords of Mexico." "From this time," lamented *Britannia* in November, 1847, "the whole country [Mexico] must be considered as part of the territory of the United States"; and Bancroft wrote at about the same time, "It is becoming a fashion . . . to expect the absorption of all Mexico." Reasons had been discovered for concluding that even annexation would have its advantages for the British. "How do you explain," said the French ambassador at London to a person intimately

[1] *Times*, Nov. 13, 1847. *Examiner*, May 15, 1847. 2 McLane, No. 55 of 1846. 1 Bancroft to Polk, June 3, 1847. 1 Bancroft to Greene, Nov. 3, 1847. Bancroft to Polk, Nov. 18, 1847: Howe, Bancroft, II. 28. Lawton, An Artillery Officer in Mexico, 232. Bancroft to Polk, May 14, 1847; Howe, Bancroft, II. 18.

acquainted with the views of the British government; "How do you explain that the English government look on and witness the immense successes of the United States in Mexico?" And he received for answer that Mexico in the hands of the American people would be to England of far more value than she ever has been in respect to commerce and the security of property invested there. Besides, our victories had shown that we must be treated with respect.[1]

From this brief survey it seems to be clear that our succeeding in a war with Mexico was by no means considered in England a matter of course, as we have been accustomed to regard it; that our achievements produced a state of mind respecting us very different from that which had prevailed before; and that our terms of peace, instead of appearing extortionate, were viewed as disappointingly moderate. It appears evident also that the British were disposed to welcome any safe opportunity for interfering. In fact, mediation was suggested by Lord Aberdeen, and, although this government showed itself absolutely unresponsive, Palmerston proceeded to offer it in a more formal but equally unsuccessful overture. The feeling of England was probably indicated by the London *Times* when it said in August, 1846, that no case for interference, except by offering mediation, had as yet presented itself; and apparently our freedom to prosecute and conclude the war in our own way may have been due to our liberal treatment of neutrals, the firmness of our government and the overwhelming triumph of our arms.[2]

Mr. DANA then read from a private diary records of his visit to England in 1875 and 1876, giving an interesting account of social and political opinions and experiences.

Mr. GUILD communicated a series of letters of the Presidents:

[1] Palmerston to Bankhead, No. 13 of 1846. 2 McLane, No. 50 of 1846. 1 Bancroft to Polk, Dec. 3, 1846. Bancroft to Polk, May 14, 1847: Howe, Bancroft, II. 17, 18. *Britannia*, Nov. 13, 1847. Bancroft to Polk, Nov. 18, 1847: Howe, Bancroft, II. 28. 1 Bancroft to Buchanan, Oct. 18, 1847.

[2] (Mediation) 2 McLane, Nos. 55, 69 of 1846; Polk, Diary, Sept. 10, 11, 1846. *Times*, Aug. 26, 1846. (Neutrals) Polk to the Senate, Feb. 10, 1848. It may be well to add that although British action regarding the war consisted mainly in deciding against proposed measures, a good deal of interesting material bearing upon that aspect of the subject could have been presented, had there been room for it.

Some Presidential Sidelights.

The darling avocation of my father, Curtis Guild, from boyhood till the end of his long life of eighty-four years, was the collection of autograph letters and documents.

He was not, however, a very methodical man and the collection has never, except in part, been arranged or catalogued. It is particularly rich in letters illustrating American history, containing among other matters, the letter written from Governor Endicott to Governor Stuyvesant demanding the surrender of the regicides Goffe and Whalley, and letters from almost every well-known person connected either in a civil or military capacity with the American Revolution.

The collection is even richer in letters bearing on the French Revolution and European history in general, from the Terror to Waterloo.

The collection of documents signed by crowned heads begins with a state paper of Francis I. Those of Henry VIII and of Elizabeth of England are interesting as marking the change from Norman French to English in official correspondence. Queen Bess was even more English than her father, whose resemblance to Solomon in his vices has made too many careless readers forget that he resembled the Hebrew monarch also in his patriotism.

One feature of this collection is a set of autographs from the Presidents of the United States. In several instances, there are three or four letters from the same man. This collection has been continued by my father's heirs and I have taken great pleasure in preparing copies of those which seem, perhaps, of some interest from a historical point of view.

One autograph letter signed by George Washington just before his death, written November 13, 1799, expresses some indignation to Joseph Anthony at not having received a receipt for his check subscribing to the Trumbull prints. Most of the others, however, are of more general interest. The embarrassment of Washington through the performances of the Royal Governor of Virginia during the French and Indian War is evinced by the following: addressed to Lord Loudoun:[1]

[1] An almost identical letter was sent to Governor Dinwiddie. *Writings of Washington* (Ford), I. 449.

WASHINGTON TO LORD LOUDOUN.

FORT LOUDOUN, June 16th: 1757.

SIR, — This moment the inclos'd Letters came to My hands: I have not lost a moments time in Transmitting them to you, as I look upon the Intelligence to be of the utmost Importance. If the Enemy is coming down in Such Numbers, and with such a train of Artilliry as we are bid to Expect, Fort Cumberland must inivitably fall into their hands as no Efforts can be timely made to Save it.

I send you, Sir, a Copy of a Council of War held at this place; and I intend to pursue the resolutions theirin cotaind, 'till I receive orders how to Act. It is Morally certain that the next Object which the French have in view is Fort Loudoun, and that it is yet in a very untenable Posture; they have no roads for carriages into any other Province but thro' this place, and their lyes hear a quantity of Stores Belonging to his Majesty and this Colony very much expos'd and unguarded.

I have not taken up your time, Sir, With sending a tedious detail of the Fort. I have despatch'd one Express to Governor Dinwiddie and another to Col^{o}. [Stanwix.]

I am Yr Excellency's most Obed. Able Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON.

Washington's thoughtful care of his subordinates finds expression in the following letter to Colonel Morgan of Morgan's Riflemen:

WASHINGTON TO DANIEL MORGAN.

CAMP AT THE CROSS ROADS, BUCK'S COUNTY,
Sunday, 10th Augt., 1777. 10 o'clock P. M.

SIR, — I have just recd an Express from Philada. informing me that a large Fleet was seen off Sinepuxent Inlet on the 7th instant. You are therefore desired to halt wherever this finds you, and wait till we hear further of this matter. Let me Know by the return of the Express where you are, that I may know how to direct for you when I have occasion to send you Orders. I am Sir Yr Most ob^{t} Serv^{t}.,

G^{o}. WASHINGTON.

P. S. By ordering you to halt where this shall find you, I mean upon the most convenient Ground near the place.

Even French coöperation could not keep the Continental Army supplied with the most ordinary implements of war.

The siege of Yorktown was undertaken under conditions indicated by the following letter of Washington to Governor Lee of Maryland:

WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE.

HEADQUARTERS, WILLIAMSBURG, 15th Septr., 1781.

SIR, — Your Excellency has been informed, that on hearing the French Fleet had sailed from the Cape, I had given Orders to the Troops which were Embarked to stop their Proceeding.

I am now happy to be able to inform your Excellency, that the Count De Grasse is returned to his former Station at Cape Henry; having driven the British Fleet from the Coast, formed a Junction with the Squadron of the Count De Barras, and captured two British frigates. The Bay being that secure, I have given Orders for the Troops to proceed with all possible Dispatch to the point of Operation.

I am distressed, my Dear Sir, to find, on my Arrival at Williamsburg, that the Supplies for the Army here, are not in that desirable Train, that could be wished. They have already experienced a Want of Provisions, and are greatly apprehensive for the Prospect in future, particularly in the Article of Bread. All the flour within your Reach, should be immediately forwarded down, which may, I think, be speedily done, now that the Navigation of the Bay is secured. I beg, Sir! that not a moment may be lost in furnishing us with every Supply within your Power. Happily, if the Fleet will remain with us, our Prospects of Success are Most promising, if we are not wanting in our own Exertions. An army cannot be kept together without Supplies. If these fail us, our Operations Must cease, and all our high Hopes will vanish into Disappointment and Disgrace.

With great Regards and Esteem I have the honor to be Your Excellency's Most Obed^{t}. Servant, G^{o} WASHINGTON.

P. S. If your Excelly can assist us in procuring some Axes or Hatchets and Intrenching Tools of all kinds, it will be a great Advantage. We shall have much occasion for tools of this sort, and I find almost a Total want here, and it will be difficult to make a Collection from a small Compass.

The letter from John Adams touches little on public affairs, save as it voices the opinions of the Second President as to the Quakers. His frank and very practical advice to his son, Thomas Boylston Adams, as to an attorney's path of success, is not without value even in these days.

JOHN ADAMS TO THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS.

QUINCY, August 4, 1800.

MY DEAR THOMAS, — I thank you for your favour of July 26. I always rejoice to hear of your Arguing Causes. This Arguing is the way to business. Argue; Argue; Argue; forever when you can, and never be concerned about the issue, any further than you ought to interest yourself for truth and Justice. If you Speak in public tho' you lose your cause, it will serve your reputation, if you Speak well, as much as if you gained it. Hard Study and close Application to Business will infallibly increase your Business till it is Commensurate with your Necessities and affords you a Surplus. Science and Literature will assist your reputation as much as Law. Your Progress and Success will depend more on your keeping on good Terms with your Seniors and Superiors at the Bar, and preserving the Countenance of the Court, than upon all the Friendship you can acquire of your equals and all the Popularity you can command or allure of your Juniors and Inferiours.

Politicks, where you are,[1] is the Most certain and rapid road to Business. But you, it seems, are determined to take no share nor interest in them. I fear your Quaker Friends will be of no service to you. Some of that Sect are as bad as Dr. Rush as you describe him. You may safely wish them less profession and more sincerity. The Body of Quakers are Not Friends to you as I believe. I know they never have been Friends to your Father,

JOHN ADAMS.

Jefferson's letter to Governor Claiborne is of interest as marking the well-nigh forgotten incident of the Lafayette lands:

JEFFERSON TO W. C. C. CLAIBORNE.

MONTICELLO, Mar: 26, 05.

DEAR SIR, — On the 14th inst. being the moment of my departure on a short visit to this place, I wrote to you on the subject of locating the lands of General Lafayette, and particularly to have immediately surveyed the vacant lands adjacent to the Canal of Carondelet on both sides, and either touching, or near the City.[2] if I recollect rightly, they were upwards of 600 acres. I omitted, what I meant to have observed, that I did not mean to include the Commons to which you supposed the city entitled, and altho'

[1] In Philadelphia. [2] New Orleans.

I did mean to include the lands on both sides, to and under, the Canal, yet it was merely to comprehend the whole in *one* parcel, so as to let it count but as *one* thousand acres, and not as *two* parcels to count as *two* thousand. there Shall be no opposition to the public having a road or street of sufficient width on each bank. it would be very contrary to the General's Character and to my wish to oppose the public convenience. Accept my friendly Salutations: and my reiterated request to take care of my friend who has deserved so well of this country.

TH. JEFFERSON.

The letter of Madison to General Dearborn, whom it will be remembered Madison appointed later Collector of the Port of Boston, throws an interesting sidelight on the state of mind produced in New England by the Embargo and the political clashing which preceded the War of 1812:

MADISON TO HENRY DEARBORN.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1809.

DEAR SIR,— I have been favored with yours of the 1st instant. We have seen nothing yet which sufficiently discloses the course which the Legislature at Boston is to take. The Governor's Speech[1] is in a tone somewhat different from his Report last Winter; and what must be thought of the disposition which could thank Osgood for his Sermon, which substitutes for the evangelical spirit he professes to feel, a rancor of which a Barbarian ought to be ashamed?[2]

The late order of the B[ritish] Government, so much at variance with the presumed temper of its present Councils, led to a call from the Senate which has brought into public View the documents I inclose. They shew among other things that Pinkney was entirely unapprized of the overtures transmitted to Erskine; altho' the non-intercourse Act had been received on the passage of which the overtures were to be actually made.

We hear nothing from France. The Return of Mr. Coles may be looked for shortly, if the absence of the Emperor in Germany should not occasion his detention. But the vessel which carried the arrangement with G. B. will be most likely to bring back definite result. Her return can not be expected till late in August.

Having often heard the excellent character and cultivated Talents of Dr. Bentley[3] Spoken of, particularly by yourself,

[1] James Sullivan was then governor.

[2] The election sermon, delivered by David Osgood, and printed by the State.

[3] William Bentley, of Salem.

I wrote him to be sensible of the value I place on his friendly sentiments.

I hope Mrs. D. and yourself will find your retreat equally conducive to your health and recreation. Mrs. M. joins me in this as well as in assurances of our affectionate esteem.

JAMES MADISON.

The letter from James Monroe would be much more valuable if any memorandum existed as to the person to whom it was sent. It apparently was sent to some Massachusetts agent of the party in power,[1] but to just which one is dubious:

MONROE TO ———

Private. WASHINGTON, Sept. 17th, 1812.

DEAR SIR,— I send you the enclosed in confidence to make you acquainted with the conduct of the govt. in the question depending with the Executive of that State. It is hoped that the govt. will conform to the arrangment of the genl. govt., applicable to all the States. If he does it will be productive of much good at this interesting crisis.

It will be proper for you to take no other step, than that which you have done, in calling on him for the Militia which is necessary for the Safety of that State. If he refuses to furnish them, the responsibility will be on him for the consequences. I would not call for other Militia in any other way.

I have not been able to write you as yet an official letter. I will do it soon. Very respectfully and sincerely I am Dear Sir Yours,

JAS. MONROE.

The specimen letter of John Quincy Adams, now United States Minister to the Court of St. James, deals chiefly with family affairs, being directed to his brother Thomas. It is dated from Boston House, Ealing, 25 September, 1815. The only allusion to the crash and fall of worlds then in progress is in the last paragraph, as follows:

There is nothing of any consequence going forward in Europe unless the drawing and quartering of France may be thought to deserve some notice — you remember about the time of the Battle of Jena, Napoleon complained that the King of Prussia *did not understand French!* His Majesty appears to have made great proficiency since the Battle of Waterloo.

[1] Probably General Dearborn.

The political campaign of 1828 was managed, especially by General Jackson and his followers, with a savagery of misrepresentation seldom or never equalled in American political history. It is to be regretted that the Jackson letter does not portray the hero of New Orleans, but rather the well-nigh bankrupt planter with a touch of the ungenerous partisan politician. He is writing to General Plauché.

JACKSON TO PLAUCHÉ.

NASHVILLE, November 29th, 1841.

My DEAR GENL,— I come down to this place today to attend to some private business, and find that I will have to use your disinterested and friendly proposition, that is, if it can be so arranged that no injury can result to you. I possess with my adopted son one hundred and sixty negroes, of all descriptions, with my homestead plantation of say one thousand acres, and in the State of Mississippi we hold a tract of eleven hundred and eighty acres; the estate at least worth $100-000 — whereon part of our negroes are employed, and this year has produced a good crop of cotton, and next year, if the season should be good, will at least produce us two hundred bales. And after that we may calculate, with the additional hands we will put on it, that it will produce us three hundred. Here, our cotton crops have greatly failed, I have not raised more than one-third of a crop, hence it is, that makes your friendly offer acceptible. When your letter arrives giving me the authority to draw upon you for six thousand dollars, I will send you my, and my son's, joint note for the amount, and should you desire other security it will be added. You will please advise me what your Bank interest is that I may add it in our note, and when the money thus loaned will be required to be paid, for rest assured, that at any and every sacrifice, it shall be returned with the interest, whenever required. If we can get it at one and two years, we can meet it without any sacrifice or inconvenience; but even one year will relieve us much, as with this sum all liabilities under which I am, *will be met* fully, and the only pecuniary liability under which I am bound will be this *six thousand dollars from you*, which if I live, shall be promptly met. And should I be called to my fathers, my son will be enjoined to meet it with promptness. The Bank here is willing to accomodate me,— their interest is about seven percent. But as long as our Banks are directed by Whiggs, I cannot risque my credit with them, knowing how much gratefied some of them would be, to have me protested if I failed to meet their calls.

So soon as I receive your authority, I will draw upon you payable on the first of next March. Be pleased to give me an early reply to this letter and accept for yourself and family my sincere regard, and believe me your friend sincerely

ANDREW JACKSON.

P. S. Not having your letter with me I cannot insert your christian name in your address. A. J.

N. B. the moment I receive your authority to draw upon you, I will send you my note and son's, that it may be in your possession before the draft reaches you. A. J.

The letter from Martin Van Buren was written in the height of the Presidential campaign, resulting in his own election. It was written to Mr. George C. Spencer and is interesting as reflecting the foolish frenzy that prevailed at that time against Freemasonry. At the preceding election, in 1832, William Wirt had figured as the leader of the Anti-Masonic Party and had received 33,108 votes — about five percent of the vote given to Jackson.

VAN BUREN TO GEORGE C. SPENCER.

LEBANON SPRINGS, Sept. 15th, 1836.

DEAR SIR, — I have not the slightest objection to the publication of my letter to you; provided the circumstances under which it was written, and the occasion of its publication, are, at the same time, properly placed before the public. To do this your letter to your friend should State, that mine was an answer to one from you expressing an apprehension that it was designed to convict Genl. Jackson's administration with the question of masonry and anti-masonry; and that your letter to me was induced by a desire, entertained and expressed by yourself, to give to that administration a fair support, if you should find its course such as you could approve. I have not the papers with me, but such bear I believe the true character of your application. As I take no part, in the publication, other than to give my consent to it, that should also be made to appear, although the circumstances may not be of sufficient importance to require any thing like a very formal avowal of that fact.

I thank you kindly for your friendly hints in relation to Smith; I will improve them to the best advantage. I concur fully on the views you express in regard to him, and am happy to learn from him that he is much pleased with you and every thing about him. I am, D^r^ Sir, Very cordially yours,

M. VAN BUREN.

The letter of General Harrison to General Wayne tells little of the log cabin and hard cider campaign. It is however such a naïve and ingenuous revelation of the character of a gallant young officer in his first flush of a great happiness that romance would compel its publication if history refused it. Harrison married a daughter of John Cleves Symmes, an early settler of Ohio, and is well known for his peculiar views on the interior of the earth.

Harrison to Anthony Wayne.

North Bend, 30th Nov., 1795.

Sir, — The very singular favor and friendship which I have always experienced from your Excellency have been treasured up in my mind with the most lively gratitude. From the generous and disinterested manner with which you have hitherto patronized me, I feel no hesitation in soliciting a continuance of your Indulgence. I am at length, Sir, made the happiest of men by the possession of the best and most lovely of women. To make her happy and to support her in the stile she deserves to live in is the first wish of my soul, but as my private fortune is at present in a very unproductive State, I cannot without great inconvenience abandon my commission. Relying on your goodness I have made no arrangements to do so. My plan is provided it meets the approbation of your Excellency to reside for a short time (until I can build an house) in Fort Washington. The permission of your Excellency to be absent from Head Quarters the ensuing winter is a favor which will never be forgotten.

I am sensible, Sir, that instead of making New requests, my letter ought to be filled with acknowledgements for the favors already received; but your Excellency I hope knows me too well to suppose that I can ever be ungrateful, to one to whom I owe so much, and whom both duty and inclination prompt me to Esteem and Revere. If the highly confidential Office I have the honor to hold in the family of your Excellency has not been discharged with Ability, I have the highest satisfaction in the reflection that the strictest fidelity, zeal and personal regard for you, Sir, have formed the distinguishing traits in my Conduct.

If your Excellency is not at leasure to honor me with an answer, Captains Lewis or De Butts will I hope convey to me your orders. I am with the highest Esteem Your Excellencys devoted Hum: Servt.

Wm. H. Harrison.

John Tyler, the Vice-President, who, becoming President by the death of the venerable Harrison, at once quarrelled with those who elected him, contributes a letter to the collection on the abstract right of the intervention of the United States in the affairs of other nations. This is interesting in view of the present condition of affairs in Mexico.

TYLER TO JAMES S. WHITNEY.

SHERWOOD FOREST, Feb. 3, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your letter postmarked the 19th January requesting on behalf of the Jefferson Litterary Society of Philadelphia, my opinion on the subject of Intervention by our govt. to prevent intervention by other governments in the internal affairs of Nations, only reached me by the mail of last Friday; and altho' I am well aware that you place an undeserv'd value on my opinions, yet as an honorary member, I cannot properly decline a compliance with the Society's request. I must be permitted to say, that while I consider the question as one every way suitable for the discussions of Litterary and debating Societies, yet nothing in my view of it can be more ill plac'd or out of time, than its discussion by the constituted authorities of the country. There is the absence of every thing practical in which it can result — Nothing, however it may be decided, to which it can attach — No standard of revolution has been erected, no uprising of the great masses in the causes of liberty exists in any Country. Absolutism reigns supreme over the continent of Europe. The Czar of Russia holds in his own hands the diadem of Austria and the Crowns of the smaller German States. While Prussia, with Denmark and Sweden, to say nothing of the Italian States, dares not encounter the hoofs of his Northern Steeds. Free principles are pierc'd by innumerable bayonets and trampled into the earth under the heals of a mercenary soldiary. The dead sea of despotism is unruffled by a single ripple, and there is I repeat no existing case to which a declaration by our govt. can attach. It is therefore at the moment, a mere abstraction.

I know it is urg'd that a declaration to the world that the U. States will not in future permit one nation to interfere in the affairs of another, more especially if such declaration shall also receive the endoursement of G. Britain, would cause Hungary to resist once more the absolutism and centralization of Austria. This may be so; but can such declaration be justified on any such ground? Would it not in fact be equivalent to an interferance on our part in the affairs of Austria? And thus while we are advocating the

doctrine of non intervention, make us in truth the most forward in overthrowing our own doctrine? The act is urg'd upon us as the incitive to civil wars. We do not invade the Austrian dominions with the beat of drums and the roar of cannon, but we do what we are told would be agreeably affectual towards the stirring up of strife and war. We give encouragement to provinces to revolt by incitements administerd through paper bulletins and governmental declarations. Quite as well take the direct step of sending emissaries into the heart of Europe to agitate and disturb. Suppose the disturbances shd. ensue which are openly avowd to be the end and aim of such declaration. Suppose Hungary again to elevate the standard of revolution, Germany to be agitated, Italy thrown into spasms, and Sicily once more daring the King of Naples to enter the bloody arena. What answer could we make when told that the U. States was the author of all this convulsion? Could we still proclaim ourselves the advocates of non-intervention when by one act we had upset our theory? Better proclaim ourselves the knights arrant of liberty, and organize at once a crusade against all despotic governments. This would be to meet the question fairly — "to beard the Lion in his den." Then our proclamation would go forth in a different form. We should announce to all Nations our determination to advance with the sword the doctrines of republicanism. The gonfolan of Mahometism would be our banner; *there is but one form of govt. upon earth which we will tolerate and that is a republic.*

Carry the thing a step further. We make declaration that in future we mean to take upon ourselves the task of sustaining what is called the Common law of Nations and vindicating the right of each Nation to settle its own disputes without the interference of others. Now this declaration is to be a solemn *pronunciamento* to the whole world. It does not find its limits in this or that Continent, but spreads over all Continents. All the Earth is coverd by it. If then after our edict is issued, a civil war takes place in China and a Tartarean band shall break over the great wall, we must send our fleets and armies thither to enforce our declaration. In a word we take upon ourselves innumerable wars all over the Earth. not for liberty to the human race only, but for all conceivable causes. The civil war may rage betwen contestants for an iron throne — betwen tyrants for the power to trample on humanity and yet if any nation shall interfere in such contest, we must necessarily become a party in the wars to beat back such interference in fullfillment of our publish'd edict. Who among us is ready to adopt a proposition so broad and so general? A declaration which would have as much applicability to China or the East In-

dies as to Hungary — as much to one Country as another. Quite as much to do with Monarchies as with republics.

What then is the policy to be pursued? Precisely that and none other which has heretofore been follow'd. Let the case first arise, then look at all the circumstances, and make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with the attendant facts. We shall then be prepared to act understandingly and not before. This has been heretofore our course. It is a mistake to say that the American people are strangers to this principle of non intervention, or that it has never been acted on by them. It is in fact engrafted in the Constitution as betwen the States. No State either foreign or domestic is permitted to interfere in the affairs of any one of the States, and if such interference is prefr'd to an actual invasion, the whole power of the Union is pledgd to repel such invasion. So too that same doctrine of non interference is enforc'd under our laws against our own citizens in the case of friendly foreign States. Our neutrality laws are quite entelligible on this point. Nor is it only in regard to ourselves that this principle of non-intervention has been Acted on. When the South American Provinces revolted from Spain, the edict of non interference by other Nations was fearlessly announced by our govt., and those Provinces, unmolested by foreign powers, conquerd their independance. Other similar cases might arise when the govt would most probably feel itself required to enforce that doctrine. If Cuba was in revolt the same course would most probably be pursued. Other cases may well arise on this continent equally obligatory in this character. So too on the other side of the Atlantic. But no man in regard to the concerns of another and a distant hemisphere can say in advance what ought or ought not to be done. When the case of an actual civil war does occur, we should look at it in all its aspects and bearings preparatory to a decision. No, the doctrine is not new to me. It exists in our Constitution as between the States. It is made to operate on our citizens through the laws. It has been announced in regard to our neighbors of this continent in times gone by. It will be announced on all suitable occasions, and sustained by the whole power of the Country. It is not limited and in the nature of things cannot be limited to this continent. It may embrace the Sandwich Islands as well as Cuba. It may find a sure foundation of policy on the soil of the European Continent. No man can foresee all the future or say what that future may bring forth. But what I object to is, that a rule of universal application to all the civil wars of the world, should be adopted, a non observance of which by others would devolve on us the necessity of throwing our sword into the scale. I am not even prepard to recognize the

principle as universally true. As a general rule it may be so, but not in every imaginable case. Our own Constitution makes an exception. Formidable Combinations to put down a State govt by force by any portion of its people, or to resist the execution of its laws, would make it the duty of the govt. to interpose the federal power to suppress them. Here is a case provided for by our Constitution which is plainly proper in itself in regard to the sovereign States of this Confederacy. Suppose a revolution successfully maintaind by one part of a Country against another for very many years, accompanied by a stolid refusal to acknowledge its independance by the govt. which it has thrown off, is the interest of all humanity to be sacraficd to a stupid and dogged obstinacy? I think that other nations have a right to interpose to alter such a state of things. The interests of commerce, the interests of the mechanic arts, humanity in all its sensibilities is interested that such a condition of things should have an end. An active intervention may come to be a duty of paramount necessity. So that the rule is not universally true. Each and every case will rest on its own facts, on its own incidents and bearings. Time is also a great element in its decision. Twenty-three years hence with a population of 50,000,000 whatever the U. States may decide will have very much the force of law. With boundless resources, with 50,000,000 of people; with a marine both public and private filling and protecting every channel of trade, with the energy of our people unbroken and their love of Union and liberty undiminishd, their edict may arrest the cohorts of Tyranny in their march to trample out the flame of liberty. But then and at all time as now, the case must arise before action would be proper.

Such are the views which I have venturd briefly to express at the request of the Society.

It will dispose of them at it may deem proper. I am, dr Sir, Most resply yrs

JOHN TYLER.

Millard Fillmore, another Vice-President raised to control by the death of a President, contributes a letter that is only of interest because of the courtesy and fair play shown by the person to whom it is addressed, Charles W. Storey.

FILLMORE TO CHARLES W. STOREY.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 14, 1851.

Sir, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th enclosing a draft of my remarks at several places on my recent visit to Boston.

I have barely found time to read them over, and have suggested a few verbal amendments, but I have not leisure to compare them with the original publications, and if I had, I presume I should not improve them. They were all *impromptu*, and I doubt not they are much better than I delivered them.

With many thanks for your politeness in submitting them, I remain Your obt. Sevt,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

James Buchanan's letter, though written in 1837, is interesting as foreshadowing the great question which he failed to face, as did others also, when he became the one man responsible.

BUCHANAN TO REAH FRAZER.

WASHINGTON, 13 Jan: 1837.

MY DEAR SIR, — Upon reflection I thought it best to send you the enclosed. Of course I promptly declined to interfere on the matter. Will you be good enough to return it to me after you shall have perused it?

The abolition question is now assuming a serious aspect. The Southern Delegations meet to day upon the Subject. It is fast becoming a question of Union or disunion. Would not the best mode of arresting the progress of abolition Societies be to form counter Societies of the friends of the Union?

From all I can learn the Divorce Bill is gaining ground in the House of Representatives. I think we shall adopt the Measure, perhaps with some Modifications, before the close of the Session. Accounts are very favorable from the Legislature of Virginia. The *Richmond Inquirer* and the Conservatives, to the contrary notwithstanding.

When shall I have the pleasure of performing the duty of your second at Baltimore?

Please to remember me kindly to our friend Mr. Norris and believe me to be sincerely your friend,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

Andrew Johnson, generally best remembered as the President who was not impeached, contributes a letter to C. H. Brainard complaining of the bad likeness of a photographic portrait, oddly enough on the ground that it is too smooth and youthful in appearance.

Johnson to C. H. Brainard.

Greenville, Tenn., June 1st, 1859.

Sir, — I presume I have received all your letters, some of them it is true were detained on the road longer than the ordinary transit. I have also received the proof of copy of the portrait referred to in one of your letters, which came to hand of recent date. None of these reasons have been the cause of my not writing. When the letters and proof were received I was not able to write in consequence of being indisposed, and the telegraph was intended to stay all further proceeding until I was able to do so. I have always made it a rule to be —— and frank in all my affairs private and public. I am constrained to say that I was disappointed in the portrait. Most persons pronounce it a good picture but no likeness and say that it surely was not intended as a likeness. You will remember in all our interviews that I stated while I wanted the artistic part of it well done, that I was still more anxious to have an likeness. You will also remember that I called Senator Nicholson in to see the small likeness you had taken and he and I both concurred in the opinion that the face was *entirely too smoothe* and youthful in appearance and thereupon agreed to have another taken, and if that was not done the smoothness and youthfull appearance could be corrected from another which had been taken of smaller size.

It so turned out that I did not call any more and no other likeness was taken, and took it for granted from the confidence you had inspired me with that you would not proceed to have the portrait executed unless it was correctly done and as I desired it to be. The picture which was taken and the one which you said was the one by which the atitude or position "was so good" represented the right hand resting upon a desk or table. The proof you sent me represents the right hand extended some distance from the body and resting upon nothing, which really looks very awkward and unnatural. As to the hand resting upon a desk or table you spoke about and stated that the desk could be placed there as easily as the table. The name of the artist is placed where the table was and where the desk ought to be. I will forward by this Mail a small likeness which is pronounced by every person who has seen it, that it is a first rate likeness, which will when compared show very clearly that the objection I make is not a mere whim or notion. In fine the objection I have to the portrait is first, *the Smoothness and youthful* appearance of the face; second the awkward and unnatural position of the right hand without the desk or table, as

now it is not far enough from the body to be the result of gesture, or close enough to be hanging natural and easy by the side. I will conclude without being more tedious, by saying that after you have compared the likeness I send you and a refference to all that transpired between you and myself, then if you are fully satisfied with the portrait and then the understanding in reference to its execution has been complied with, and will write me a letter, that you are, I will forward the money at an early day. So you have the whole affair in your own hands and whatever you say and do I will abide by. If, all the pictures are struck off like the proof you have sent me, you will please retain them until I order them for they will be of no use to me like the proof I have. Let me hear from you soon I hope to be more prompt hereafter. Please return by mail the likeness I send you. Accept assurance of my respect, etc.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

The collection is very rich in letters from General Grant, who was something more than a mere acquaintance of my father's. Like General Grant, my father was a strong Republican, with no excuse for the stifling of a free vote South or North.

From the mass of letters that came into my father's possession, two are of peculiar interest. The first is Grant's letter to his own father describing the capture of Vicksburg. In the portfolio with it is a copy of the famous "wall paper" daily published in Vicksburg during the siege, and other interesting memorabilia.

The letter is as follows:

GRANT TO JESSE R. GRANT.

VICKSBURG, July 6, 1863.

DEAR FATHER, — Vicksburg has at last surrendered after a siege of over forty days. The surrender took place on the morning of the 4th of July. I found I had continuously underestimated the force of the enemy both in men and Artillery. The number of prisoners surrendered was thirty thousand and too hundred. The process of parolling is so tedious, however, that many who are desirous of getting to their homes will escape before the paroling officers get around to them. The Arms taken is about 180 pieces of Artillery and over 30,000 stand of small Arms. The enemy still had about four days rations of flour and meat and a large quantity of sugar.

The weather now is excessively warm and the roads intolerably dusty. It cannot be expected under these circumstances that the health of this command can keep up as it has done. My troops were not allowed one hour's idle time after the surrender but were at once started after other game.

My health has continued very good during the campaign which has just closed. Remember me to all at home.

ULYSSES.

This is an autograph letter from my son Ulysses S. Grant, Lt. Gen. U. S. A.

JESSE R. GRANT.

The second letter to the great Philadelphia financier is from Grant the statesman, the restorer of specie payments.

GRANT TO ANTHONY DREXEL.

ROME, ITALY, March 22nd, 1878.

MY DEAR MR. DREXEL, — Your last letter was received during our visit to Athens. I was glad to hear from you again as I always am from my Phila friends. Since my last letter to you we have had the most interesting travels of my — our — life. A winter on the Nile cannot be surpassed for lovelyness of climate, and no part of the world can shew more to see. The letters published in the *Herald* give a more minute description than I would want to give in the space of a letter, and gives it better than I could if I should try. But suffice it to say that both Mrs. Grant and I often spoke of how delightful it would have been if we could have had you, Mr. Childs and Mr. Borie, with your wives, with us to help us enjoy it. We would have wanted one more to fill out the Boston table while Mr Childs would have entertained the ladies. Our visit through the Levant was also interesting. I have seen the home papers much more consecutively during the winter than before, and since the meeting of Congress have felt quite sad over the legislature, and proposed legislation of that august body. It has looked to me as though we were fast drifting to the point when loyalty to the Union was to be a degridation, and disloyalty was to be rewarded and respected as just the thing. The passage of the Silver Bill too I look upon as a national disgrace.

It was so amended in the Senate that it may work no great harm; but it discredits us all the same nevertheless. It shows a willingness on the part of the Majority to repudiate a percentage of their indebtedness, and people who will do that are capable of repudiating the whole. The man who would steal a lamb would

not be safe to trust with a sheep. I trust there will be a reaction and that we will get back to an honest currency, and to a point, where the ex-rebel will admit that the Union man has equal rights with himself in the government of the country.

We will probably spend three or four weeks here and then work up North so as to be in Sweden and Norway during June and get back to the Paris Exhibition in July. We will meet Mr. and Mrs. Childs there I see by the papers. If you and Mr. Borie will come over, and lay aside the cares of business for a season, we will all go up the Nile next winter.

Present Mrs. Grant's and my kindest regards to Mrs. Drexel and the children, and to all our Phila. friends.

Yours very truly

U. S. GRANT.

Nellie is here spending the winter, she and her little boy both very well. We expect her to be with us in Paris.

President Cleveland's frank letter, addressed to my father expresses his approval of an editorial article in the *Boston Commercial Bulletin* which sounded a Cassandra-like warning as to the results on public life in the United States of the rise of Yellow Journalism, then just springing into life.

CLEVELAND TO CURTIS GUILD.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 16, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was glad to receive your letter to-day with a copy of the editorial from the Bulletin.

I am much pleased with the tone of both, and wish there might be a somewhat concerted arrangement on the part of the church press to correct the evils of which you speak.

This very great power of this instrumentality should, it seems to me, impress those charged with its management and guidance, with the importance of their trusts, and cause them to labor to make the press an instructor of the people instead of a delusion and a blind guide. Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

LETTERS OF ELBRIDGE GERRY, 1797–1814.

Miss Catherine Austin, of Boston, courteously permits the Society to print the following letters of Elbridge Gerry, written for the most part in the last years of his life, and giving a picture of social Washington in the administration

of James Madison. An extract from a journal of the son is added. Miss Austin has added the notes on the respective letters, except those drawn from federalist sources.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Amsterdam, 22d September, 1797.

My Dearest Life, — I arrived on the 18th at Hellevoetsluys, on the evening of the 19th at Rotterdam, on the evening of the 20th at the Hague, from whence I took a carriage with my friend Mr. Murray,[1] and arrived here last evening. My colleagues, after waiting a fortnight or three weeks for me, left Rotterdam for Antwerp on the morning previous to my arrival in the evening, being then informed that I was to proceed from Boston to Havre. I shall leave this city at noon, and proceed to the Hague, from thence to Rotterdam, and Antwerp with all possible expedition. I can only add then my affectionate regards to our dear children and kisses in abundance for each of them, and be assured I am ever your most affectionate,

E. Gerry.

I have left a bottle of the Baume de Fioraventi with Messrs. Willinks, Van Staphorst, and Hubbard, who will send it by the first vessel for Boston to the care of Mr. Dickason.[2]

[Addressed] Mrs. Ann Gerry, at Cambridge, near Boston, Massachusetts. Per Capt. Wilds.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Paris, 30th April, 1798.

I have just received, my dearest Life, a letter from Mr. Dickason, the father, containing Dr. Watham's advice, a copy of which is enclosed; No person could be more attentive and obliging than Mr. Dickason has been in obtaining this advice, and speaking of Dr. Watham he says, that "He is, most certainly as an oculist sec-

[1] William Vans Murray, of Cambridge, Maryland (1762–1803), now minister to the Netherlands. His letters to John Quincy Adams, during this service abroad, and while negotiating the Convention of 1800 between the United States and France, are printed in *American Historical Association*, Report, 1912.

[2] An English merchant with New England connections. Of him George W. Erving wrote in 1804: "This Mr. Dickason is a merchant who was naturalized in Massachusetts and for several years lived in Boston, where, having made a large fortune, he has now returned and is settled here [London]. Mr. Dickason is like all the rest of this description of our citizens whom I have met with, his attachment to America and his respect for its constitutions and laws is regulated exactly by the means which he derives from his naturalization of procuring commercial advantages." Ms.

ond to none in this Kingdom, and is retained by the Royal Family." Mr. Dickason will send some leaches under the particular care of Capt. Traill of the *Mendiant*, of Boston. Kiss our lovely children for Pappa and be ever assured of my most affectionate attachment.

P. S. I am in hopes of embarking for the United States in all June or the beginning of July. I have wrote to London for all the articles you have desired.

Paris, 15th May, '98. In addition, my dearest Life, to the preceding, I have the pleasure to inform you that I shall certainly sail in the *Sophie*, Capt. Geddis, some time in June, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you the latter end of July, or which is more probable, about the 10th or 15th of August.[1] Kiss our lovely "petits" for me and be assured of my sincere and most affectionate attachment,

E. GERRY.

TO ANNE GERRY.[2]

NEW YORK, 13th June, 1801.

Your letter, my lovely affectionate child, to your sister, has given us all great pleasure; to hear that you all harmonize with each other, that the only objects of contention were, who should please your Aunt Skinner most, who should be most attentive, and give the best satisfaction to your instructors, and who by these means should make Mamma, Pappa, and Sister Catharine,[3] most happy, I say to learn these things could not but make us compleatly so.

Enclosed is a memorandum for Fuller, desire him to attend to it. Desire Aunt Skinner to direct the gardener, when the cherries are ripe, not to gather the blackhearts until they are quite black. They are often gathered half ripe, and are then unwholesome. The english beans should be top'd, that is, have a small part of the top plucked, which is good to eat, when the lower blossoms begin to fall; inform Aunt Skinner that there is one cord and a quarter of wood, at the sudbury lott, and there are eight cords at the lexington lott. Mr. Dewing will see to the carting it. Mamma sends by

[1] He reached Boston October 1: "On Monday afternoon arrived in this harbor the United States armed brig *Sophia*, Henry Geddes, Commander, from Havre de Grace; last from Portsmouth, England, in which came passenger, Hon. ELBRIDGE GERRY, Esq, one of the late Envoys Extraordinary to the French Republic. On passing the Castle a federal salute was fired, which was returned by that fortress — and when she anchored off the Long Wharf, the citizens welcomed her with three *huzzas*." *Independent Chronicle*, October 4, 1798. Mr. Gerry landed about 4 o'clock and proceeded to his seat in Cambridge.

[2] Died unmarried.

[3] His eldest daughter, who married James Trecothick Austin (1784–1870), the biographer of Gerry.

Mr. Lee a french book, the only one we have met with, for yourself and dear Eliza,[1] two small books for your brother Elbridge[2] and Thomas,[3] a horse for James,[4] and a silk pin-case for Helen,[5] and a rattle with a whistle to it for the dear baby.[6] Elbridge is to have his choice of the books. If your Aunt Skinner thinks Fuller can whitewash the ceilings where necessary, without bespattering the paint or paper, she will please to direct it to be done. . . . Be assured, my dear child, I am ever your affectionate pappa.

E. Gerry.

P. S. Desire Aunt Skinner not to purchase for the family at this season, fish, lamb or mutton, if other provisions can be procured, and mamma requests her care of the roses in order to distill. . . . .

To Mrs. Gerry.

My dear Mrs Gerry, — I had engaged to dine at Mr. Marston's today in company with President Adams, and think it will be necessary for you to order Matthew on a horse, to return as soon as possible to Cambridge, and before he goes home, to leave the enclosed at Mr. Bird's the blacksmith, or to deliver it to Capt. Brigham.

Your affect' E. Gerry.

Council Chamber, 18th Oct., 1810.

Matthew must be at Mr. Marston's by four o'clock at farthest with the coachee.

To a Daughter.

Washington, 3d July, 1813.
Saturday.

I have received my dear Child, your letters of the 13th and 27th of June, and am so loaded with other letters, as not to have the time so dear to me for answering my family letters. I perfectly agree with you in regard to the "mazes of Dissipation." These afford little or no solid pleasure, unless controlled and directed by reason. "He attains every important object, who unites in it profit and pleasure."

[1] Eliza married David S. Townsend.
[2] Born 1793 and died, unmarried, 1867.
[3] Married Hannah Goelet, of New York.
[4] He was a naval officer, and was lost at sea in 1854 when in command of the sloop-of-war, the *Albany*.
[5] Died unmarried.
[6] Youngest child, 1802–1894.

Your remarks on the heads of a certain family, or rather the female head of it, and also Mr. Quashie's observations are humorous and just. Puppies, as you suggest, will always bark, and when they dare, will bite. The young ladies are much to be pitied, and the information derived from tory associates by the heads, information always founded in malignity and falsehood, has probably governed their conduct. Be this as it may, your line of conduct on the occasion was perfectly correct.

You are sure to be right, when you suppose that I love *your* charming, *our* charming friend Miss Eliza McDonough.[1] . . . Edward was wont to consider and even to address me as his Pappa, and I always have the feelings for him of a friend and father; remember me in the kindest terms to him, Mrs. McDonough, and all the family. . . . You may be sure of any and every information in regard to our friends, who are bravely avenging our country's wrongs. Every measure in my power shall be pursued for promoting the views of our amiable friends Mrs. Lee and her brother. I have expressed to your dear mamma my feelings in regard to our bereft friends Dr. and Mrs. Jeffries.[2]

One letter from my daughter Ann her dear mama or her sisters, is more interesting to me than ten would be from Lady Montague. . . .

My heart bleeds whenever I see the name of the *Chesapeake.* That Captain Broke is a gentleman and an amiable man, I have no doubt, unless his conduct in the capture of our frigate should bring his character in question. Hand grenades are exploded from Sea Battles; but it is stated by one of our surviving officers that the explosion of one of her military chests was effected by this means. And I confess the fact is in my mind too probable; for otherwise why did the British forbear to make mention of this important event? Captain Lawrence's funeral[3] was handsome, and the same honor would have been paid by us, or indeed by any civilized nation, to a brave enemy under similar circumstances. . . . The secret in regard to the *Chesapeake* shall not escape from me. Yesterday I went out with Elbridge and took in the carriage with me, Mr. Leib[4] of Philadelphia and Mr. Deblois[5] of Boston who married sisters, to Madam Bonaparte.[6] As it was Mrs. Dasch-

[1] Daughter of Thomas McDonough, of Hingham, formerly British consul at Boston. His daughter, Eliza Agnes, married, 1816, Dr. George Parkman.

[2] Dr. John Jeffries (1745–1819), who had just lost his son Edward.

[3] At Halifax, N. S.

[4] Michael Leib (1759–1822).

[5] Lewis Deblois. They married daughters of Tristram Dalton.

[6] Elizabeth Patterson, married to Jerome Bonaparte. Jeremiah Mason describes her as appearing "to be very lively and facetious, accomplished of course,

koff's[1] evening I told Madam Bonaparte, I had merely called on her to introduce my son and friends and that we meant to cross over to General Mason's Peninsula[2] and take tea there. She said she was not going out, but I should still have pursued my first plan, had not three or four thunder showers in quick succession, have rendered the measure impracticable. Miss Spear[3] was at home, and we took wine and water and afterwards tea, it being the fashion always to serve the former in this very warm country, and a good fashion too. Whilst there, the Secretary of War[4] and Mr. Russell[5] our Minister, came in and divided Madam's attention; but after a little while she returned to me, and we held a conversation interesting to herself, and pleasant, very much so to me. I informed her that as the thunder gusts had prevented me from going to General Mason's that evening, I would go the next, and enquired whether she would join me. She answered, yes, with all her heart. I then told her I would call for her in a hack at six. To this she objected, and said she would call on me in her carriage, which she accordingly did at six this evening, with Miss Spear. She enquired for my son, but as he was

and I think very handsome." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 69. And again: "I have seen her several times. To me she is a new character; she has all the quickness and volatility which is said to belong to the French, moves quick and talks fast and thinks little. She laughs much, but says she is unhappy, and I believe her; she has nothing to do but seek amusement. I fear she has nothing to expect which can afford her peace and happiness. Her companion, a Miss Spear (an elderly maiden), has a shrewd masculine understanding, has read much and thought more." *Ib.*, 75. "I think I mentioned to you I had made an acquaintance with Madame Bonaparte, and her companion, Miss Spear, and think it probable added, that I intended to pursue it. That was my intention. Her house is near my lodgings. She gave me an apparently very frank invitation to come and see her often, etc. I have sipped her tea several times, and have generally found her surrounded by fashionable old and young men. She and her visitors are made up mostly of fashion. The conversation is, of course, of that tinsel kind, which is not even very interesting or instructing, and will not wear long. I am about concluding that I shall not derive much benefit from it, and do not intend to have much more to do with it." *Ib.*, 77.

[1] Wife of André Daschkoff, the Russian minister.

[2] Now Analostan Island, in the Potomac River, but formerly known as "Barbadoes," and Mason's Island. Stevens Thomson Mason was there at this time. Mason wrote of him: "He claims to belong to the old-fashioned nobility of Virginia. He has a very charming situation on an island, in the river Potomac, near Georgetown. The rage of the day seems to be domestic manufactures. General Mason is a great merino man. The second table-cloth, which was a very fine damask, was of home manufacture, and the thread all spun in the house. Mrs. Mason, who appears and is said to be a very fine woman, is also a notable housewife. This union, contrary to our opinion of them, is said to be common in this part of the country." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 76.

[3] An aunt of Madame Bonaparte. See p. 304, *supra*.

[4] John Armstrong.

[5] Jonathan Russell.

not mentioned, he had gone to the Navy Yard to see it, and took tea at Mr. Dalton's; *coffee* at his daughter's, Mrs. Deblois, having once before on Tuesday taken tea at the latter's with a charming circle of young ladies belonging to both families, and in company with Mr. Leib, and Mr. Deblois, my companions on the road.[1] We then went to General Mason's and took tea with Mrs. Mason who was a great Beauty and has ten lovely children, the eldest of whom is a son of sixteen years old.[2] She was a daughter of Dr. Murray of Annapolis, an old acquaintance of mine. The General I knew in 1787 when the Constitution was adopted. He was at our house and went to Bordeaux, where he entered into copartnership with Mr. Fenwick, husband of the famous Madam Fenwick. We are, of course, on very social terms. Whilst there we were joined by two young gentlemen of the French Minister's [3] family — Mr. Caraman, his first secretary, and one other. They had been to Madam Bonaparte and finding her not at home, had pursued her there. We walked over the peninsula, which except a causeway leading to the country, is surrounded by the beautiful Potomac, and which contains about seventy or eighty acres of land, all in good cultivation and adorned with forest and fruit trees, a flower garden, and beyond it, a kitchen garden, and garden seats in various places. One set of seats under large shady weeping willows, looking down the Potomac. The island is without a stone to be seen. It is as a rural retreat — beautiful. The house is elegantly built and only one story high, with long rows of very large lombardy poplars in front and rear. We spent a very pleasant afternoon and when on our return Madam had reached her house, as the young gentlemen were walking to it from the ferry, I proposed to leave her there, not

[1] Of social Washington at this time Webster wrote to Bingham, June 4, 1813: "You have . . . a little society, pleasantly mixed, instead of the unvarying masculinity of our circles here. A few ladies, indeed, are to be seen by going to the weekly rout at the palace; but they are there only as so many curiosities — *rarae aves* — fit for all the purposes of social life, save only the unimportant particulars of speaking and being spoken to. I understand that in the winter session, when there are more ladies in the city, the aforesaid evil is in some degree mitigated. I have been to the levee or drawing room but once. It is a matter of mere form. You make your bow to Mrs. Madison, and to Mr. M., if he comes in your way, but he being there merely as a guest, is not officially entitled to your *congé*. Monsieur Serurier, Madame Bonaparte, the Russian Minister, heads of departments, and tails of departments, members of Congress, etc., etc., here and there interspersed with military and naval hat and coat, make up the group. You stay from five minutes to an hour, as you please; eat and drink what you can catch, without danger of surfeit, and if you can luckily find your hat and stick, then take French leave; and that's going to the 'levee.'" *Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, I. 234.

[2] James Murray Mason, Commissioner from the Confederate States to Europe.

[3] Jean Matthieu Philibert Serurier.

being able to spend the evening with her, as she proposed. But she said, No, she would go home with me and should be at her house soon enough for them and so it was finished. I thanked Madam, not for her politeness — but *friendship*. The more I see of this lady the more I like her, and so would all our family. She is amiable, unaffected, unassuming, sensible and altogether free from a disposition to censure. Miss Spear looks like Mercy Coolidge, is sensible, pleasant, and remarkably well-informed, with masculine knowledge. Mrs. Jones took with her and the young ladies Elbridge this morning and visited a number of ladies. Among others, she called on Mrs. Law,[1] who was the youngest Miss Custis, and who expressed herself in very friendly terms of me and wished to see me. I shall with pleasure call on her soon, she living quite near us. Mr. Law was of a noble family, brother to Lord Ellinborough. He is such a genius as Pope describes when he says, "Great wits to madness are allied;" for instance, he rode, being a man of large fortune, an elegant horse, and stopping at a tavern, mistook for his own, a little ugly pony, with short stirrups which mounted his knees to his chin. He went to the post-office one day to enquire for letters, and forgot his own name. But they disagreed and separated, and now she calls herself Mrs. Custis. She has one child, a daughter, sixteen years old and beautiful.[2] Her father by agreement has the care of her and has given to Mrs. Custis, her fortune and settled on her $1500 a year for life. Her eldest sister, Miss Nelly Custis,[3] well-known to your dear Mama and myself, is married to Mr. Lewis, a nephew of General Washington and lives at some distance from hence.[4] I am astonished! It is now half after twelve! Good night. General Armstrong by the by, is to take a house in this block and Madam Bonaparte another, for the next session, and it is uncertain whether I shall continue in my present lodgings, as Mr. and Mrs. Jones[5] will probably take the house at Georgetown now occupied by Madam. This family will then be quite different from what it has been this session, and I shall regret to leave it with such neighbors, at least with such a neighbor as Madam. One anecdote more, and I conclude my light, not enlightened epistle. The impostor De Crillon[6] was considered even

[1] Thomas Law (1759–1834), who married Anne Custis.
[2] Eliza Parke Law, who married Edmund Rogers, of Baltimore.
[3] Eleanor Parke Custis, who married Lawrence Lewis.
[4] At Woodlawn, a part of Mt. Vernon.
[5] William Jones, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy.
[6] The story of John Henry and Count Edward de Crillon is told in Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, VI. 177. See also, Morison, *Harrison Gray Otis*, II. 43.

by the french Minister, and generally here, as the *veritable* Count.

He lived at a noted boarding place in this city, kept by O'Neil,[1] in which was Madam Bonaparte and Miss Spear. He wished to appear in public with Madam, and she, not having any recommendation or knowledge of him, declined it, treating him at the same time politely as an inmate. At this he was indignant, threatened to be avenged on her and frightened her so, as to send her little son Bonaparte[2] to Baltimore to prevent his being stolen. She has wisely determined never again to live in a boarding place.

"Oh pappa, pappa! You have tired, you have blinded me by reading your long epistle." Well, my apology is, that not speaking much while in the chair, I have the "cacoethes scribendi," or the "writing itch" which is an incurable by the internal and external application of sulphur, or mercury, or of both united. Accept, my dear Anna, with dearest mama, and the family branches, and particular friends, the most affectionate regards of your unfeigned friend and father,

E. GERRY.

P. S. Let me recommend one practice to all my family. Never to see, if to be avoided, think or speak of personal or political Enemies; every idea respecting such objects serves to sour and injure the mind, to interrupt self-command, to produce strictures which arouse their malice, to destroy peace of mind, to substitute an indignant for a placid countenance, to injure the nerves, and to militate with the happiness "of our contracted span." If in a walk, you should see a nest of hornets, would you pursue a direct or devious path? Certainly not the former, for, when one or more of the hornets had availed themselves of your folly, and inserted into you their poison, it would put you to infinite pain and excite your indignation, but what would any hornet care for that? he would say, if he could speak, "I wanted to torment you because you are in the grade of 'the Lords of Creation' and of consequence in one superior to hornets, and we hate all above us."

Adieu.

ELBRIDGE GERRY, JR.,[3] TO ANN GERRY.

WASHINGTON, July 30th, 1813.

DEAR SISTER ANN, — I have been wishing to write to you for some time, and have only been prevented, by constant engagements, and

[1] William O'Neal, father of Margaret, who married, first, a purser in the navy, and, secondly, John Henry Eaton, of the Jackson cabinet.

[2] Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte (1805–1870). He married Susan May Williams, daughter of Benjamin Williams, originally of Roxbury, Mass.

[3] Aged twenty-one.

sometimes by laziness. I sent an Epistle to Eliza, and hope she has finished reading it by this time. I hope you are not afflicted with the same complaint that she is; if so, jump into the stage, and come to Washington and you will soon find a remedy in this air. We have no *springs* here, but at Cambridge I hear, there is one whose waters are quite conducive to the health of persons afflicted with the *hippocondria*, as Eliza is. Use the waters with prudence and policy that when I come home I may find an alteration at Cambridge. Bless me, how like home that name looks. The other day I called to see a lady, and we determined to make a party to ride on horseback, so she named the persons, and I said, Yes, and a certain Gentleman was to invite them. Yesterday at five o'c, we set out, six in number, Miss Burns, Price, and Mitchell; and Mr. Gerry, Ratcliff and Brent. I then was introduced to the two last ladies and Mr. B. We rode six miles to Bladensburgh, where we stopped and took some refreshments, after which we walked to a spring and at eight or nine, we reached home. I think this was the most delightful ride I ever had. The Girls were handsome and interesting, and so lively and pleasant, that they were just the persons for a frolick. I rode Alec, whom I have not sold yet, and he has grown so handsome that he is quite a beau with the horses here, and was very much admired. The Gentlemen were very agreeable and we kept each other laughing all the way. We chose one lady Major General, and she was a fine officer. We were going to the theatre afterward, but I am glad we did not, for a violent rain came on and the house is so full of holes, that we should have been wet. It is positively true, I am told, that they have to protect themselves with umbrellas there when it rains; our girls came away just in time to ride home in the rain. I was well housed in bed at the time, for I had like to have been well wet last Sunday by a shower, and this makes me look up to the *skies* more often. The House, or rather Senate, tried to lay an Embargo, and would have been divided, but Varnum [1] who is an anti-governmenter voted against it, and thus prevented its depending on the Vice Pres[ident]. They have fixed on Monday next August 2d to adjourn. Father will probably leave this on Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday, and I shall know before that where I go. But it is so late in the season, I think I shall return; it is doubtful and there is a chance of my going to *Pt's.* if all *things* favour. I have incurred a great expense since I arrived here, but it is not my fault. And my horse, when sold, will pay the whole. When I set away from home I counted him as *dead*, so he will be a clear *net gain*, and therefore my visit also. Mr. N. Clarke [2] is here,

[1] Joseph B. Varnum, of Massachusetts. The vote was taken July 26.

[2] Nathaniel Clarke.

on a short visit, and he came with the brave young Berry[1] of the *Chesapeake.* They are to dine with me tomorrow (Saturday) and I hope he, (Clarke,) will return with us. He complains of *loss of cash* and has found W. an expensive city. My circle increases daily and the Gentlemen are all very attentive and seem to like me. When I come home, I intend to introduce a few Washington fashions and teach you Bostonian Yankees how to live and be happy. In the first place I shall wash all the starch out of your necks and tongues, and put spurs on your elbows. And in the next place, I shall do a great many other things; the whole to conclude with the comic tragedy of Yankee doodle-doo. But, I must now leave off, and call to see how the girls are, after their ride. Well Ann, I have just returned, and have seen the girls, except one, and they are as fresh as you are at this moment, and by tomorrow, they say, they shall be ready to mount again; what fine fellows for a frolick. I called on Mr. Clark too, but he has gone to Alexandria, a place, you know as much of as I did six months before I saw it.

This is the first afternoon that I have not made an appointment for it and the evening, but father and I will make one yet, and go to see our cousin Lady Madison, for I have not been there for a week, and he has outwitted me, and been twice. I declare, Mother, your young beau, the V. P., gives his Poor Son, no chance to speak to a lady, when he is in the room, and it is proverbial here when a gentleman speaks of another as gallant, "I swear he can't equal the Vice President," and I must add too, "nor his son either," . . . Father is in fine health, and looks quite young. He, no doubt, would send his love to you all, if he knew of this opportunity, but I will send a double portion, and as is customary, and this letter by writing my name at the bottom.

E. GERRY, JUN.
Per order.

To MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 3d Feb., 1814.
Thursday even.

I arrived here, my dearest Life, at five this afternoon, after the most pleasant journey I ever had. On Saturday Morning we left New York, breakfasted at Powles Hook, dined at Bridgetown, and lodged at Kingston. On Sunday we pursued our journey and arrived about five in the evening at the City Hotel in Philadelphia. On Monday I attended to some business and compleated it, and on tuesday morning at five we added Mr. Leib to our company and started for Baltimore. It snowed and rained thro' the day, we

[1] William Berry, midshipman.

pushed our journey and crossed the Susquehannah which is a mile wide, in a boat, to Havre-de-Grace, conducted by a man, who walked on the ice with a rope fastened to the boat, and who slumped thro' it with one leg twice, having stopped at Elktown and eaten our dinner while the driver changed the horses. When we arrived at this Inn, I was conducted to the front room, by the Landlord, and seeing a table laid, informed him we could not stop to dine, unless the dinner could be instantly put on table; at the same time issuing to him orders, to have the stage ready, by putting the horses to the carriage. At this moment the passengers of the other stage, entered the room, and I heard a voice enquiring, "Who ordered the horses to be put to?" "I ordered them," was my answer, and turning to the Landlord, I added, "We have nothing to do with this company," and left the room. Our company then took an adjoining room, and this same man ordered a servant to go into it, and bring some bread from it, and knives and forks, and also a turkey to his room. The boy, and another servant were obeying this order, when they were both arrested by some of our company and threatened with the loss of their ears, if they meddled with another article destined for our table. They stated that the *Gentleman* who ordered them, said he would have the bread, etc., or fight for them. They were both ordered to serve our dinner *at their peril*, and willingly obeyed. One of their company, Mr. Todd,[1] nephew of Mrs. Madison, informed me today that the *gentleman* was a son of Governor Page our old friend, and that the next day he was taken very ill, and left on the road. A very pious man, one of their company remarked to them, that the judgment of divine Providence had marked this youth for his general conduct, the preceding day, particularly for his denial of the existence of a Saviour, of which, if he should die, he would soon after be convinced. The Solicitor General, Mr. Dexter and myself had agreed to call on Mrs. Rodgers,[2] but finding she was at her residence about two miles in the country, we wrote her a friendly billet and extended our attention to Miss Dennison. We then left Havre and arrived at dusk at Baltimore, where I received a polite invitation to a ball prepared that evening for Commodore Perry. It was very inconvenient to break up my baggage, but impossible to avoid. One of the managers waited on me at eight. I went to the ball, feasted my eyes on 120 fine women, supped, returned home at eleven, packed up my cloathes, slept till four, talked with Mr. Leib, who had a bed in the same chamber till five, started soon after for this place, and arrived safely through

[1] Payne Todd.

[2] Wife of Commodore John Rodgers, and daughter of Gideon Dennison. Her country seat was at Sion Hill, two miles west of Havre de Grace.

very bad roads without accident. Mrs. Armstrong [1] is in the same family, and at tea inquired particularly for you; but I must close, and finish my history of events in my next, or lose this post. Accept with all the children and our *particular* friends the affec' regards of your most sincere

E. GERRY.

P. S. Messrs. Dexter and son, the Solicitor General, Judge Story, Mr. Leib, and Mr. Pitman were also at the ball.

To MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 8th Feb. 1814.

I have but a moment, my dearest Life, to express the high degree of pleasure which your letter produced of the 29th of Jan'y. The day after my arrival being the 4th, I received between twenty and thirty letters, not one of which was from either of my families. . . . I was at Mrs. Cutts' [2] party last evening, shall go with Madame Bonaparte to Mrs. Jones' party this evening, and tomorrow evening to Mrs. Madison's drawing-room. But notwithstanding this, the dissipation, I am informed, is less this winter than usual. Mr. and Mrs. Daschkoff are sick, and Mr. Serurier not disposed for parties at present. These were great sources of amusements. On Saturday I dined with a large party of Ladies and Gentlemen at the President's,[3] and much inquiry was made for yourself and the young ladies. Elbridge ought to have wrote to Mrs. Madison, and it would not be now too late, if he was to preface his letter that he was apprehensive of her disapprobation, until assured by me, his letter would be well received. I am perfectly well myself. Accept with the children and my little Ivers [4] the affectionate regards of your ever sincere,

E. GERRY.

To MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 9 February, 1814.

I this day received, my dearest Life, your pleasing letter of the 4th and as it manifests your progressive recovery of health it abates

[1] Miss Livingston.

[2] Sister of Mrs. Madison and wife of Richard Cutts, member of Congress from Massachusetts.

[3] Of one of President Madison's dinners, Mason wrote: "The party was mixed, and composed mostly of strangers to me. There appeared the affectation of ease without the reality. There was more state than elegance, and more elegance than good cheer. The President at his own table appears to little advantage. Mrs. Madison appears, I think, to more advantage, yet she by no means answers my ideas of a high-bred, courtly woman. She affects affability and good-humor, and is said to be pretty generally popular. From appearances I do not wish or expect much from the palace." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 69.

[4] His grandson.

a painful anxiety. . . . The extreme degree of cold which you have lately experienced and sudden changes to a warm and moist atmosphere, bid defiance to prudence and precaution in a great degree, but still the bad effects may in some measure be avoided by Dr. Cochran's rule, of multiplying stockings small-clothes and other habiliments five or six fold; or at least in such a manner as to distance old Boreas. I am glad to learn that Mr. Carpenter is again able to ride and that our neighbors and family except Eliza enjoy pretty good health. It is a blessing without which all others are of but little effect. Judge Story wishes for the recipe to pocock [1] beef; please to have it copied and sent to me for him. I wish the young ladies, if no objection exists in their minds, may call on my friend Mr. Howell's [2] daughter, at her sister Dwight's next door to Mr. Otis's [3] our Secretary. His sickness prevented his dining with us on Commencement Day. . . . Ever your most sincere,

E. Gerry.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Senate Chamber, Washington, 17th Feb., 1814.

I have not, my dearest Life, received a line from you since you spent the afternoon with our daughter Austin [4] at Boston, and Eliza on the 9th states that you was confined by a heavy cold. These circumstances have made me anxious to hear from you, and if your health shall permit to receive a line from you. My health is good, I wish sincerely yours was equally so. This evening I shall call on Mrs. Chancellor Livingston,[5] if her health will permit her to be visible and on her son and daughter Mr. and Mrs. Livingston [6] with Madam Bonaparte. I have but a faint recollection of Mrs. Livingston, before her marriage, but am informed that she has been with her husband in Europe, and is an accomplished woman. Mr. Liv-

[1] Pocock is an obsolete form of peacock; but the reference may be to pickling or corning beef according to Pocock's recipe.

[2] David Howell (1747–1826), now judge of the United States District Court for Rhode Island.

[3] Samuel Alleyne Otis. In 1813 he lived on Beacon Street.

[4] Catharine, wife of James T. Austin.

[5] Miss Mary Stevens, daughter of John Stevens, of New Jersey, and wife of Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813). They had no son, but two daughters, Margaret Maria, married Robert Livingston, and Elizabeth Stevens, married Edward P. Livingston.

[6] "A Mr. Livingston of New York, with his wife and family, has taken a part of the house in which I lodge, and live by themselves. Mrs. Livingston is the daughter of the late Chancellor Livingston, who was minister to France. They are very rich, and have a splendid equipage. Mrs. Livingston is an accomplished fine woman." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 74.

ingston is of the Manor as I am informed; he has called in my absence, and I have no recollection of him. His character is respectable. Accept with our children and grand-boys, the sincere and most affectionate regards of yours forever,

E. GERRY.

To MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 23d Feb., 1814.

MY DEAREST LIFE, — I have been very uneasy for your health. Your silence and Eliza's statement that you had taken cold, and was weakened by it, combined to establish my apprehensions. These were removed by a letter from Colonel Austin of the 9th informing me that the family was well, but at the ball for honoring the birth of G. Washington last evening Mr. De Grand informed me that you had been confined, but were better, when he left Boston on the 8th. I have not yet had time to examine my other letters but Elbridge says on the 7th "Mama is only tolerable." I hope soon to be relieved from my anxiety.

The ball was honored by the President, the heads of departments and their ladies, except one instance, several of the Judges, foreign Ministers, etc., making a very large circle of both sexes. The supper was elegant, and everything well conducted. Mrs. Madison and Mrs. Cutts being unwell, did not attend. My little friend Madame Bonaparte is soon to leave us for Europe in case of a peace. I led her to the supper table. . . . Your ever sincere

E. GERRY.

To MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 24th February, 1814.

I have received, my dearest Life, a letter from Eliza of the 15th of February stating that "your health is pretty good," and from Elbridge of the 16th, that "a few friends are to spend the evening with us at Cambridge, and that we shall give them Cambridge fare, a plenty of tongue of all kinds." From these two paragraphs I conceive that altho' you have been unwell, you were rising in health, and am relieved from my late anxiety. I read to Mrs. Armstrong[1] the friendly paragraph of Eliza's letter, inserted at your request, and she was much gratified by your kind remembrance of her, which she requested me to reciprocate. She, in compliance with your request in regard to her family and friends, desired me to inform you, that she has two sons in the army,[2] and three at the military school as cadets,[3] and but one daughter about seventeen or

[1] Alida, sister of Chancellor Livingston.

[2] Henry B. and Horatio Gates Armstrong.

[3] John and Robert Livingston Armstrong, The third is not identified.

eighteen years old,[1] now here. That Mrs. Tillotson [2] lost a fine son, a midshipman by the lake fever at Ontario, has two who are lawyers, one of whom is in Governor Tompkins' [3] family, and the other at New York as Deputy Inspector General, and also a daughter married to a son of our friend Mr. and Mrs. Lynch. She and Mrs. T. lives at Rome. That Mrs. Montgomery [4] and her sister Kitty, the latter of whom is married to Mr. Garretson,[5] a Methodist clergyman and is very religious, live in Mrs. Armstrong's neighborhood. Mrs. Garretson has one daughter and is more handsome and young than any of her sisters. Accept with our children and my little Ivers, the most affectionate regards and best wishes of your sincere

E. Gerry.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Washington, 4th March, 1814.

I am delighted, my dearest Life, by your letter of the 27th February. The long time between its date, and that of your last, I was informed, was the result of your indisposition, arising from the variableness of the weather. God grant that you may be more fortunate in future, and that your health may be re-established. My health is good — it never was better, but I am too much occupied by public and private business. . . .

Congress have agreed to adjourn on the 11th of April, but I think it doubtful whether they will be punctual to the time, altho' it is my earnest wish.[6] Enclosed is a letter which I received from Mr. Lee [7] in which he has forgotten to mention the young ladies. Indeed they were infants when he left us, and Mrs. Lee sent them a waxen doll. . . . I took tea with Mrs. Munroe [8] this evening, and we had a charming *tête-à-tête* uninterrupted by anyone. She desires her affectionate regards to you. I dined *en famille* at the President's on Sunday last, and on Thursday with all the Secretaries and their ladies, and Madame Bonaparte, General Cass, etc. Judge and Mrs. Todd,[9] the sister of Mrs. Madison [10] were of the party,

[1] She married William B. Astor, of New York.
[2] Margaret, sister of Mrs. Armstrong, married Dr. Tillotson.
[3] Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York (1774–1825).
[4] Janet Livingston.
[5] Rev. Freeborn Garretson.
[6] It adjourned April 18, 1814.
[7] Probably Silas Lee of Boston, formerly a member of Congress, and now United States District Attorney. He died in this year.
[8] Eliza, daughter of Lawrence Kortright, of New York. He died in 1794, and his will is summarized in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1905, 270.
[9] Thomas Todd (1765–1826).
[10] She was Dolly Payne, and widow of John Todd, of Philadelphia.

and a charming one it was. On Wednesday, I dined with all the Judges, etc., at the Secretary of the Navy's;[1] there were no ladies except three young ladies of Mrs. Jones' family and herself. One of them, Miss Carrick, of Baltimore, is the image of Eleanor, and my adopted Washington daughter. . . .

In the evening [Monday] we went to the Drawing room, and it being very full and announced that Mrs. Derby[2] was to be there, all, all were on tiptoe to see such a celebrated beauty. But I found the Ladies and Gentlemen were much disappointed, and I confess myself to have been of the number, for I had not seen her for several years. I made a bow to her, but thought my little favorite vastly superior to her — I mean Madame Bonaparte. Tell Elbridge that his friend Mr. Duval offered himself to Miss Newton, received a flat —— and immediately addressed and married another lady. . . .

It is half after ten. I began this letter in the Senate chamber, have been four times interrupted, and now bid you good-night, with my prayers that the best of Heaven's blessings may light on yourself and our beloved flock, and that on my return, I may find you all well and happy. Adieu. Your ever affectionate

E. GERRY.

Mrs. Armstrong is very sick.

TO MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 18th March, 1814.

I have received, my dear Life, your very pleasing letter of the 5th, and the *interesting* one of the 11th. In answer to the last, I yesterday enclosed to Colonel Austin a receipt of the Bank of Columbia and of our Treasury, for $550, and desired him to have it negotiated and placed in the State Bank to the credit of our darling child Eliza — not doubting that the Directors will favor the measure. At the last session, these two banks made mutual arrangements for accommodating each other, and gave orders accordingly; at present this is suspended, but not, I presume to an extent forbidding an accommodation of myself, by a measure necessary for guarding against a loss by the robbery of mail, which is not unusual in this quarter. I informed Eliza of this by a line

[1] William Jones.

[2] Martha, wife of Richard Derby, of Boston, and daughter of Nathaniel Coffin. "Richard Derby and his celebrated wife arrived here two days ago. Master Richard called on me yesterday. I think it probable I shall see his wife, as I suppose she has come here to show herself. I was invited to spend this evening at Mrs. King and Gore's, where she was to be, but I was detained by engagements at home. I take little interest in the generality of the company I see here." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 87.

written at ½ after four, altho' I was engaged at a large party of Ladies and Gentlemen to dine and spend the evening. Mrs. Armstrong is recovered but looks very thin. Mrs. Chancellor Livingston has since my arrival, on account of her indisposition . . . been invisible. Mr. Dawson[1] was yesterday supposed to be also near his exit. I have several times called to see him, and he appeared to be highly gratified. Your friends frequently inquire for the health of yourself and the family. I have had some indications of approaching disease, but they have gone off. I tho't it prudent in one instance to give up a very pleasant evening party, but never kept [the] house, it not being necessary. My appetite has returned, for it left me a few days and I am as well as ever. There is in the air here, altho' clear and apparently pure, a chilliness which is said to be unusual. I am delighted to learn by yourself, as well as by Mr. Austin, that you dined with him in Boston and found our friends so pleasant and happy; our domestic happiness is dependent under Providence on ourselves; factions, civil discords, private and public enemies and even treacherous *friends*, if the term is admissible, have no control over such enjoyments. I have just learned that Mrs. Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Dawson are better. I am happy to learn this, but doubt of their recoveries. . . .

The statement you make of the healths of our beloved children, of their care of yourself, and of their affection to yourself and to each other, is one of the most pleasing circumstances to us all, and of the most honorable and laudable to themselves, that can take place. Such an adherence of all, to the honor, interest, welfare and happiness of each, will serve as a great pillar of support to every individual of the family, and as an establishment of so many sentinels to guard the concerns of each, of so many advocates to defend and extend their respective reputations, of so many agents to increase the number of their adherents and acquaintances, and of so many inestimable friends to divide all their sorrows, and to double all their joys. I shall endeavor to comply with the wishes of dear Eliza to write to her in regard to my concerns, and request you and our darling children to be always assured of the most tender and affectionate regards and good wishes of Your ever sincere

E. Gerry.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Washington, 23d March, 1814.

I wrote, my dearest Life, a few lines to you in haste this morning, that is, at 3 P. M., and informed you that I was to attend poor

[1] John Dawson, of Virginia (1762–1814). He died March 30.

Mrs. Livingston's funeral as a pall-bearer. I have just returned, and think we were fortunate in having the earth quite dry, and the air not damp or cold. There were six Pall, and six under bearers. We all rode to the burial place and then descended. The coffin was taken from the hearse, and placed on a bier. The undertaker then called on General Smith,[1] Mr. Gore[2] (both of the Senate), Judge Todd of the Supreme Bench, Mr. Goldsborough[3] of the Senate, Judge Bacon,[4] Comptroller, and I think Mr. Gilman[5] of the Senate, to take the bier up a hill nearly as far as from Mr. Austin's to the State House. The Secretaries of State, the Treasury, and Navy, the Attorney General,[6] Mr. Mason[7] of the Senate, and myself were the upper bearers, and preceded. The grave was made by a double row of bricks and of the shape of the coffin; which was very narrow at the head and feet, and of mahogany with a plate and long inscription which I could not read; when placed, it was covered by a stained board and then with a large stone, standing on its side on the inner bricks, and afterwards lowered down, covering the grave and the brick sides of it. I omitted to mention that when I was ushered into the room with the bearers, a person requested my hat, and soon returned it with a silk weed, and a pair of black silk gloves. Wine and cake were also served before the funeral, and after the interment the carriages, about forty in number, returned without ceremony. At the funeral I saw a Church minister, Mr. McCormick who invited me to attend his Church, about two miles and a half from here,[8] and to sit in the President's pew — so-called — appropriated also to the Vice President and heads of departments. I shall endeavor to attend, for it seems he had been informed that I attended the Episcopal service. Thus much for funeral rites, which to me are curious as they respect *under* bearers, who did not appear in a great degree to relish their honors. True it is, that I have a pleasing set of female acquaintances and that both Ladies and Gentlemen of all these families are polite and friendly. But this species of pleasure is very different from that of a domestic kind. The one is the result of official attentions, in a great measure, and the other of pure affection and of unadulterated friendship.

[1] Samuel Smith, of Maryland (1752–1839).
[2] Christopher Gore, of Massachusetts (1758–1827).
[3] Robert Henry Goldsborough (1780–1836).
[4] Ezekiel Bacon, of Massachusetts (1776–1870).
[5] Nicholas Gilman (1755–1814).
[6] James Monroe, George Washington Campbell, William Jones and Richard Rush.
[7] Jeremiah Mason, of New Hampshire (1768–1848).
[8] At the Navy Yard.

For this, I am panting in a busy scene, where the predominance of interest renders it necessary to be cloistered and to commit yourself to no one. Moreover the coals of party, covered lightly for awhile with *embers*, cannot be thus concealed, and often kindle when fanned by favorable prospects. Many have by these means unmasked themselves and have presented, I will not say, deformed, but not handsome portraits. . . .

I am happy to learn that Mrs. Blackler [1] and her family are well. She is actuated and always has been, by true friendship, and cannot fail of commanding our attentions and affection. . . . Mrs. Armstrong is well and was at the funeral.

I wish that Mr. Stedman [2] may be informed of the violation of seals and interrogated in respect to the person to whom his office is entrusted. I believe the mischief is done here. Every exertion is making to adjourn on the 11th April and some members have already left Congress. Your ideas of the executive difficulties, and I may add miseries, are correct; the place never can in a rational mind, be a subject of envy. . . . I dined yesterday, and spent the evening with General and Mrs. Van Ness,[3] a family I am very fond of. We had musick and dancing on the carpet, in our style, by one lady's playing for the rest, and then by her giving this post of duty to another lady, and dancing in her turn. I felt myself at home, and being urged by the young ladies to dance, I promised to comply with any other of their requests. Adieu. . . . Your ever sincere,

E. Gerry.

To Eleanor Stanford Gerry.

Washington, 24th March, 1814.

My dear Child, — I have been mortified by the delay of answering your delightful letter of the 25th of February, and our little darling Ivers' too. Enclosed is my answer to him which no one must open except himself. It must have given you all great pleasure, to contribute to that of Captain Townsend; and now that the Spring has opened, I hope his visits will be frequent; and will contribute to his health and spirits. . . .

I was delighted with the little letter, and it must be repeated as often as it may be convenient. You write a very pretty hand, and

[1] Wife of Captain William Blackler, who occupied the Gerry homestead at Marblehead. He was captured by the British on the *Terrible*, September 1, 1780, and committed to the Old Mill Prison, Plymouth, England.

[2] Ebenezer Stedman, postmaster at Cambridge, Mass.

[3] John Peter Van Ness (1770–1847), originally of New York, but long of Washington. His wife was Marcia Burns, to whom was accorded a public funeral in recognition of her wide charities.

are capable of improving to any degree you please. Taste you have and nothing more is wanting. Ivers' letter is as legible as I could wish or expect. You complain of an empty head; how did it produce so pleasing a letter? This is a problem not easily solved. I must have an Epistle from my little darling Emily;[1] this is the only instance of omission in the family, except your two youngest brothers, who are excusable during the term. I was happy to hear of Commodore Rodgers' arrival; he actually had run the Gauntlet. I wish with you, that he had been accompanied with another frigate. The british frigates disappear wherever he arrives.[2] Your spring was not drained, it ran clear to the end, and refreshed me exceedingly by its limpid stream. Accept with your dear mama and the other children, the warmest and most affectionate wishes for your and their happiness, of your ever sincere friend and father,

E. GERRY.

TO MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 28th March, 1814.

I received your letter of 20th, and it relieved me of anxiety, for I had not heard from you for several days.

I am doubtful whether it will be possible for Congress to rise on the 12th; a national bank appears to me necessary, and a discussion of such a bill must extend the session to the latter part of April. I want exceedingly to return, but had rather remain here all the year, than put the country to an hazard by an empty treasury, and I do not think that the measures adopted will supply it. Even a doubt ought not to exist on a point of such importance. The kind enquiries of our neighbors are grateful; reciprocate them on all occasions by my best wishes. I frequently hear from Boston and learn what passes in that virtuous community.

The news from France received yesterday by a *Centinel* handbill presents such a view of the affairs of Napoleon as to leave great reason to doubt of an issue favorable to him. His misfortunes can be productive of no good to this country. Accept with our lovely flock, the most affectionate regards of yours sincerely,

E. GERRY.

FROM ANNA GERRY

CAMBRIDGE, 10th April, 1814.

A thousand thanks I would offer you, my dear Father, for your kindness in bestowing so much of your precious time upon an in-

[1] Aged twelve years.

[2] This refers to Commodore Rodgers' fourth and last cruise, from December 4, 1813, to March, 1814.

quisitive girl, and explaining so clearly the situation of things in general at the Capital; the ideas I had formed of the principal characters now collected in that City, were not altogether correct. Although sensible that party dissentions were not wholly extinct, and that the acrimony of New England was visible, notwithstanding an effort to conceal it, in the persons of many of the northern delegates; I could not suppose it possible such rancour would be displayed, in a body consisting of the most respectable persons in the Union, composed of men, who from the genial climate they reside in, I thought, were influenced by patriotic motives and guided by moderation and reason. From the little acquaintance I have had with prominent characters of the Southern States, (having enjoyed but a limited scope for observation, but endeavoring to make the most of the few advantages that occurred, have studied those characters which fell beneath my cognizance), I imagined there was more of liberality, less of Party Spirit, though still decided partiality for their political opinions, display'd in those persons, than in any individual in this State with which I have been acquainted, at least sufficient to enforce their example upon their northern confederates, and to banish all political differences from the drawing-room. I thought genuine politeness was so well known and practiced there, that Ladies of every denomination were treated with respect and attention, and were entirely exempted from the baneful effects of party influence. I more particularly regret the error of such conclusions, as I feel their being realized would much contribute to your happiness and pleasure, and am convinced the contrary must be productive of uncomfortable and painful sensations, and often place you in embarrassing situations. Heaven prosper the cause of our Country and reduce its enemies to the level of their own *virtues*. They will meet the punishment their treachery deserves, I trust, ere they have power to injure the Country they wish to overthrow. . . . Your affectionate

ANNA.

To Mrs. Gerry.

WASHINGTON, 13 April, 1814.
Wednesday evening.

It is now, my dearest Life, seven o'clock, and for the last time this session, I am going to the drawing room with the Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Campbell, but I should not enjoy the evening without previously answering your pleasing letter of the 9th. It gives me inconceivable pleasure to learn that you are as well as can be expected, and all the children likewise, except Thomas[1] and

[1] Thomas Russell Gerry graduated this year.

James, whose severe duty at College has impaired their healths. The former I perceive is better; and flatter myself James will be soon re-instated in his health. I expect to leave this on Tuesday next, and shall have to encounter very bad roads, but must make the best of them. Mr. and Mrs. Livingston went yesterday morning with the regret of their friends, they are genteel and agreeable. Mrs. and Miss Armstrong followed them; but these I do not miss in a great degree, although inmates. I say followed, that is in their train, for they formed one company. My friends at Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, have signified their expectations of seeing me; but my visits must be short. . . .

I regret that your eyes are weak. Apply the Baume de Fioraventi or the rosemary brandy, and you will find relief. Enclosed is a recipe for making biscuit, which we often have, and they are baked in the house and very good. They are very little larger than milk biscuit. Accept with our beloved circle the most affectionate regards of your devoted and ever sincere,

E. GERRY.

TO MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 17th April, 1814.

This, my dearest Life, is the last letter I propose to write from hence to you this session. Tomorrow I shall bid the Senate adieu, as soon as a Quorum is formed, and according to custom give them an opportunity to choose a President *pro tempore*, to succeed to the chair of the Presidency in case of the Exit during the recess, of the President and myself. Enclosed is a Republication in the Baltimore *Patriot* of a paragraph taken from the Boston *Chronicle*, truly representing a case, misrepresented, according to custom in the federal papers. You will preserve this.[1] I also enclose an abusive piece taken from the Senator whose editor is stenographer to the Senate. The latter paragraph reviles the supreme Executive and Congress itself, and yet no notice has been taken of it by the Senate. A Republican Senator applied to me to dismiss him, as he was admitted by my direction, pursuant to the informal request of the Senate. My answer was, that I was urged contrary to my expressed wishes to the Senate, to conduct this business; that I had admitted this man on one condition, that if he did not give full satisfaction in publishing the debates to every *Senator*, I should on the first complaint discontinue him. No complaint then having been made, on this score, my dismission of him for licentiousness of the press would be against my own stipulation, and would thus involve me in a contest which

[1] See p. 503, *infra*.

would respect the liberty or licentiousness of the press. This would be pleasing to my enemies, if indeed it was not a snare for the purpose; but I determined not to meddle with serpents whilst they remained in their cells. Mr. King,[1] whom I was obliged yesterday, in a clear case, to correct for a breach of order, readily submitted to the decision of the chair, as a correct measure, and made a handsome apology for the past event, referred to in the printed column before mentioned and enclosed. The Senate adjourned at ½ after three to seven, and my carriage having been ordered at four, Mr. King politely invited me to take a seat with him and Mr. Gore in his carriage, which always passed my door. I accepted the invitation, which appeared to be pleasing to him; for we had not spoken to one another for a fortnight after the indecorum of the Senate. It was after twelve last night before I went to bed. Reading much yesterday bro't on a hoarseness, but it is nearly removed. Accept with our lovely flock the most affectionate regards of your ever sincere,

E. Gerry.

Boston Independent Chronicle,

April 11, 1814.

In the Palladium of the 25th ult. appeared the following indecent and erroneous statement. The letter from Washington, annexed designed as a correction and explanation of that statement, is from a source perfectly acquainted with the facts.

"A singular scene occurred in the Senate yesterday. Mr. King of N. Y. presented a petition from some of the citizens of New York. According to the rules of the Senate he briefly stated its contents. Vice President Gerry enquired of Mr. King whether it was expressed in decent language. Mr. King replied it was not for him to say whether it was or not, and therefore he should not answer the question. The Vice Pres. said that such was the rule and usage of the Senate, and referred to his memorandum book. Several gentlemen observed in succession that there was no such rule; and Mr. Giles said that he had always considered it as indignity to a member to have the question asked, as it always ought to be presumed that no honorable gentleman would offer a petition couched in indecent terms. The Vice Pres. insisted upon an adherence to the rule, and attempted to enter into a lengthy argument in favor of it. While he was arguing and explaining with much pertinency, there was a gen-

[1] Rufus King (1755–1827). The *Annals of Congress* make no reference to this incident.

eral cry, the question! the question! Considerable confusion ensued. The Vice Pres. was obliged to discontinue his remarks and the question was promptly decided against him.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, MARCH 31ST, 1814.

A Federal statement in the Boston Palladium of the 25th ult. respecting the Vice President is uncandid and untrue. The facts are these. The Senate, for conducting their business, have in addition to their printed rules and parliamentary practice, *usages which by them* are never recorded. These usages the Vice Pres. as Pres. of the Senate was under the necessity of ascertaining at times by their votes, and of preserving minutes thereof. One of the usages required "that no petition or memorial should be read without an assurance that it was expressed in respectful terms." This, excepting two instances, was always complied with, unless accidentally omitted by any member, who readily corrected his error, when informed of it. No member, except Mr. King, thought of making a pother about the usage. In the two instances referred to, he presented petitions and refused to comply with the rule, although informed that it was sanctioned by a vote of the Senate. The President in the first instance, averse from altercation, eluded it. But soon after, the same member presented another petition and persisting in a non-compliance with the usage, demanded whether he was in order. He was answered from the Chair, that by stating the purport of the petition, as required by the printed rule, he was so far in order, but in refusing to comply with the usage if this was obligatory, he was not in order. The President then desired the Senate to determine this point, it being unpleasant to him to have altercations about the validity of their rules, in the formation of which he had no voice, although officially bound to apply them. This produced a debate in respect to the usage itself. Mr. Anderson the oldest member in the Senate, Col. Smith, and another gentleman supported the Chair, and declared that the usage had originated in a disrespectful petition preferred to the Senate about eight years past; that during this period it had been uniformly and invariably regarded as a rule, that it implicated no member's honor as Mr. Giles had illiberally urged, but that if it did, the blame attached to the Senate for adopting, and not to the President, for applying the rule. On taking the question, whereon the yeas and nays were required too late, the Senate determined Mr. King to be in order, in *violation of their own rules*, and thus annulled *all* their usages. The next morning a Federal member made a motion for altering the *journals*, under the pretext that he had not understood the

question as the Secretary had fairly entered it, viz. that Mr. King having refused a compliance with a usage of the Senate, was in order. Had the motion prevailed, the journals would have concealed the truth, and have thus perverted it. The Senate would not sanction such a measure, and to disembarrass themselves voted to strike out the whole proceeding from their journals, and have thus left the question undecided. It is conjectured that the President will not again consent to apply senatorial usages as their rules, until they are so entered on record.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Baltimore, 20th April, 1814.
Wednesday, ½ past 6 P. M.

I left the Senate Chamber, my dearest Life, at three in the afternoon on Monday last; on Tuesday I paid my congé visits to all my friends in Washington, a large and very friendly circle, dined with the President, finished packing my trunks and making my arrangements about *one* this morning, started at five from Washington, arrived at Gadsby's Tavern at five in the evening, dined there and read the charming hand bill in regard to France, Spain, etc.; and am now at the Republican tavern, kept by Mr. Barney, at ½ after six this evening. This required an exertion and I was fortunate in making it, for it rains, and very bad as the roads were today, they will be much worse tomorrow. By a sudden plunge of the carriage and as sudden a rising, I received a blow above my eye, which was made by the corner of my hat striking against the top of the carriage and communicating the stroke to my forehead and which almost stunned me. No other injury is the result, than a *mouse*, as sea-men call it, raised on my forehead by the contusion. My friends at Washington were so affectionate, as to have produced for a moment a painful separation. But the prospects of seeing my dear and delightful family very soon, removed every unpleasant feeling and terminated in an ardent wish that we altogether could be neighbors, *as well as friends*. After calling on my friends here I shall depart for Philadelphia, and shall write you from thence. I have read your affectionate letter of the 13th and request you to assure our friendly neighbors, that their kindness is on my part reciprocated, and tell my lovely little grand-boys that Grand-pappa loves them dearly and is coming home to see them, and my little Ivers must continue to be a fine boy and he and G-pappa will continue their correspondence the next session. . . . With affectionate attachment your ever sincere,

E. Gerry.

PHILADELPHIA (Sunday), 24th April, 1814.

I arrived here, my dearest Life, last night, or at three o'clock rather this morning. I left Baltimore in the steam-boat on Friday four P. M., after consulting Commodore Barney who commands the flotilla, and who with Governor Wright [1] tho't there was no danger from the enemy. The weather was moderate, but extremely thick of fog, and the Captain who had been seventeen years employed in crossing the bay lost his soundings amidst the extreme darkness, and came to an anchor about nine at night, remaining so till morning. We then proceeded, and arrived at Frenchtown at half after eleven instead of the usual time four in the morning. From thence we proceeded to Newcastle and arrived at half after five and immediately embarked for Philadelphia, about forty-five miles distant.[2] The wind was light, but fair, and our sails helped us; but the tide was against us, and I knew that we could not arrive before one in the morning. The passengers all dined on board the boat, and after dinner I marked my cabin. I had in company Mr. and Mrs. Hunter,[3] pleasant and genteel companions; he being a Senator from Rhode Island. Before I went to Cabin the wind changed to northeast and began to blow, and about half-after twelve I was awakened by a bustle on deck and cry of "hard to weather," directed to the helmsman. Being wholly undressed, I remained until the return of a Gentleman who, with two others belonging to this city were up, and who had been on deck in consequence of the weather. This Gentleman had crossed the Atlantic, and before he came down I found by the billows we were in a gale of wind; but as we were in the river did not apprehend danger. On interrogating him, I found however, that we were in danger from the rafts and logs floating in the river; and also that the time being half after twelve we must continue in that state at least two and a half hours. However, I remained in my cabin awake; often was informed of our progress, and at three was happy to find the boat was by the side of Market Street Wharf. It was said however, that she must depart at seven and falling asleep I was awakened by Mr. Hunter at five, who had slept thro' the whole, with information that the cabin was preparing for the next set of passengers. It was painful to arouse, but I dressed myself and arrived at the City Hotel about six, and was glad to be by the fire; for the morning was cold. I do not think I shall leave this before Wednesday morning, but will if possible on Tuesday. Accept with our dear circle the affectionate regards of your ever sincere

E. GERRY.

[1] Robert Wright (*c* 1765–1826).

[2] Jeremiah Mason was on this same journey. *Memoirs*, 92.

[3] William Hunter, who married Miss Robinson of New York.

To Elbridge Gerry.[1]

Boston, June 10th, 1814.

May it please your Excellency!

The only apology I think it necessary to make for addressing your Excellency in this abrupt manner, is the interest which I feel for those citizens, who, stepping from the quiet scenes of domestic life, expose themselves to calumny and danger by volunteering their services in the cause of liberty and their country. That your service has contributed to open the eyes of many of our deluded citizens by shewing them the smothered enmity of Britain, that ancient Foe of our infant country, is not only evident to the writer of this note, but has attracted the notice and excited the vengeance of the common enemy. — I speak not from rumour — but the evidence of facts has made it almost certain to me that the present blockading squadron has matured a plan, by which they flatter themselves to gain possession of your person. Yes, Sir, mistrustful of their ability to meet us on fair terms in the field or on the Ocean, they have recourse to all those dastardly plans, which have ever distinguished cowards and savages — the miserable artifices of treachery and man stealing. The means by which I became possessed of this information, I shall now lay before you.

Being call'd to the Cape on business, I frequently amused myself by cruises in my little pleasure Boat, in one of which Trips, I was hail'd by a large Boat man'd by eight men and an officer, whom by description I afterwards learned to be the 1st lieutenant of the *Bulwark*,[2] 74, now cruising off the Cape. Among innumerable questions which he put, to lay asleep suspicion of his real designs, were the following — "How far is it from Charlestown Bridge to the College at Cambridge? How far is it over land (crossing Boston neck) to the College? I understand that your Vice President Gerry lives near the College?" I answered him that you did, and the better to fathom his designs, pretended great enmity to your Person; observing that you was not much beloved by your neighbors or the Bostonians, — which observations seemed to please him. He then proceeded to ask me if you resided constantly at your House and slept there? How many domestics you kept, and if you observed the

[1] Endorsed on the enclosure "*to be forwarded immediately.*"

[2] *Boston Independent Chronicle.* "Gov. Strong, (observes the *Aurora*), in the fulness of his piety and zeal pronounced England to be the "Bulwark of our Religion" — this sentiment which was, no doubt delivered with the utmost sincerity and *good will*, did not, it appears, exactly suit John Bull's understanding. John began to think there was a spice of satire in it, hence out of his thousand ships the *Bulwark* was the ship selected, to carry the information to his Yankee Eulogists, that their ports were declared in a *state of blockade.*"

European custom of having an immense number of attendants and dependents at your house? He asked me if a lookout was kept on, or above, Charlestown Bridge, and which rout was the nearest to the Colleges, up Charles River or across the neck by Land? and if any Livery stables were near the neck and if they let Horses to any one indiscriminately? Among other questions with regard to your Person (apparently put in a very careless manner) he asked if you was a man of personal resolution — or was very muscular, for (he observed to mislead me) I thought I saw him once in the streets of New York. "Are the Boston watchmen very strict in their duty? and have they a military guard ashore? Do the Watch patrole as far as the Neck? is it very swampy ground near the neck?" After having asked if the Bostonians were fond of Dogs and if they kept any in the country, — he suppos'd your Excellency kept some near your house. You may rely upon me, Sir, when I assure you, that all and many more of the questions which I here record, were put in a very artful manner and done in such a way as not to excite suspicion. He appeared to be a very shrewd man, is of a large Person, commanding aspect, and insinuating behaviour. In his talkative familiarity he made observations which I think in his more reserved moments he would have suppress'd. He said he knew many Bostonians personally — assured me that he, nor the Navy in general, did not consider the Bostonians as enemies — that some of his fellow-officers had frequently been ashore, disguised as Citizens — indeed, Sir, he gave me good cause to suppose by his (many of them indiscreet) observations that there was not only a correspondence between some of our worthless citizens here, and his Ship — but that a complete *League* had been formed to obtain possession of yourself as well as other influential Characters, in or near Boston — and when you consider, Sir, the strict intimacy subsisting between many of these officers and some of our dissolute Citizens, you cannot think my observations over-officious nor unbecomingly apprehensive. I left him with pretended professions of regard, the better to prevent his suspecting that I divined his objects — and shortly after put this conversation to Paper. Many of his questions and observations I have forgotten, and there was no one with me, excepting a small Boy whom I took with me to assist in working the Boat. I hope, Sir, an overweening confidence in your integrity will not cause you to hold in contempt the designs of the treacherous Enemy with whom we have to deal — the accomplishing of their designs would be to them a subject of the highest Joy and for aught I know Reward and Promotion! The Person who writes this, although known to your Excellency begs you will excuse him affixing his name to this note *at present.* Should the contemplated outrage never take

place, (and I feel convinced an attempt will be made,) undue Ridicule may be fastened upon me, — but if this treacherous Enemy should make an attempt which I trust in *God* will be unsuccessful, Your Excellency may expect to hear farther from Your Excellency's most obedt Servant and Friend.

[*No signature.*] [1]

To Mrs. Gerry.

Cambridge, 29th July, 1814.
Friday Even.

I am informed, my dearest Life, that Mrs. Davis will go to Nahant in the morning, and am happy to inform you that we are all here and at Boston, remarkably well. Captain and Mrs. Conkling slept here last night and are still with us. Eliza, as lively as a bee, went this afternoon with Mrs. Conkling to Boston and the Captain and myself rode over the farms and marsh, and I gave directions to the mowers, who are now on the peat meadow. Eleanor and Emily rode to the dancing school and home, without being wet, altho' at intervals it rained and blew a gale. Thomas and James are here in high spirits. On Wednesday there is to be a dancing exhibition to which the parents are invited, and at which the young ladies may attend. Yesterday at Boston I received a friendly notice from the North American Insurance Office, of their unanimous vote of request, that I would not again go to Nahant, to sleep, I presume. They stated that the Tories in Boston had been attentive to my movements, and residence at Nahant, and had expressed a hope and *expectation* that I should be taken by the British. My friends were therefore apprehensive that the next step would be a project to attain their object. I therefore determined they should not take me in that trap; it would not be prudent to hazard it. I have just received Ann's letter and thank you all for your friendly solicitude. I am aware that a prisoner, I should run the risk of experiencing every act of vengeance which they would dare to inflict. But the spring that my capture would give to the Tories, their consequent reproaches and insults, the grief and chagrin which my friends thro'-out the Union would feel, and my personal embarrassments by an absence at this time from my family and affairs, independent of the injury which my health might sustain from solicitude on account of both, are conclusive reasons for avoiding risks, unnecessary and subject to just strictures. I do not think, however, there is the least

[1] Mr. Gerry wrote on the back of this letter: "Letter 11th June, 1814. Foolish to excite *alarm*." The warning seems to have been little regarded, as the Vice President appears to have continued his visits to Nahant during the seven weeks after receiving it, and prior to writing the following letter.

risk by day, but to make your minds easy will not visit you again. Miss Bond and her brother, with Captain and Mrs. Adams, intended to have gone to Nahant this morning; what their present intention is, I am not informed. I wish you to remain another week, the air is very salutary to you all. Elbridge is just come up from Boston and they are all very happy, whilst I am equally so in writing to you. They all join me in affectionate regards to yourself our children and Grand-Boys and be assured I am ever your most affectionate

E. GERRY.

On Sunday at three or four P. M. I will meet you at Newells, on the Hill, the Tavern which Newell formerly kept, about a mile this side the Lynn Hotel.

TO MRS. GERRY.

NEW YORK, Tuesday even., 8 o'clock, 11th Oct., 1814.

I am just arrived, my dearest Life, from Hartford. After I wrote you last evening and was prepared for bed, it was half after twelve. I was asleep as soon as my head was to the pillow, and at quarter after one was notified that the stage was ready, having had *three-quarters of an hour's rest.* I am now at Washington Hall [1] and propose to sleep here. I have sent for Mr. George M. A. Ricketts and with his aid, shall take a seat in the mail stage and be at Philadelphia on Thursday morning about sunrise. The roads and weather are so fine, as to render it necessary to push my journey, for it is not to be expected that they will remain so long. My journey thus far, has been a little fatiguing, but not much so, and you know I do not stick at trifles. The ride has been really pleasant, and my fellow travellers have been genteel men, which is always a fortunate circumstance. I had forgot to desire Eliza to have the seed peas thrashed and stored; they are in Barney's hay-loft. Adieu, my dearest Life. Accept with the children the affectionate regards of your ever sincere,

E. GERRY.

My next will probably be from Baltimore or Washington. News is just arrived that Mobile was attacked by a British frigate and sloop of war, and defended by General Jackson, who fired hot shot and blew them both up with their crews. . . .

TO MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 19th Oct., [1814.]

I dined this day at Mr. Parrott's in Georgetown, a family with which Elbridge was particularly acquainted, and they made

[1] Corner of Chambers Street and Broadway.

great inquiry for him. They were much gratified by the information I gave them, of his concern for them at the time of the invasion of Washington, and of his joy when it was ascertained that Mr. Parrott's rope walk was not burnt. The young ladies were very merry in relating their attempt to fly on the supposed approach of the enemy to their residence, and that they were outrun by the militia. They left the House with Mr. Parrott, but were so pressed by the militia, who filled the roads and who flew with such rapidity as to run down the ladies, that the latter were compelled to return home and meet their fate, be it what it may. I think the militia men were not to blame, they were confused by the order for their retreat. The return of the ladies was in the event fortunate, for the enemy did not go so far as even to the buildings where I have always resided. The British army consisted of about 5000 regulars commanded by General Ross,[1] and 1500 marines commanded by Admiral Cockburn.[2] Ross according to the stipulations of the British Government, that the commanding officers of the several armies were to receive titles of nobility, designating the cities or fortress conquered by them respectively, in this country, would have been *Lord Washington*, and Cockburn declared that he acquiesced in this, as he preferred being *Lord Baltimore*. But alas! how precarious are the events of War! *Lord Washington* fell before his peerage was realized, and his fate was succeeded by the repulse of the British at Baltimore, an event which deprived *Lord Baltimore* for the present, of his visionary pursuits. God grant that this may be the fate of all such adventurers. Indeed some British officers here, a number of whom were wounded, and left from necessity, state that General Ross, who was a young and amiable man, and who had not seen his wife for five years, was desirous after peace was established with France, to return to her, and with her, to spend some time in France. But Lord Wellington urged him to accept the appointment to the office he held here and to embark without seeing his wife, which he reluctantly did, and when he was mortally wounded, he regretted exceedingly the results of his ambition, and delivered his watch and some jewels to a brother officer, and charged him to deliver them with his own hands to Mrs. Ross. Admiral Cockburn it seems, lodged with a Mr. Suter, opposite the Treasury Department. Cockburn was taking coffee, when suddenly the public buildings were in flames, and he ordered his candles to be blown out, as he would not take his coffee by any other light than that derived from the President's house. Mrs. Gholsten, a Virginia lady, informed me she received the statement of these facts from Mrs. Suter. En-

[1] Robert Ross (1766–1814).

[2] Sir George Cockburn (1772–1853).

closed is an oration sent me by the author, who was formerly a member of Congress. I wish it may be read by the young ladies as it contains a concise and correct summary of the revolutionary war. Except one part of it, I read it with pleasure, and that part proposed a separation of the Western from the Atlantic States, in case of a division between them by their own folly.

It is now eleven o'clock. Good night.

Thurs. half past six.

Good morning, my dearest Life. I hope you are well and in motion, as early rising is salutary. I hear movements, but my servant has not yet made his appearance, and the weather being moderate, I write without a fire. I find that it is the general opinion here, that had not the British fleet, by head winds been prevented from coming up the Potomac and joining the army, Ross and Cockburn would have burnt Washington and Georgetown. They were certainly alarmed and retreated with precipitation. When at the Navy Yard, I saw Mr. and Mrs. Deblois and the young ladies, who inquired in very friendly terms, as did the President and his lady, for you and the family and Elbridge; and Mr. Dallas informed me he had written me and proposed an arrangement to take Elbridge into his office. Pray desire Ann to look into my trunk of papers in the entry and find the file of letters 1813–14 and to send me the letters which passed between Mr. Dallas and myself on that subject. Also to look into the parchment containing my accounts and receipts for this year, and in it, she will find three small files of papers, all the rest being loose. In one of these files are some little strips of paper containing lists of debts, which I have paid since I left the chair of the state, all of which lists I wish to have sent to me. If I recollect rightly there are some old-fashioned silver buckles of mine, one pair of which were large enough for pads to an harness and all of which will never again be the rage, and may as well be sold, as kept in your trunk. This I wish may be done, and as much added of some other useless silver, as will purchase for yourself a pair of gold spectacles, for I cannot consent to your modest proposition for a pair of silver ones. The members of the Senate conduct with politeness, and every thing proceeds with ease and good humor.

Adieu for the present. Yours forever,

E. GERRY.

To MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 23d Oct., 1814.

I have rec'd, my dearest Life, with great pleasure your letter of the 18th. The arrival of the *John Adams* with des-

patches[1] quickened my passage to Washington and it was performed in four days and an half. It was a little fatiguing, but not much. Dear Eliza has exerted herself beyond belief. Had she been a Gentleman, she would have equalled Napoleon in the rapidity of her movements. I have just returned from the President where I dined in company with two of his secretaries, and with Mr. and Mrs. Cutts. He and Mrs. Madison are very kind and friendly, and have repeated their invitations that I should call more frequently, and dine with them without ceremony. . . .

Peace on honourable and just terms is not the wish of Britain, and the United States will never consent to any other. Massachusetts is at present in a state of insanity; what the issue will be, time must determine. I have given to Ann for the amusement of the family, a Volume of anecdotes in regard to the British, who are more abhorred than the savages of the Wilderness, but from appearances they will soon have work of an arduous nature to perform in Europe. The French veterans to the number of five hundred thousand are pushing the French government into a quarrel about Belgium with the British; wishing to make the Rhine, as they state it is, the natural boundary of France. The fact is, the French consider the disgrace of their army as the result of the intrigues of Britain, and hate her worse, if possible than we do, and I think that the French government will not be able to resist the wishes of the army, without hazarding its own existence.

I feel anxious for Sackett's Harbour, and for our army at Erie; I hope the latter will not be flushed with success and hazard much unnecessarily, and that the former will give the british, who are ardent to retrieve their lost honor, such a reception as they do not expect. I shall send you the [New] York Papers and have desired Mr. Austin to deliver you the *Intelligencer*, and in return, I wish to receive the *Patriot*. God bless you and our darling children and Grandchildren, my dearest Life, and all friends. . . . Your ever sincere and affectionate,

E. Gerry.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Washington, 25th Oct., 1814.

Having nothing, my dearest Life, of importance to impart I can only inform you that the President, having requested of me an

[1] From the Commissioners at Ghent: "More despatches are expected soon from our Commissioners at Ghent, which will probably give notice that the negotiation is ended. There is a possibility, but little probability, the negotiation may be continued and terminate in peace. Some of the terms proposed by the British envoys are wholly inadmissible." October 16. *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 96.

interview, I called on him, and in compliance with his and Mrs. Madison's request, dined with them and had a very interesting and confidential confab. The general opinion here and I think it is correct, is, that Washington was taken by a preconcerted plan, on the part of a certain person;[1] whose extraordinary conduct had, as you will recollect, produced in my mind great apprehensions in regard to our military operations. The President was correct in his views and measures, and had they, as they ought to have been carried into effect, this disgrace in my opinion never would have happened. His confidence and friendship is increased exceedingly from a conviction I presume, of the correctness of my communications and intimations last session in regard to that certain person. This, *entre nous*. Accept with the children and our friends the ardent and best wishes of your ever sincere and affectionate,

E. GERRY.

Thus far Congress are doing well.

TO MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 28th October, 1814.

Having written to you, my dearest Life, a long letter yesterday, my object is now to enclose two papers of no great import; but one from New York. A certain busybody has written again a long letter in quest of office. What a blessing is a brazen face! Accept with our beloved children the affectionate regards of yours ever sincerely,

E. GERRY.

Desire Coll. A[ustin] confidentially, to place the letters in future from me, before a fire; when no one except Mrs. A[ustin] is in the room — he will perceive the object.[2]

TO MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 4th November, 1814.

I am delighted, my dearest Life, with your charming letter of the 28th of October, and with the information of our dear children in regard to your excursions. Air, exercise, and amusements are indispensable for the promotion of your health; and particularly in winter, during which I advise you to burn as much pine and hard wood in your chamber and parlor, as possible, with none but the dryest peat; the wet emits an unwholesome vapour.[3] Yesterday it began, and today continues to rain. Before, the weather, except

[1] John Armstrong.
[2] The letters were written in sympathetic ink.
[3] On peat see the *New England Palladium*, October 28, 1814.

one night, and twice an hour or two by day, has been remarkably fine from the Sunday of my departure from Cambridge. The present is generally an unpleasant month, and the cold, chilly air requires, after dinner and in the evening, great care. Caution our little darling Emily to be on her guard, or she will be sick. She must not venture to school, unless occasionally, and then in dry and not in very cold weather. She cannot endure much cold.

Your ride to Hingham was conducted with great prudence; to have slept there at this season would have been hazardous, and the result proved it. I pity that family from my heart, the want of employment which poor Edward earnestly but unsuccessfully sought, subjected him to habits and pursuits which proved his ruin. I had a friendship for him, he had a good heart, and altho' his extravagant conduct was highly reprehensible, he did not dream of such an harsh correction as that of imprisonment. This, in the abstract, he might have borne, but permitted or sanctioned by a parent it destroyed him. Perhaps he had been (as is asserted) taking quack medicines, and that these were rendered fatal by the dampness of the prison. The misfortunes of the family, whether unavoidable or the effects of indiscretion, are truly lamentable. Whenever you shall have an opportunity, present my regards to them. Your cheerfulness sheds a lustre on the sun, and I hope will quicken it into existence.

Your gallant Mrs. Mather was, when young, remarkably gay and lively, but has yielded to unfortunate occurrences which are entailed on poor mortal man, in a degree which has bordered on gloominess. Such is the state of Miss Louisa Lee, and both these ladies, restored to chearfulness would be instructive, pleasant and agreeable companions. . . .

Present me in friendly terms to our neighbors, and particularly to Mr. and Mrs. Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter and Mrs. Mather. Dr. Jeffries house will be apropos for sporting, and in case of an attack on Boston, for a *rural retreat.* I fancy this was within the purview of the doctor.

Our friend Blake, I am informed, has sold his house and furniture, and exchanged housekeeping for lodgings. This is much better than to have his gold purified in the "*cruset*" or crucible of Cockburn. I am much pleased to learn, that every man you meet has the badge of a soldier. I do not mean, of a rebel; between these I think the line will e'er long be drawn. As to our aid de camp there is no vacancy of Attorney General, but probably will be in another Department;[1] to which, I think he will have the offer of succeeding. . . .

[1] Probably a reference to the Navy Department, for Jones ceased to be Secretary, December 2, 1814.

You inquire "which would fight best?" I am clearly of your opinion, "that bright eyes would conquer more than reversed guns." I will, at my next interview with Mrs. Madison communicate your respects to her, as you have requested; and probably a paragraph or two of your letter. I do not think the nation of Great Britain, unless inflamed by falsehoods and misinformation, can "quietly hear a detail" of the enormities committed by their officers, but itself is in bondage, in perfect thraldom. In regard to Izard's [1] success, the report was false; it is singular that Brown, Scott, Gaines and Miller,[2] four of our fighting Generals should be sent off, and Izard left to conduct the conclusion of a brilliant campaign in that Quarter. I fear his feats will not respond to the public expectations, indeed it is said he is on this side of the Niagara River. . . .

I have received and answered a letter from Thomas, since he has become a Bostonian, and have impressed the necessity on the part of his brother and himself, to improve their time in preparing for their future destinies. Thomas has expressed an anxiety to be unrivalled by any of his classmates and will steadily pursue his object. I hope and trust Elbridge will do the same. . . .

When the theory is obtained, there will be no great difficulty in regard to the practice of law; altho' I agree with you, that it is best for them to proceed with equal grade.

The scenes of life are as variable as the atmosphere, and I heartily join with you in prayer, that "in the close," ours, interrupted as it sometimes has been, "may be mild and serene." . . . My frequent communications with Colonel Austin are merely on politicks, with these I wish not to trouble much my beloved family. If any circumstances occur even in this line, that are pleasant, they shall be immediately imparted to you.

The death of our aged friend Madam Warren,[3] announced, as it was, without any previous information of her illness, could not fail of producing deep regret; she was in every respect a very respectable woman, and always manifested for ourselves and our family the warmest attachment and most affectionate regard. Her memory will always be grateful to my feelings. On Monday, I dined *en famille* with the French minister, and was much pleased with Mme. Serurier.[4] She made very friendly advances of sociability, which as you will suppose, were readily met on my part. She is sensible,

[1] George Izard (1777–1828).

[2] Jacob Brown (1775–1828); Winfield Scott (1786–1866); Edmund Pendleton Gaines (1777–1849); and James Miller (1776–1851).

[3] Mercy, wife of James Warren.

[4] Her maiden name was Pageot, and she had been a refugee from San Domingo in the revolution on that island.

sprightly and pretty, and withal delicate. Her mind, for so young a lady, is well improved and I find, she spends much of her time in reading. She has dimples, which I very much like, because very similar to your own. I shall call on her as often as possible, and had the minister removed to the house he had taken before I left Washington last Spring, only three doors from Mrs. Wilson's and in the same block, I should have seen them frequently; but he lives in the same house he occupied last year, Mrs. Barlow's,[1] only three quarters of a mile from our house, but approached by roads, every step of which, in a dark night would endanger one's limbs, if not his life. I therefore told both M. and Mme. Serurier that I should visit them, only under the auspices of the moon. The next evening I was at the drawing room, the opening of which was announced to me by Mrs. Madison,[2] and there met according to their intentions expressed, M. and Mme. Serurier and Miss Pogy. The Swedish Minister[3] came in when the room was crowded, approached me very cordially, stated that he had called at our house in Cambridge, and was informed that we were from home, that the servant requested his name but he did not give it, as he intended to call again, and that he was much pleased with our situation, etc.; I then recollected similar information received from one of our maids, but not precisely where I was. You were at Nahant and probably I was with you.

He then introduced me to Madam and the Misses de Kantzow, the former of whom is much such a ladylike goodlooking woman as was our deceased friend Mrs. Gier,[4] and the young ladies are like Mr. Rufus Amory's wife when young,[5] except that they are taller

[1] At Kalorama.

[2] "I yesterday [29th] had the high honor of eating a state dinner with their majesties. The President is more despised by his political opponents, and less respected by his friends, than he ever has been heretofore. The misfortune attending all his measures tends to sink him into contempt. I consider him the immediate author of all the misfortune of the country. I wish to see as little as possible of him. Mrs. Madison, it is said, is about establishing her public drawing-room. I think I shall trouble it very little this season." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 99.

[3] Kantzow. "Permit me to make known to you Mr. de Kantzow, his Swedish Majesty's envoy to the United States, as a gentleman whose personal qualities will command as much of esteem, as his rank will respect. You will too see with satisfaction in him the representative of a nation struggling gloriously to vindicate the liberties of the Continent of Europe." *George Henry Rose to Timothy Pickering*, June 7, 1813. Pickering MSS. Kantzow was accompanied by his wife and two daughters, and intended to reside in Philadelphia. Söderström described him as "an agreeable man."

[4] Susanna, daughter of Duncan Ingraham. See *N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg.*, XXV. 46.

[5] Rufus Greene Amory married, February 13, 1794, Nancy, daughter of

and more fleshy and fair than were Mrs. Gier and her daughter. They answer the description, which your friend Miss Smythe gave, of a young lady in Charleston, S. C., that she was like a fine ripe peach, of which the least puncture would make the juice to fly. Mrs. *Kantzow* as the Minister and ladies are generally called, entered into a familiar conversation, as did the young ladies, informed me for the first time that they were with Mr. Kantzow at Boston, had been to our principal cities north of this, and since July last, had rode 1500 miles, had been as far west as Lake George, admired the Country, and tho't with me, it was too good to give to the British. The Misses Kantzow played and sang very well in the italian style, having fine voices and a great command of them. In short, the Minister and Ladies are well bred, have a perfect command of themselves; are chearful, sprightly, pleasant, and altho' "of the world," as some express it, are such as would please as companions, yourself and our family circle. Mrs. Kantzow said that they grew too fat in this country. I answered "No madam only *enbonnepoint.* She laughed and said "Yes truly, *en bonne point.*" At the drawing room, I also saw Mrs. Deblois [1] and informed that I had just received from her father a letter informing me of the receipt of one from myself, with the pleasing news of his appointment to the office of surveyor and inspector for the Port of Boston, *the office of Major Melville* [2] before his late appointment to that of Naval Officer. I met there Mr. and Mrs. Lear [3] and Cutts, who enquired particularly for you as did General Lewis (Morgan) [4] and a number of Ladies and Gentlemen who appeared very friendly, and was much pleased with the interview. As to myself, I certainly spent two hours very pleasantly. I was always fond of a ladies' levee and prefer it infinitely to that of a Gentleman. God bless you all. I love you most ardently and am ever most sincerely and affectionately your

E. GERRY.

Kiss for me our darling children.

Frederick William Geyer, the banished loyalist. Prince Edward, afterwards the Duke of Kent, attended this wedding. A second daughter, Charlotte, married Joseph Marryat of Wimbledon, and was the mother of Frederick Marryat, the novelist.

[1] See p. 484, *supra.*

[2] Thomas Melville (1751–1832), of the Boston Tea Party.

[3] Tobias Lear (1762–1816). His second wife was Frances (Bassett) Washington, widow of George Augustine Washington, and a niece of Mrs. Washington. His third wife was Frances Dandridge Henley, also a niece of Mrs. Washington.

[4] Morgan Lewis, of New York (1754–1844), who married Gertrude, sister of Chancellor Livingston.

To Mrs. Gerry.

Washington, 9th Nov., 1814.

I am delighted, my dearest Life, by your own information of the 31st, and by a letter of the 4th instant from Elbridge, received and answered this day, that your health continues, and that, as he states, you grow *fat*, and was in Boston on the evening of the 3d.

As to myself, I am very pleasantly situated; in my former chamber, warm and comfortable, rather larger than yours, with a handsome carpet, bed and window curtains, and next door to the dining room, which opens into Mr. Dallas' chamber, who is very friendly. We have another lady, Mrs. Pickens whose husband [1] is of the House, and expect tomorrow Mrs. and Miss Dallas, making five; all very pleasant and agreeable, and the gentlemen equally so. Mr. Hazard's[2] son-in-law, Mr. Barker, and a Colonel Jenkins, who inquired particularly for Colonel and Mrs. Austin, whom he knew at Albany, are also in the *mess*. I have attended to my public debt, and find that the returns have been duly made, and that it is extinguished and quieted forever. This at the present time is a relief beyond description, places me here on independent ground, and leaves me no longer subjected to sarcastic looks from a quarter to which I had looked for friendship, but to my surprise found enmity. It is singular, but uniformly true, that I have never experienced a change of this kind, but what has been followed by proofs of disaffection and suspicions of corrupt practices, on the part of the changeling. This man, I mean A[rmstron]g, will appear soon, I think in a true light.

Elbridge informs me that Colonel Gardner has the miniature, which is a very pleasing circumstance. When opportunity offers, be so good as to send another prudence; for the white silk of this will require washing. I have written to our dear children Eliza and Ann five sheets of cap paper and pity them for the Tax, thus imposed on their time and patience. I know not when I shall have time for such another *faux pas*. Yesterday I dined at the President's, with the heads of the Departments only. After dinner the President requested a confidential interview. At table my opinion being asked in regard to what was to be done with New England, or some observations made which required it, I hinted as the best remedy for the evils in that quarter, a spirited manifesto against the late proceedings and that as the foundation of these were stated to have been the neglect of Government to defend Massachusetts, 15,000 men

[1] Israel Pickens, member of Congress from North Carolina.

[2] Thomas Hazard, of Rhode Island. His daughter, Anna, married Jacob Barker, the financier.

should be forthwith sent to Maine to recover our invaded territory, with 15,000 copies of the manifesto for the information and instruction of our pious *Imps*, or *imp*ious Priests devoted to Britain. The President said he saw no objection that could be made to the measures. I communicated to Mrs. Madison, the best respects of yourself and the young ladies, and your admiration of her conduct and character on a late trying occasion.[1] She, in answer said, she feared I had given too favourable a statement of both, but I replyed, my statement was correct. She joined with you that "bright eyes would make more conquests than reversed arms!" I am happy to learn that James is able to pursue his studies. You are right I think, to take the air, while you can in an open carriage. The air of a house, when confined to it, cannot fail to injure the habit; while fresh air daily respired purifies the blood and invigorates the system. Let all dead leaves be frequently removed from the cellars, and they be aired in moderate weather. Accept, my dearest Life, the most affectionate regards and present them to the children, of your ever sincere and devoted,

E. GERRY.

TO MRS. GERRY.

WASHINGTON, 15th Nov., 1814.
Tuesday

MY DEAREST LIFE, — I have your pleasing letters of the 4th and 5th and enclose a list of the letters received from my Cambridge family and from Elbridge and Thomas, with their dates and the dates of my answers. . . . Congress are making progress on very important bills — for raising an adequate Revenue and Army, and for establishing a Bank. There seems to be an earnest wish, as far as I can judge, in a majority of both Houses to do right. Of the conduct of the minority, the public are the proper arbiters. They have not yet turned their attention to the *mild* proceedings of Massachusetts, but will take them up, I presume after the other important subjects have been passed on. I dined lately with the President and his Cabinet, when the conversation turning on Massachusetts and my opinion being expected, I gave it frankly. It was, that a comprehensive manifesto should be issued from the executive exposing the conduct from the beginning of the British administration, and its adherents in the United States; and that, as Massachusetts complains as one ground of her misconduct, of the want of Protection, that Major General Scott and 15,000 men should be

[1] During the British occupation of Washington. But see *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 95.

sent to Massachusetts. Major Gen. Dearborn [1] to be there also, for protecting the state against foreign and domestic foes, and strengthening the hearts and hands of the friends of our country. The President listened, and then replyed, "that he could see no objection to my proposition." *This is confidential.* They have passed a loan Bill for three millions of dollars, wanted at the present time; and also one for fitting out twenty armed fast-sailing cruisers, to cripple and destroy the British commerce. These will make the surly *Bull* to roar. An order will issue immediately for raising as many men as will be requisite to commence operations in Maine for the recovery of our invaded territory.

General Miller, one of our game cocks, will probably have the command. I recommend him. A deep intrigue has been on foot to betray the government into the adoption of the 10,000 men to be raised in Massachusetts for the manifest purpose of supporting something that has the flavor of rebellion; but it has failed. Governor Strong,[2] if I was to guess, will not be appointed to any military command under the national Government. He never emulated till of late, to be a military character, and to impose on his Excellency the toils, privations, hardships and dangers, incidental to active warfare notwithstanding his known patriotism may prompt him to encounter such difficulties, would be injudicious, and may deprive the State of a Governor, whose fame will reach the latest Posterity. I have received several letters from Colonel Austin in regard to past and what ought to be the future measures of Government, and his opinions in regard to both are perfectly coincident with my own. There have been great blunders on the part of some, and great misconduct on the part of others, of the Executive Departments and the continuance of such measures would have ruined the nation. Two are superseded and Mr. Jones is soon to resign, into whose place, I shall use what little influence may exist on my part, to bring our friend Commodore Rodgers. This between ourselves, until you shall hear of the result. I cannot ascertain the precise views of the *wise* Legislature of our state; if they mean to frighten the national government, they most assuredly will fail. And if they mean to try the mettle of Government, I flatter myself there

[1] Henry Dearborn (1751–1829). "Old General Dearborn was to have been again placed at the head of the army. But I believe A[rmstrong] has bullied them out of it. He intends to run down all the old generals who I really believe are good for nothing. He wants to be at the head of the army himself, but it is very doubtful whether he will succeed. He has more reputation for talents than any man in the administration." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 82. He was writing in January, 1814.

[2] Caleb Strong (1745–1819).

will be no want of that. I feel no apprehensions from their manœuvres, artifices, or power. They want, and have declared it in their debates, to share public offices, and when they conduct with reason, justice and integrity, their wishes may in a certain degree, be indulged. But would any one cure treason by appointing a traitor to office? *They* would do no such thing. My time is so occupied in Senate, and at home as to leave but little for dissipation — of this I have the means, more than the want, and as to my spirits, there is no lack of them. I was delighted with your lovely little representative, and welcomed her to Washington with a hearty salute. . . . I am as sick as yourself of "busy bodies." They do not wait for the turning of the tide, but whilst it flows in their favor, turn against it. I am clearly of your opinion, and to such bid adieu. . . .

Wednesday morning, 26th[16].

Will you commission dear Ann to send me a copy of the recipe for Smith's restorative? Our friend Mr. Howell of the Senate, has been confined fifty-seven days to his bed by the Rheumatism, and wishes to try this remedy. I would send for a copy to Madam Bonaparte, but am informed by Miss Dallas,[1] she has gone on a visit to her son sixty miles into the country. A laughable circumstance happened on Capitol Hill to Cockburn. He was walking with one Swift, a wealthy tory of Alexandria and son of the late Mr. Swift, a lawyer of Boston arm-in-arm. A Miss Hyers, with whom Mr. Dexter lodged was standing at her door, after the burning had taken place, and Swift coming up introduced to her Cockburn and they both went into the house for some conversation; he asked for some refreshment and to order a broiled chicken for him, which she did through fear, being herself a high republican. Whilst the chicken was in preparation, Miss Hyers enquired of Cockburn whether he intended to go to Baltimore? He replied that is a home question but I will answer it. We do intend it, and to lay every house in ashes. She said she was distressed to hear this, as she had a sister and other friends there. Then, said he, write to them and direct them to put themselves under my protection, and they will be safe. Soon after, the refreshments were put on table, and the tornado happened which unroofed a number of houses, and one opposite her house, which I saw myself, and so violent was the wind, as to carry a part of the roof against the windows of the room where they were sitting, frightened Cockburn so as that he ran with the rest into a back room, and left his dinner smoking on the table. When they had recovered from their fright, Now, says Miss Hyers, you see, Admiral Cockburn, that such conduct as this, of burning and

[1] Daughter of Alexander James Dallas.

destroying, has already brought on you this Judgment of Heaven, and it will follow you to your destruction, unless you alter your conduct. Why, said he, I do not know how that will be, but our orders are positive and we are obliged to obey them. Mrs. Wilson received this from Miss H. I dined with Mr. Homans [1] on Sunday, and he entertained very genteely. He had several Gentlemen of Congress, the Postmaster General,[2] Mr. Gardner, Mr. Seaver,[3] and his daughter, and a pretty Miss Brown, whose family is removed here from Newburyport. Colonel Gardner, Mr. Seaver and Mr. Homans, have also dined with me. On Friday I was invited to an evening party at Mrs. Rush's,[4] whose husband is Attorney General of the United States, but the evening was damp and for the first time since I left home, I was unwell. I therefore kept house and was pretty well the next morning. Mrs. and Miss Dallas were there. Adieu. . . . May you all be the favorites of Heaven. Yours most affectionately,

E. GERRY.[5]

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF ELBRIDGE GERRY, JR., 1813.

After dinner I went with my Father to be introduced to President and Mrs. Madison. We were shown upstairs to his room and found him reclining on a settle or couch. He looked pale and wan and is naturally small. He bears the marks of age and of a very strong mind. He had a flannel — but a handsome — loose gown on and rested on pillows. Mrs. M. is very handsome, of an elegant form and dignified deportment, has a fine complexion, high and deli-

[1] Benjamin Homans, of Massachusetts, chief clerk of the Navy Department.

[2] Return Jonathan Meigs (1765–1825).

[3] Ebenezer Seaver (1763–1844), late a member of Congress from Massachusetts. He married, January 21, 1796, Nancy Bright, of Watertown.

[4] She was a daughter of Dr. Murray, of Annapolis, and sister of General Mason's wife.

[5] "Yesterday [November 23, 1814] Gerry died very suddenly. He had travelled from Boston to this place in five days, which was enough to kill a younger and stouter man. During this session he had conducted in his place in the Senate much better than usual. I had last winter a little misunderstanding with him, which by taking some trifling pains I had just got settled and I hope forgotten before he died. His funeral has been attended with all due ceremony today." *Memoir of Jeremiah Mason*, 107. "Another of the patriots of the revolution is gone; the Vice President was dressed as usual to attend the Senate this morning, went in his carriage to call upon Mr. Nourse of the Treasury department, complained while there of feeling unwell, was helped by Mr. Nourse into the carriage to return to his quarters, distant not more than quarter of a mile, was senseless when he arrived there, and being taken out and laid upon a bed immediately expired without a groan or a struggle." *Rufus King to John Adams*, November 23, 1814. *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, v. 440. Adams' reply is in the same volume, 441.

cately coloured. I sat with Mrs. M. all the evening, and found her of elegant manners, accomplished, and easy, and at the same time possessed of that pleasing dignity which will always command the respect and esteem of every person. She treated me with friendly attention, more like a son than a stranger. I, in turn studied to be polite and attentive, and when she had prepared the refreshments, always handed them to the President. I was soon informed by her that I was a second cousin to her, and felt highly honored, and peculiarly favoured in being related to a lady, who is not rivalled in excellence and worth. Engaged in the most friendly and pleasing conversation, I remained until after nine with my father, who conversed with Mr. M. and Mr. and Mrs. Cutts (sister to Mrs. M. and who resides with her at present). Mr. Munroe was also with us. Mrs. Cutts shewed me the whole house and likewise gave me an account of every thing in it that related to the family. Mrs. Madison also entertained me with an account of her levees, etc.; and promised to shew me the Colours taken at Fort George, if I would call the next morning. Mrs. Madison was dressed in a yellow silk gown (or garment whose name I did not know,) rather loose and plain, and wore a neat brown bonnet or hat, made of silk and very plain. She had a cravat round her neck and spangled (I believe) cloth shoes.

The President's house is a perfect palace. You enter the front door and are at once in a large hall, which is [used] as an entry, etc. Pillars of immense size are dispersed thro' this; and it is handsomely furnished, etc. and has large lamps for the whole length. On the side opposite to the entrance are doors opening to four rooms. The corner is the dining room and is very spacious and twice the height of modern parlours and three times as large. This is furnished in the most elegant manner and the furniture is so large that Mrs. Cutts says the sideboard would cover the whole side of a large parlour. At the head of the room General Washington is represented as large as life. This room opens by a single door into Mrs. M.'s sitting room, which is half as large. This is furnished equally as well, and has more elegant and delicate furniture. Her portrait is here seen. This room in the same way enters into the drawing room, which is an immense and magnificent room in an oval form, and which form is preserved in those above and even in the cellar; a door opens at each end, one into the hall, and opposite one into the terrace, from whence you have an elegant view of all the river, etc; The windows are nearly the height of the room, and have superb red silk velvet curtains which cost $4 a yard. The chairs are wood, painted with worked bottoms, and each has a red velvet large cushion. They are arranged on the side and are divided into

four divisions by sofas. These three rooms are all open on levee nights. Next to the drawing room is the President's sitting room, which has not communication with the former, and opens into the hall. This corresponds to Mrs. M.'s parlour, and is handsomely furnished. This opens to his cabinet, which I did not see. The cabinet is divided by a temporary partition, from the Grand Council Chamber, which runs the whole breadth of the house and is more than twice the breadth of common halls. This room is unfurnished. Opposite to the dining room is one of the same size, for the private secretary, and between that and the door, one smaller for the porter, who is always at the door.

Lengthways of the house and thro' the hall, is a walk which extends on to a terrace at each end for some way. A staircase arched, to admit of this walk ascends at one end, and this is the grand staircase. It is in the form of an U, and has stairs at each side, meeting in the centre. Thro' the second story is a hall or entry, and this opens into all the rooms which are more numerous and smaller than the lower rooms. The President's communicated with others, and this is all the information I can give of the inside of the house.

The building is of freestone and is approached by a yard, which becomes oval at the door. The grounds are surrounded by a high stone wall, and on each side at the distance of 100 or 300 yards is a large brick building, one for the Secretary of War and the other of the Navy. The Terrace was to communicate to each building connecting the three.

Saturday. This morning I went to Mrs. Madison's where I saw the Colours. The Royal standard covered most all the grand Council Chamber and is 40 or 50 feet long and 30 broad. The other is of equal length and narrow. On the first the royal arms are represented by inserted cloth, of different shapes and colours, and the other is merely striped.

Early on Thursday morning the city was alarmed by information that the British were coming up the river with a large fleet, and were only 50 miles distant. Alarm guns were fired, and the bells set in motion and very soon every person in the City was moving. Soldiers in every direction were mustering and in a few hours 3000 or 4000 troops were on their march to the ford fourteen miles distant. They were followed by carts loaded with ammunition, provisions and baggage of all kinds. In the afternoon a list was circulated for volunteers, on which I placed my name. We are for a police guard and a corps to defend the city. Every preparation is making to defend the place and even now, (Saturday) troops are passing in all directions. I, however, on Thursday noon went to the Capitol and remained there till dinner being highly entertained with some

interesting debates. The afternoon I spent in listening to conjectures and conversation of groups standing near our house. In the evening I went with my father and spent it at Mrs. Lear's and Mrs. Custis. On Friday I called for my friend Mr. Lear and went to Georgetown and we proceeded towards the fort. We passed cannon, soldiers and baggage of all descriptions, but when we had made eight miles, my horse went so lame that we were obliged to relinquish our enterprise and return. I expected to be called last night to patrol the city, but I think my turn will not come until tomorrow night. By the last accounts the enemy were at the place where they were first seen. Before night I expect to hear directly from the posts near them, and I may be called out tonight. Lear and myself have agreed always to turn out together and to fight by each other until *le dernier resort*. A company of artillery were ordered to be divided and one half to march lower down the river. They refused, saying all should go together. General Armstrong then ordered a company of infantry to enforce his commands, when the artillery tho't it advisable to obey orders. I have just seen a circumstance of a different nature. Two small boys engaged in a contest and commenced the attack most furiously. They maintained the conflict very equally for some time, and victory for a long time was very doubtful. At last one made a *coup de main* and carried the other, the latter falling under the first. At this moment the mother of one came out and chastised both most severely, when a precipitate retreat commenced on both sides, and victory decided in favor of the mother. I walked over to Georgetown on Sunday and this morning learned that the Captain of the Guards had called on me in the evening to patrol in my turn, but could not find me. I, however, agreed to turn out on Monday night and tho't myself fortunate to escape last night as it rained quite fast. This afternoon, I spent with Mr. Lear and at ten o'clock I commenced my nocturnal walk. *Tuesday*. We were divided into two parties, three in each and our patrol was thus one ward. Our duty was to hail every person, and if he could not give our countersign, or if he was not known to us, we must put him into the watch house till morn. We walked all over the ward, on the first cruise, about three miles, and only met two persons. I had an encounter with two dogs, who attacked me, and when I had hailed them to no purpose I charged bayonet, and combated them with great presence of mind. I had not engaged them long before their master put his head out of the window and joined in their barking against me. I resolved to silence his guns and in a loud tone hailed him with, "Who goes there?" He gave no answer, and I added "Speak, or I'll run you thro';" the poor fellow pulled in his head quite slyly, and after routing the dogs,

who all this time were at my heels, I joined my comrades. When we reached the main street, we heard talking in a house and on approaching were desir'd by a woman to take charge of a drunken man who had entered her house to repose. We took hold of him and told him to come with us, when he exclaim'd "What damn it! have you got me a second time?" We told him he must go with us, and ask'd him where he came from. In a sleepy tone he answer'd, "Why G — d — me I deserted from the *Queen Charlotte* at Annapolis." We ask'd him who commanded her, and he said, "that d—— scoundrel of an Admiral Warren!" After being highly amused with his conversation, we left him to his peregrinations thro' the streets. By this time we were inclined to rest a short period, and came in sight of a grog shop. To support the system we determined to go in and take a drop, and then to laugh at the other watch at our advantage over them. When we came to the door, we were hail'd by them and found that they had made a similar combination. When we had refresh'd ourselves, we took a short cruise and then awoke the morning watch. We could not muster enough by one and I was chosen to supply his place. I joined Mr. Duval, an acquaintance of mine, and we set out on a secret expedition together. On the way we had an engagement with three dogs, the first I combated and pricked his nose thro' the fence. The other two Mr. D. chased, and I cut off their retreat, and by that manœuvre we conquered. As the city was very still we pitched our tent in my lodgings and drank port wine and ate cake till daylight. This morning I awoke at my usual hour and went to breakfast. The city is in arms. Should the enemy come up, our company will join in an attack which turns some cowards blue. As the militia are ordered off I expect to patrol more frequently, and this is very necessary, for the blacks in some places refuse to work, and say they shall soon be free, and then the white people must work out. One negro woman went so far as to steal her mistress's keys and refused to return them, saying she would soon pay her for old and new. This was in the city, and the negro was confined. Should we be attacked, there will be great danger of the blacks rising and to prevent this patrols are very necessary to keep them in awe. One other preventative at present, is want of a leader.

Friday. Called on the Parrots and met there a handsome lady, a Miss Forest, who is on a visit. I then returned to dress for the French minister's dinner party. Father called for me, and we rode together. We were receiv'd at the door by two footmen dressed in French livery and after taking our hats we were shown into the drawing room. When dinner was announced, we went into the room, and had every thing in the French style, which was most splendid.

We had five or six courses, and many wines, champagne, etc. The dishes were so disguised by the French manner of cookery, that had we been disposed to do so, it would have been impossible to name them. After dinner we walked out of the dining room into the drawing room, where coffee was served by the steward on a round table in the middle of the room, and each took a cup as he pleased, but none had cream. At dusk the company broke up, and our hack not being there we rode home with Mr. Cutts. I dined last evening at my Father's with a large party of gentlemen, and in the evening we went to Mrs. Madison's. She amused me very much all the evening, and Mrs. Cutts and Mrs. M. with Colonel Taylor and myself sat on the sofa. We traced our relationship and found we were all second cousins. A general vote was taken and was carried *nemine contra* that we should in future address each other by the title of *cousin*. We returned late in the evening.

Congress were in session all the day, and on Monday[1] were to adjourn. On Monday I was engaged in paying my take-leave visits and making preparations for my departure. I called on Miss Mitchell who had just heard that the beautiful Miss Abercrombie[2] had expired that moment. Herself, sister and brother, (all of the company now playing at the theatre,) had been sick for a few days and in hearing of the death of the brother she was left almost dead; the other sister does not know of it. It is probable both will die by night. The misfortune is peculiarly interesting as they have not been in this country long, and are in this city without any of their friends. Both the females are beautiful, one seventeen, the other only nineteen years old.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, RANTOUL, SANBORN, THAYER, NORCROSS, and BRADFORD.

[1] August 2.

[2] "Died, yesterday morning, after a short illness, Miss CHARLOTTE ABERCROMBIE, of the Theatre in this city, aged 16 years and 3 months. Her funeral will take place this morning at 10 o'clock, from Mrs. Derry's, Pennsylvania Avenue. The public will *long* lament her loss; her friends *ever*." *National Intelligencer*, August 3, 1813. The plays announced for July 31 were Shakespeare's "Macbeth," and a Petit Comedy, called "The Day after the Wedding; or, A Wife's First Lesson."

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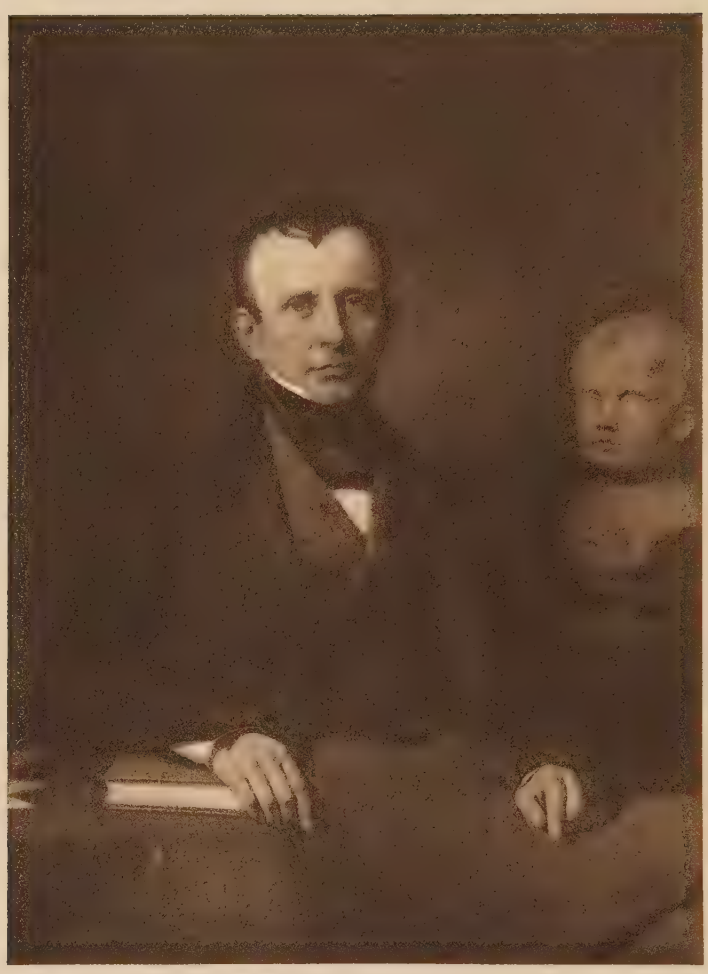

Francis C. Gray.

MEMOIR

OF

FRANCIS CALLEY GRAY

BY CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON.

AMONG prominent Bostonians of the first half of the nineteenth century Francis Calley Gray was preëminent for his oratory and erudition, two accomplishments more in repute in his day than in our own. He was born in Salem, September 19, 1790, so that his young manhood covered the years of readjustment following our Revolution, and that period of intellectual awakening that stirred New England after the wars in France.

His father, William Gray,[1] later Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, was the leading merchant of the time, with between thirty and forty ships sailing the oceans of the globe in pursuit of cargoes. In those days merchant ships were also the gatherers and dispensers of news, and the arrival of a ship was an event to stimulate a family of boys, with a father whose interests were world-wide. His mother, Elizabeth Chipman, was already known as a woman whose intellectual ability kept pace with her growing household duties.

Mr. Gray took his degree at Harvard in 1809, and went to Russia as an unpaid secretary to John Quincy Adams, then a young and promising statesman. Always a student, Gray began to fit himself for the law, finished his reading with Judge William Prescott, and was admitted to the bar in the Court of Common Pleas, November 11, 1814. In the winter of 1814–15 he made a journey to Washington and Virginia in company

[1] William Gray was the son of Abraham Gray, who married Lydia, daughter of Francis Calley, of an old Marblehead family; the name was pronounced "Cawley," and was often so spelled in the early records. William had a brother, Francis Calley Gray, who died without issue in 1790.

with George Ticknor. The hardships endured in crossing Maryland in January, and the poverty with which the two young travellers came in contact, are vividly described in Ticknor's letters. They met many distinguished people in Washington and Richmond, including Madison and Jefferson. Two years later Gray was admitted to practice in the higher courts, but foreshadowed his tastes by delivering the same year an oration on history, before the Φ B K Society. The Rev. John Pierce called it a "sensible" oration, and it no doubt had weight in procuring his election to the Massachusetts Historical Society in January, 1818. He rose rapidly in the councils of the Society, serving on many committees and editing several volumes of the *Collections*. His personality, his wide and exact knowledge, as well as his readiness to serve every seeker for facts, soon made him the final authority in times of doubt and controversy. James Savage said that he had never known any one "so distinguished in the universality of his studies," and added quaintly: "This distinction arose not solely from the number of degrees in the circumference of his knowledge, but equally from penetration toward the centre."

Mr. Gray became a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, May 25, 1819. He served as recording secretary, 1827–29; as corresponding secretary, 1831–37, and as a member of the Rumford Committee, 1833–37. Here he came to be on intimate terms with men of science, and in the later years of his life with Louis Agassiz.

But these societies offered little opportunity for the exercise of his oratory as an expression of his deep interest in affairs, and he followed his father into public life. His voice already had the ring of a prophet, and in his address to the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, October 10, 1817, he showed his grasp of world movements. His oration before the city authorities on the Fourth of July following his election to the Historical Society was in the opinion of good judges "one of the best in the whole range of Boston oratory." In the Legislature, to which he was elected in 1822, and in the State Senate, where he served, with the exception of a few terms, for the next two decades, he had scope for his knowledge of prison reform, the treatment of the insane, and the general legislation that affects property and personal rights.

In 1826, soon after his election to the Senate, he became a Fellow of Harvard College, serving until 1836. This was a period when the Governor presided over the Board of Overseers, and the affairs of the College were of quasi-public concern. There were reports of decreasing attendance, increasing expenses of students, an unneeded surplus, too large a library, a system of education not adapted to practical ends, and the growing domination of Unitarianism — complaints "keeping each other in countenance," writes Mr. Gray to Governor Lincoln in 1831, "by their noise and their number." Mr. Gray's able and convincing refutation of the charges was printed and had a very wide reading. His keen mind and positive views brought him into relation with the orators of the time — Webster, Choate, and Sumner. A vigorous tilt with Sumner at the seven-day conference on prison reform, held at Tremont Temple in 1847, led to a pamphlet on "Prison Discipline in America," a notable attack on the solitary system of imprisonment, reprinted the next year in England. Norton and Webster spoke of it as exhaustive and convincing, and Ticknor wrote: "Gray's pamphlet has done its perfect work, and settled the question as between two systems of prison discipline. I never knew anything of the sort so well received or produce so considerable effect." Mr. Gray gave liberally of his time to institutions that touched his sympathies, serving as vice-president of the Prison Discipline Society, chairman of the board of directors of the State Prison at Charlestown, trustee of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester from its establishment, and as a trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital. In the midst of his political and sociological work he welcomed invitations to prepare orations for such occasions as the State's recognition of Washington in 1832, the Φ B K gathering at Brown University in 1842, and others where he could expound his views on civic problems. In 1841 Harvard made him a Doctor of Laws. Never was the honor more properly bestowed, for Mr. Gray had that rare combination — a memory for the accurate details of history and a mind alive to the laws of nations and the significance of great events. At Brown he contended that the eyes of Europe were upon America. The tyranny of the judiciary, equality of property and of condition, monopoly, and mob-law all are watchwords that call for sanity

of judgment and a clear understanding of the meaning and limitations of liberty. He said:

"The duty, which our situation calls on us to perform, is to exhibit to mankind a popular representative system of government; and to prove to them by our example, not only that it is perfectly compatible with law, and order, and civilization, but that, rightly administered, it improves, in every respect, the social condition, humanizes the feelings, elevates the intellectual and moral character, secures the rights, and promotes the best interests and permanent happiness of the whole people. Such is the MISSION OF AMERICA."

Mr. Gray was so busily engaged in public affairs through the greater part of his life that it is difficult to picture him as an "antiquarian," although this is the designation which follows his name in biographical dictionaries. It is true, however, that his discovery of the Code of 1641, a manuscript copy of the early laws of Massachusetts, called "The Body of Liberties," and his elaborate and thorough elucidation of its origin, history, and value cleared away many misapprehensions that had injured the reputation of the early colonists, and placed him in the front rank of historical writers.[1] When he became a proprietor of the Boston Athenæum in 1822 he was recognized as a scholar and at once elected a Trustee, serving as an officer continuously until his retirement as president of the Board of Trustees in 1837. He had a real appreciation of sculpture, painting, and engraving, and contributed to almost every fund formed for the purchase of works of art for the Athenæum Gallery. His rare engravings are now at Harvard College, with money bequeathed by him for their care; and reproductions have long been the delight of many lovers of art who perhaps never heard of the "Gray Collection."

The last year of his life he dwelt in conversation upon the fields of science, literature, and art in which young men of ability could best serve their country. "He never tired of repeating," says Agassiz, "that intellectual and moral culture was the object worthiest of the highest ambition." Increasing illness made it impossible for him to deliver the address he had begun to plan, but to Agassiz he spoke with emotion and great fervor of his ideals.[2]

[1] 3 *Mass. Hist. Collections*, VIII. 191. Also reprinted.
[2] *Proceedings* Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, Jan. 13, 1857.

A short time before Mr. Gray's death, Agassiz proposed to issue *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States*, but could not obtain funds. Mr. Gray entered into the business details of the project with enthusiasm and by letters and appeals made the subscription list more successful than any one had dared to believe possible. Agassiz already dreamed of a museum of comparative zoölogy, and this also interested Mr. Gray. His bequest of $50,000 the next year made the museum a fact, although a provision of the will made it impossible to associate his name with it.

Mr. Gray never married, but the social side of his nature led him into close relation with the chief men of the day. He dined frequently with Prescott the historian, President Sparks of Harvard, George Ticknor, and with other men whom he met at the literary evening clubs and in travel. There are delightful glimpses of outings spent at Daniel Webster's farm, or at Lebanon Springs. He loved to saunter from place to place abroad with congenial company. In the days when Washington Irving was secretary of our legation in London, Thomas Coffin Amory, an undergraduate searching for health, was persuaded to accompany Mr. Gray to the English lake counties. There, with letters of introduction, his wit, learning, and anecdote made them welcome visitors to Wordsworth, Southey, Mrs. Hemans, Scott, and a host of owners of ancient castles and forest estates. He was in Rome in 1837 with Joseph G. Cogswell, later famous as teacher, scholar, and librarian of the Astor Library in New York. They journeyed northward together through Italy and Switzerland.

Mr. Gray passed his early life in Salem, and came with the family to Summer Street, Boston, in 1809. In 1834 he moved to Beacon Street, and in 1845 he came to live near the Wards, Ticknors, and Lawrences on Park Street, his windows overlooking the Common. Here he entertained his friends of the Wednesday Evening Club, "enlivening its meetings by his wit and wisdom, his rich and varied learning, and cherishing always a lively interest in its prosperity." "For twenty-six years he was," says the Rev. Dr. Lothrop, "one of the ornaments of the Club."

In a delightful photograph of the members of the Friday Evening Club, taken toward the end of his life, he stands at the

left hand of Lemuel Shaw, the great jurist. The Club was organized earlier than the Friday Dinner Club, and the other members who appear in the photograph are: Nathan Hale, Thomas Motley, James K. Mills, George Hayward, Nathan Appleton, Charles Henry Warren, William Sturgis, Thomas Wren Ward, and the Curtises, Benjamin Robbins, Thomas Buckminster, and Charles Pelham — a distinguished group of elderly men, old-fashioned to our eyes, but possessed of the fine bearing of scholarly gentlemen.

Mr. Gray died in Boston, December 29, 1856. Robert C. Winthrop, speaking after Mr. Gray's death, said: "As a man of elegant accomplishments, of vast and varied acquisitions, of thorough, exact, and well-digested information, ready at all times to be communicated in private conversation or in public discourse, he has left no superior and few equals, in this or any other community." Prescott called him the most remarkable man he had ever known, for "the variety and fulness of his information, and a perfect command of it."

There is a portrait of Francis C. Gray at Memorial Hall in Cambridge, painted by Francis Alexander. He is represented as a young man seated at a table, his right hand resting upon a book. He wears the collar and dark stock of the period, which would seem to be about 1828, a year after Alexander settled in Boston. There is also a marble bust of Mr. Gray by Hiram Powers, the sculptor, now owned by Morris Gray, Esq., of Chestnut Hill. In 1857 L. Schulze made a lithograph portrait. About the year 1847 Lazarus Gottlieb Sichling engraved a portrait from a photograph. The bust of Shakespeare and several books, which together form a background, were added by the artist. Mr. Gray holds an engraving of Raphael's Madonna of the Chair in his hand, and is represented as younger than he appears in the photographic original. And it is pleasant to believe that he, like others, having the freshness of literature and the beauty of art ever present, did not grow old, but simply in good time passed away.

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